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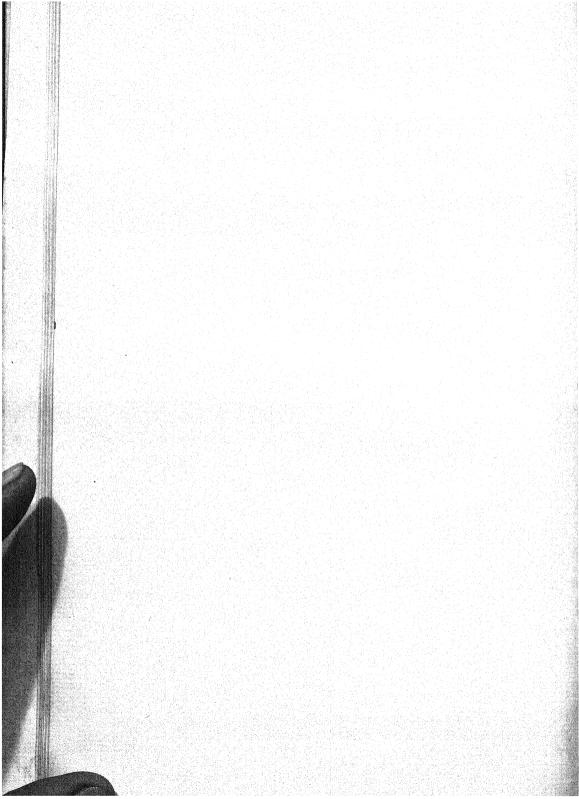
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PART I

Leading Articles

DANTAPURA AND PĀLŪRU IN NORTHERN. GANJĀM

By C. E. A. W. Oldham, c.s.i.

Mr. Jayaswal has published, at pp. 137-38 above (Vol. XXI, Pt. III), a translation by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi of a passage from Anquetil Duperron's description of his adventurous journey from Bengal to Pondicherry in 1757, in which he mentions an aldée (Port. aldea, a 'village') named "Paloor" between the Chilka lake and Ganjām. This is the existing village of Pālūru at the northern extremity of the Ganjām district, about 6 miles N.E. of Ganjām town.

When Professor Lévi wrote his note on "Paloura-Dantapura" in J. A., tome CCVI (Jan.-March 1925¹)

¹ Translated by S. M. Edwardes in I. A. LV (1926), pp. 94-99-

he had possibly not seen Henry Yule's notes at p. 23 of Dr. Smith's Atlas of Ancient Geography¹ on the "sources and authorities" for the map of Ancient India prepared by him for that Atlas, in which he had, more than fifty years earlier, already indicated that Ptolemy's "Paloura" (Bk. I., Chap. I) probably represented this very site. Yule also pointed out that the site had been referred to by de Barros in his Decada I (first published in 1552) and by Linschoten (whose material was collected prior to 1592).

Unfortunately most of the towns and rivers between the Kāvērī and the Ganges named by Ptolemy have not yet been satisfactorily identified, due to some extent to a reluctance to accept Lassen's conclusion that the Manada, Mandas or Manda of Ptolemy was the Mahānadī; but there can be little or no doubt that his Paloura was close to the modern Ganjām, where the village of Pālūru still lies. The site was known to most of the old European cartographers, and figures as "Palhor," or in some similar form, in the maps, for instance, of Ortelius, Hondius, Speed, Cluverius, Mariette, Dudley (Arcano della Mare), Blaeu, Sanson, and Vignola, to mention only a few of those published in the 16th and 17th centuries.

As Linschoten's reference to the place is the most useful in some ways, I give below a translation of the relevant passage from the French edition of his *Grand Routier de Mer*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1638².

¹ An Atlas of Ancient Geography, ed. by William Smith, London, 1874.

² Le Grand Routier de Mer de Jean Hugues de Linschot Hollandois traduit de Flameng en François. Amsterdam, 1638.

Describing the sea route from Trincomalee northwards to Orissa, Linschoten refers to Godavari Point and then to the 'Puacota' river (the modern Bāruva at the mouth of which Duperron found a small port, which he transcribes as Baroüa). The name Puacota appears on many of the old maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, but it is not found on modern maps. Along this coast, Linschoten writes, the land is "high and hilly (the Eastern Ghāts) and easily seen from a distance. From the Puacota river as far as another river, known as Paluor, or Palura, (i.e., the Rushikulvā) twelve leagues distant (about 40 English miles) one sails along the coast E. to S.W. (a slip for S.W. to N.E). Beyond this river (Rushikulya) there is to be seen a high hill called A Serra de Palura ('the Palura range'), which is the highest hill on the coast. This river lies in (north latitude) 190-30'. From the said river onwards to a point called A derradeira terra alta, that is to say, the last high-land, the coast follows the same direction as before, and the distance is seven leagues (about 24 miles). This point lies in (north latitude) 190-40'. Here the high mountainous country ends, and thereafter the land is all low and the shore sandy as far as the place called As Palmeiras, that is to say, the Palms (Palmyras Point)."

The above account of Linschoten is corroborated by the information given by the Turkish admiral, Sīolī Alī Shelebī, in his famous work, the $Muh\bar{t}t$, and by that furnished by the early Portuguese charts and maps. The $Muh\bar{t}t^1$ indicates at this site a hill named

¹ Die Topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Mobît. Trans. & ed. by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek. Vienna, 1897.

Jebel Falūr, and the Portuguese maps a hill called Serra de Paluro, or Palor, both of which titles mean "the hill of Palura." A reference to the Survey of

India sheet $74\frac{E}{3}$ shows that the modern village of

Pālūru lies at the northern foot of Pālūru Pahār, which rises to a height of 580 ft. above s.l. within half a mile of the shore of the Bay of Bengal. Close by, within half a mile or so, to the N.W. by W. of Pālūru is a second hill marked 712 ft., and beyond this to the West are even higher spurs from the northern outliers of the Eastern Ghāṭs.

Though the name Ganjām itself is of undetermined derivation, and is possibly of comparatively modern origin, we have reason to believe that the area about the lower course of the Rushikulyā, perhaps included in the Kongoda country visited by Hsüan Tsang in the early part of the 7th century, was an important one, containing as it did the old fort of Jaugaḍa, once the site of what seems to have been a walled town of sufficient note to merit the record of Aśoka's edicts, besides other sites where inscriptions have been found, but which do not seem, to judge from the exiguous accounts in the published records, to have been fully explored as yet.

Whether the equation of Dantapura with Pālūru should be accepted, is another matter. Hsüan Tsang does not make any direct reference to the "tooth town" in his record; but the fact that he tells us that from Charitrapura (could this possibly be the modern Chatrapur? Probably not, as the local name appears

to have been Sītārāmpalle,1) "On calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's tooth-relic in Ceylon" is suggestive. Personally I incline to the view held by so many scholars that we must look for Dantapura somewhere near the embouchure of the Vamsadhara, either at or near the ancient Simhapura. The town was undoubtedly in ancient Kalinga, and the most reliable evidence points to the original Kalinga being distinct from Odra and Kongoda, and as situated to the south thereof. The very name Kalingapatam by the mouth of the Vamsadhara is self-explanatory. Moreover, wherever Ptolemy's Aphetērion eis Chrusēn Chersonēson may have been, admittedly the only safe, sheltered port on the east coast between Coringa in the estuary of the Godāvarī and Orissa proper was Kalingapatam. The ancient port was therefore probably in this locality. But we must perhaps await the thorough exploration by trained archaeologists of these areas, as well as of the Mukhalingam-Nagarakatakam vicinity.2

On the other hand, we may have to revise the current conception of the Kung-yü-t'o country visited by Hsüan Tsang from Orissa. It should be noted that from the Wu-t'u, or U-t'u country he travelled over 1200 li "through forest... The people were tall

¹ Ganjām District Manual. Re-issue, 1918, p. 38.

² There are some sites to the NE. of the fort at Ganjām and across the river to the south, near Nalinaugum, besides the Jaugada and Kallikota areas that might repay exploration. I mention Kallikota because this apparently represents a name that appears on many of the oldest maps of this coast, and so it was probably a place of note in olden days.

and valorous and of a black complexion..."; and again, from the Kung-vü-t'o country he travelled 1400 or 1500 li "through jungle and forest with huge trees" to Ka-leng-ka. Now, had he gone from Jajpur or some other centre in the Odra country to Ganjam, and from Ganjām on to Kalinga proper by the obvious and customary route, he would not have had to travel such long distances, nor pass through forest country for great part of the way, as we may understand his description to mean. Though Kung-yü-t'o extended down to the coast—"bordering on a bay of the sea" (evidently what is now the Chilka lake), it was a "hilly country," and of comparatively small extent. Who were these "tall and valorous" people "of black complexion" (Watters), "brave and impulsive," "tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty" (Beal)? Is it possible that they were the Kandhs or Kondhs, the 'people of the hills'? Risley tells us that the Kandhs are supposed to have entered the Kandhmāls from the south; he also refers to their fine physique. If Hsüan Tsang had visited or passed through the Kandh country, he would have had to pass through forest country, both in going there and in journeying on thence to Kalinga, as he describes; and the lengths of his journeys could be better understood. Moreover, his account of the "large darkcoloured elephants" would also apply to that area. Could the name Kongoda be connected with these people and their hill forts (guda)? The question of the capital town remains: this may have been in what is now one of the Feudatory States. The people had access to the sea, possibly through places on the

shore of the Chilka, or in the estuary of the Rushi-kulyā, the head streams of which emerge from the hill country to the north and north-west. The north-western parts of the country would border on Southern Kosala, and this may explain why it became at one time a mandala, or 'Division,' as we might call it, of that kingdom. These observations must be regarded merely as suggestions arising from a study of the Si-yii-ki and Hwui Li's Life.

Duperron's narrative is interesting also from other points of view. It recalls to us the fact that in former times the highway from Puri to Madras followed the coast line as far as Ganjām, not, as now, passing round the north of the Chilka lake. The old road, which is clearly shown on the road maps published by G. Herklots in 18281 and by J. B. Tassin in 18362, ran from Puri W. by S. for about 9 miles to Narsingapatam, a place now of no importance, but shown on the old maps and sailing charts: this is the cauki ("Tchoki") which Duperron mentions as being 3 kos from Jagrenat (Puri). There he struck a river, which he calls the "Tchilka," by the side of which his road continued as far as Manikpatam, where this river "discharged into the sea." This was the Harchandi of modern maps, which, according to the latest edition of the District Gazetteer, flows "through sand and

¹ Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal, including those to Madras and Bombay (maps drawn by G. Herklots). Calcutta, 1828.

² Map of the Post Office Stations and Post and Bang Routes throughout British India, by J. B. Tassin, from materials collected and arranged by Captain T. J. Taylor, Secretary to the Committee for Revision of Customs and Post Office Departments in India. Calcutta, 1838.

consequently it has become much silted up and is very shallow." Beyond Manikpatam, Duperron crossed "the Chilka" where it was very broad—and here he seems to mean the outlet from the lake into the sea—half way by a ford and the remaining part on a kind of ferry craft common enough in former days, but apparently unknown to Prof. Lévi, to judge by his translation. Duperron's description should be translated thus:—

"Half of this river was fordable: I crossed the remaining part in a craft made by joining two balāum together."

Indian readers will at once recognise the nature of the ferry boat. Duperron himself describes its character when relating his crossing of "the river of Balasore" (Burhābalang) as being "constructed of two hollowed-out tree trunks secured together by bamboo planks laid crosswise over them." As far as I know, the name balāum has not found currency in Bihār, but it is used on the coasts of India and Malaya. It occurs as balão in Portuguese, and is used in this and similar forms by many of the early Portuguese historians, and in the forms 'baloon,' 'balaum,' 'ballong,' etc., by old English travellers in India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya. The derivation is obscure, but there is a Malay word balang; and Molesworth in his Marathi Dictionary gives balyānv as meaning 'a small kind of boat.' On the Chittagong side it is called balāum. The only illustration of a balāum that I know of is that given by B. Solvyns in Vol. III, Section 9, Plate 14 of his "Collection of Coloured Etchings descriptive

of the Manners, Customs, of the Hindus¹. In his Catalogue² of letterpress explaining the drawings he writes: "A Chittagong Balaum, built on a Scringee (i.e., sarangī) having the planks sewn together with Cane or Hemp"; and a Scringee he explains as "being an Ek-gachee (what is called a dongā in Bihār) with the addition of some Planks on each side."

At Manikpatam Duperron saw neither houses nor trees. The site, which is marked on nearly all the old maps and navigation charts from the Muhīt onwards, had evidently lost its importance as a harbour or point of call, perhaps temporarily, as it is marked on Rennell's Map of Hindoostan (1782), Herklots' Road Map (1828) and Allen's Map of India (1846). Whether there is a village there now seems doubtful, as it is not marked on the 1 mile to the inch Survey sheet 7410, or the 4 miles to the inch sheet 74E, though it is shown on the smaller scale sheet (about 16 mi. = 1 in.) 74! and from the map in the Dist. Gazetteer there would appear to be a Post Office there. I may also note here perhaps that Samuel Dunn, in his New Directory for the East Indies (London, 1780) records that "Manikpatam is known by a little pagoda, encompassed with houses and other buildings, with some large trees."

Having crossed this channel at Manikpatam, it is evident from his account that Duperron on his journey (June, 1757) met with no further breaches of this nature up to 'Maloud' and onwards to Ganjām.

Calcutta, 1799.

2 Catalogue of 250 Coloured Etchings...... 8vo, Calcutta, 1799.

¹ Original edition in 4 vols. folio, hand drawn and coloured, Calcutta. 1709.

This state of things would seem to have prevailed from the beginning of the century at any rate. In 1708 Alexander Hamilton travelled by land from Ganjām to Puri by the same route as Duperron, but in the opposite direction. After passing Pālūru (which by some clerical error has been printed "Illure" in his book) he "came to Manikpatam, where there is a great Inlet from the Sea..... The Mogul had an officer there, who examined whence we came, and whither we were bound."1 His record suggests that this was the only channel at the time between the Chilka lake and the sea; it also indicates that this coast road was then a highway, as an official of the Mughal Government was stationed there (probably a faujdār, as in Duperron's day) to keep an eye on travellers. The same or similar conditions seem to have continued up to about the middle of the last century, as the maps of Herklots (1828), Tassin (1838) and Allen (1846) all show the gap in the coast line near Manikpatam, while from that site onwards the road is drawn as running uninterruptly as far as Ganjām. On the other hand, the latest large scale Survey sheets (1 in. = 1 mi.) show that the sandy stretch between Manikpatam and Pālūru has become so cut up by water channels that the old coast road has practically disappeared. When Colonel Harcourt, in command of a British force, marched from Ganjām to Puri and Cuttack in Sept.-Oct., 1803, he passed "along the strip of coast between the sea and the

¹ A New Account of the East Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton. Edinburgh, 1727, vol. I,

Chilka lake..... it took two days to cross the dangerous channel at Manikpatam through which the Chilka lake communicates with the sea." Toynbee, in his Sketch of the History of Orissa, also states that at that time (1803) the traffic from the south passed along the eastern shore of the Chilka lake, between it and the sea, to Puri. Is the sea tending to reassert its old supremacy? Relevant to such an inquiry is the question of the small temple, "resembling a pine-apple from a distance," which Duperron saw standing solitarily amidst the sand about six miles before reaching Pālūru, that is to say, about mid-way between Mālud and Pālūru. I cannot find any temple marked at this site on the Survey sheets; but on Thornton's "New Chart of Orixa and Galconda"2 a "pagode on a sand-hill" is marked between Mālud and Manikpatam; and we have noticed above the "little pagoda" at (or near?) Manikpatam mentioned by Dunn.3 Thus the available evidence would seem to show that the sea and sand have been encroaching within the past few centuries.

The word "Cari" used frequently by Duperron appears to me to represent the Hindi word khāri, meaning 'brackish,' 'saline,' cf. khārī miṭṭī, 'saline earth.' By it he refers to a salt-pan (uppalamu in Telugu), many of which he passed on his way south.

The "Pagoda of Tirvikarey" was probably the

¹ Puri Gazetteer (ed. of 1929), pp. 47, 215. ² The English Pilot, by Samuel Thornton (edition of 1716

by Saver and Bennett.) ³ Alexander Hamilton also saw near Manikpatam "a pagode on a little hill built of iron-coloured stone" (*ibid.*, p. 380-381).

well-known Candramauliśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai in the S. Arcot district.

The kos measure adopted by Duperron works out at about 3 miles, which is also the length calculated by John Marshall (1670)¹ for the kos in Orissa, which is longer than the Bihār kos. Taking this equivalent, the distances noted by Duperron are remarkably accurate on the whole.

¹ John Marshall in India, ed. by S. A. Khan, 1927, pp. 64, 86, n. 24.

AN APPROACH TO THE SĪRAT-I-FĪROZ SHĀHĪ

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Among the original and authentic sources of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi, Zia-ud-dīn Barni and Afif are most common and frequently consulted. The works of both the authors are named alike and called Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Barni incorporates in his work whatever events he has seen during the six years of the reign of the Sultan, but Afif's work is devoted exclusively to the reign of the Sultan, and therefore, has a better right to the title than Barni's work.

The third authority of the period is Fatuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī, a work which gives a short summary of the victories of Fīroz Shāh. This work is supposed to be the production of the Sultan himself.

Besides the three sources alluded to above, there is another, called Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī. It also embodies an account of Fīroz Shāh. The writer's weight of testimony is unquestionable, for, he was living at the time when the events described by him took place. Composed in 772 H. or 1370 A. D. the Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī is devoted to the narration of events during the reign of Sultan Fīroz, beginning with his accession to the throne (1351 A. D.) and ending with the expedition that he undertook against Thatha or Guzarat some twenty years later.

The work is now almost extinct. Its only copy, so far as is at present known, is to be found, in the form of manuscript, in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, that is so rich in valuable and rare collection of oriental lore. The transcription of the work referred to, as seen from its epilogue, was completed in Rabi-us-Sanee 1002 H. (Dec. 1593-Jan. 1594). It bears the imperial seals of the Mughal Emperors Shāh Jehan and Aurangzeb, thereby proving that, it once belonged to the royal possession or to the family library of the imperial household. The work contains 182 folios, with seventeen lines in a page, and in size it is $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.

Thickly set with fulsome flattery of and glowing tribute to the Sultan, the book only breaks the spell of monotony and releases the readers from the dulness that is so natural in a work of this type, by a refreshing variety of interests. The first of the four chapters in which the work has been divided, gives a historic survey of the reign of Firoz Shāh from his investiture to the conquest of Guzarat. The second gives an account of his acts of justice, charitable deeds, benevolence, suppression of evil and murder and so forth: the description of the birds and animals and their mode of living etc. The third deals with an account of canals and edifices constructed during the reign, and of the cultivation of crop in the country. The last chapter is concerned with astronomy, description of observatories erected by the Sultan and of instruments of war

Its unapproachable standard of rhetorical excellence and of historic art give to the work a high position in Persian literature. In ornateness of diction the work has hardly any equal, every page being embellished with the choicest flowers that the tropical gardens of Arabic and Persian languages could provide. Eloquent in style, sweet in diction, vocabulary copious, analogies apt, rhymes soothing, metaphors beautiful, with a fine flow of rhetoric and ingenious flourishes, the work gives the impress of a scholarly, masterful and accomplished hand in its composition. It has been suggested that the work, excepting the preface that was added by some one else, was dictated by Fīroz Shāh himself, and such being the case the credit of being its author goes to him.

We have undertaken the translation and editing of the whole work, and in the following pages a translation of the prologue and the epilogue has been attempted. Owing to the incorrectness of the text due to the negligence or ignorance of the transcriber who has indulged in many sins of omission and commission, a correct reading of the text and its translation are by no means a simple and easy task. An attempt, however, has been made, as far as practicable, to make a correct reading and a close and true rendering of the text.

PROLOGUE

With the name of Allah, the Merciful and the Compassionate!

VERSE

The work, Sīrat-i- Fīroz Shāhī, With Divine aid compiled.

Whatever respiration is made by an animate being,

Thanksgiving to God is it, and nothing else!
Coins of His ordinance beyond alteration,
Area of His dominion beyond conception.
Eternal is He, the creator of the world,
A tiding of joy to the living, whom He imparts
life;

It's He, the creator of Life and Death; How can Death overcome Him? Its He who decorated each of the Heavens,

He, who is generous in favours, may His benefactions be upon all! has made thanksgiving to be the cause of greater benefits from Him, but, as felicity is allotted and decreed, and there are human beings of different nature, proper expression of gratitude is beyond the scope of every individual. It is therefore, that, at the outset, the favours and graces, the honours and gifts that by the kindness and grace of God The Most High, were conferred on His Majesty, the protector of Sovereigns, and the shadow of God, Abu Muzaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sultan, may God his kingdom perpetuate, have been mentioned.

VERSE

That majestic Haider², whose Zulfaqar³. Left scar on the head of enemies; On every matter he conferred repose,

¹ The last line is found wanting.

² Name of 'Alī, son-in-law of Muhammad.

⁸ The name of the famous two-edged sword of 'Alī.

Every country on him bestowed; Ashamed was the ocean envious of his respect, Him she produced royal pearls!

It is admitted and acknowledged by the public that, many times and oft, crusades and expeditions being undertaken by the Sultan personally against the infidels and rebels, ended, with the help of God, in victory and in the acquisition of superiority in the holy wars.

VERSE

God his friend, His orders an escort, grace a companion,

Prosperity a fellow-traveller, victory a close friend, felicity a boon companion!

At all events, the possession of big pearls comes to him who dives deep into the ocean of grave risks.

VERSE

On his lap put the Sultan, the country—a bride! And gave he kisses on her sharp lips.

The throne of the country God presented him with,

Whatever bestows He, in apple-pie-order remains!

One of those laudable virtues and commendable talents of the Emperor is that, at the time of his coronation and in the age of confirmation of his mandate upon the country and individuals, beginning with the expansion of the rose of fortune in the garden of sovereignty, and the establishment of the rules of kingdom, the principles of suzerainty and the

foundation of an edifice of a praiseworthy empire was laid: the rules of government obtained stability by the world-diffusing lustre of the imperial firman: the report of the Sultan's accession to the throne was carried to distant places, to the plebeian and the noble, the obedient and the rebel alike. The armies from different quarters of the globe made haste to effect a conjunction with His Majesty. The age sang in praise of His Excellency.

VERSE

His name near the oppressed,
Is like tidings of victory.
The movement of his benevolence round the
world,
Like the Moon round the earth day and night!
The dust of his court at his noble orders,
Shine like the crown of many a king.
At places where his cavalcade encamp,
Fortune serves him like a slave.

THE EPILOGUE

By the bounteous favour of God,
The morals of Fīroz Shāh delineated.
The object in narrating the qualities of the
Emperor,
That thou derivest skill and fulfilleth thy
desires.
It's the book, by which people is benefited;
From it they receive advice and with its help
they are freed from ruin,
From it they learn all about etiquette, qualities,
commentaries and wisdom,

Which, according to the Wise, every man should possess,

In manner specially as laid down in the Faith, Of which there is testimony.

Of sunnat¹ and manner in assembly, people should know,

Of freedom from vice and escape from perdition,

How to lean for support on Aḥādīs²,
And of imperatives and prohibitions.

Of the history of Khelafat, which at first,
With the four friends³ of the Prophet took

pride:
Then the House of 'Abbās⁴ conferred further

Then the House of 'Abbās4 conferred further glory,

It freed the religion from garb sombre.

At the dictation of the Emperor the book is written,

For enlightening the people on the manners of the Emperors and royal conducts,

For transmitting mandates religious and prudent,

For informing them on the increase of wealth and dignity,

On the tranquillity of subjects and merchants,

¹ The traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'an and held in nearly equal authority.

² Sayings and traditions of Muhammad handed down by Musulman doctors.

³ Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān and Alī.

⁴ Name of Muhammad's uncle, and ancestor of the Abbaside caliphs who reigned from A. D. 749 till the extinction of the caliphate in 1258 A. D.

Pomp of the Amirs and ease of the soldiers. It's a discourse full of praise on virtues,

A narrative salutary, freed from wanton pastimes,

Decorated from the dates of the reign of His Majesty.

From whom religion gained strength, and infidels ruined.

Read this work, to the imperatives and negatives

Pay heed, if thou art vigilant!

On date seven and two and seven hundred, The book completed by Grace of God.

My special prayer to thee, O! men curious!

Thou be possessed of goodness, if thou art a man on the way;

Related to the Prophet, as the rule lays down, Keep thee away from blemish and sin.

Look not at my faults, in my words of expressions,

Though I be a sinner and negligent.

My prayer to God that this Emperor of the world.

May seize the world from the moon to the

May God preserve him by his assistance and favour!

May He confer on him universal sway and give him His own protection!

May he be remembered so long the world continues.

May he be associated with the perpetuity of the universe!

The transcription of the book was completed on Saturday, Rabi-us-Sanee 1002 H.

—(Dec. 1593—Jan. 1594).

Reviews and Notices of Books

ICONS, MŪRA-DEVAS AND YAKSAS

- The Transformation of Nature in Art. By Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 1-245.
- Rājadharmakaustubhaḥ of Anantadeva. Edited by the Late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume No. LXXII, 1935. 9½" × 6". Pp. 1-504.

In giving valuable information regarding religious and historical art in India, these two books are complementary. Anantadeva gives details, Coomaraswamy investigates their genesis. The Rājadharmakaustubha states the realised facts, Coomaraswamy traces them to anterior intimate tendencies.

The books are useful and timely specially in view of the wealth of artistic specimens unearthed within the last few years. These finds have shown how little we really knew about their origin and growth. Thus the pride of place in those two books is naturally given to the images: Anantadeva, pp. 35-101; Coomaraswamy, Chap. VII, The Origin and Use of Images in India, pp. 153-169. So far our information on this topic has been disappointingly indefinite and inadequate.

In the J. R. A. S., 1915, (pp. 413-415), Spooner drew attention to the connection between the Mauryas and Icons, and pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation generally offered on Patañjali's comment Mauryair hiranyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ** on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99—Jīvikārthe cāpanye.

In Bhāratīya Anusīlana, 1 1935, (pp. 59-66), Keith sums up the differences in matters of religion between the Aryans and the Indus Valley civilisation as follows—"The Rgvedic religion is certainly aniconic in principle; the fact that fetishes might exist does not destroy this fundamental feature of the organised cult. On the other hand iconism seems to permeate the Indus valley civilisation, proving a very different outlook."

Between 1915 and 1935, new sources have come to light, and new light has come from old sources. It may be profitable to review the whole position of iconography in India with special reference to the following points:—

- (i) Were the Revedic Aryas devoted to icons?
- (ii) To whom did the icons referred to belong?
- (iii) Relation in time and space between Mūradeva, Yakṣas, Mauryas and Mūrtis?
- (i) Keith is probably right about Rgvedic aniconism. An image, idol or icon may possibly be meant in RV. 4, 24, where the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain

¹ Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha Commemoration Volume. Hindī-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāg, 1990.

his foes he may give him back to me.'1 But in most cases, the material objects, are obviously symbols. Bollensen's reference to idols of Agni in RV. I, 145 4.5, is inconclusive. But that images were not unknown to the Rgveda is clear. As Bollensen says2-"From the common appellation of the gods as dive naras, 'men of the sky', or simply naras 'men,' and from the epithet nrpeśas, 'having the form of men,' RV. III, 4, 5, one may conclude that representations in human form was also done. The question is: by whom? Later additions to the Brahmanas, e.g., the Adbhuta-Brāhmana, the last of the six chapters of the Sadvimśa-Brāhmana a supplement to the Pañcavimsa-Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtras refer to idols, but by that time the assimilation of diverse viewpoints in a synthetic outlook had admittedly reached an advanced stage. Books like Gopinath Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography draw upon the extant Puranas which in their present form presume this synthesis.3 The various sources are practically undistinguishable in time and locality—but are utilised ad hoc as in Rājadharmakaustubha4 of Anantadeva (end of the 17th century). This failure to distinguish the initial sources has introduced an element of inconsistency between the subjective and objective evidence, a lack of entente between literature and archaeology in the earliest period. The Rgvedic Aryas could not pos-

² Bollensen, ZDMG. 47, 586 ff.

4 Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Vol. LXXII. 1935, pp. 17-101. Temples and Icons.

¹ Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 1897, p. 155.

³ cf. also Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography, for a similar treatment from eclectic Tantra descriptions.

sibly avoid referring to many things they did not approve of but found in vogue among their contemporaries and co-inhabitants of India. Icons were among these. Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali do not even support Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *Tīrtha* as a shrine, but explain it simply as a ford.

(ii) Who then used these icons? The story of icons in India is linked with Yoga and Dharanī.

In his Yogasūtras, Patañjali defines dharaṇa as "the process of fixing the mind on some object well-defined in space." The Buddhist dharaṇās are based on pre-Buddhistic Tantras founded on Yoga. It is significant that in his references to Mauryan images, Patañjali mentions the images of Siva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda and Viśākha. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, VI. 3, 1—"Siva and others". What is the historical significance of this peculiar juxtaposition of ideas in Patañjali? Is it a pure coincidence to connect Siva, image and Mauryas?

Mahenjo-Daro² has shown that Yoga, Siva and icons go back to the 4th millennium B. C. in India.

Scholars, however, are not agreed to whom this civilisation belonged. It is time to revise this negative attitude. It is admitted that the Vedic Āryas found at least two other peoples—one sufficiently civilised but not their kith and kin,—"Pūrum mṛḍbravācam, described as Asuras in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa; the other

¹ cf. sisnadevāḥ, RV, 7, 25; 10,99. "phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period." Macdonell, Ved. Myth. p. 155. This, however, is baetylic as opposed to iconic proper.

² Marshall, Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. I, pp. vii, 52-59.

uncivilised,—stigmatized as dāsa. But what were their names? Surely they could not have designated themselves as anāryas, in view of the fact that they must have proceeded the Aryas and must have had names of their own. In my Asura India, I suggested the two terms Asura and Niṣāda. Oppert¹ has called the latter (the autochthonous people) the Bharatas, the Pañca-Janāḥ. There is a fourth term in the Rgveda—Mūradeva. The icons of mahāyogī Siva and of animals, specially the bull Nandivardhana, and of birds, specially the peacock, might belong to these Mūra-devas—worshippers of mūras or icons.

(iii) Who were those Mūra-devas?

Vigrīvāso Mūradevā ṛdantu, RV. 7, 104, 24. A jihvayā Mūradevān rabhasva, RV. 10, 87, 2, 14. (gewisser Unholde—Böhtlingk und Roth².)

As in the case of the term Arya, Mūradera may be a general designation, covering ethnic entities that have persisted through the ages, connoting specific groups though hardly ever denoting the same group or individuals at two different epochs, the similarity of name notwithstanding. This aspect of the generic and specific value of names has not been adequately appreciated in recent discussions. A few instances may be cited.

In Indian Culture, (October 1935) Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 189 ff. Sten Konow replies to Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II, iv, 10, regarding the date of the Sakas. Bhandarkar holds

¹ Oppert, The Original Inhabitants of India, pp. 1-2. ² Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 1868, Part V, p. 851.

that the Sakas were in India in the 2nd century B. C. Konow quotes Ts'ien Han-shu and reiterates his opinion that the Sakas entered India after Patañjali, in the first century B. C. But neither seems to realise that different groups may be meant. As a matter of fact, Sakas are mentioned in the Purāṇas.¹ If the Purāṇas are suspect, they are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā, 78, 99; Bhī. 9, 45.

In the J. R. A. S., 1915, Spooner assumed that Patañjali was referring to the royal Mauryas when he was describing the habit of the Mauryas selling their images. There is not a trace of evidence to this effect. The word *Maurya* is formed by adding syañ to Māra, Mahābhāṣya, VIII. 2, 1. They were a tribe of long standing. The Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā (pp. 119-121) says that some Sakiyas being oppressed by King Viḍuḍabha fled to the Himalayas where they built Moriyanagara. Chandagutta might have belonged to the Moriya clan settled at Pipphalivana.

In his Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, pp. 18, 19, 24, Jayaswal² attempts to equate Buddhapakṣa and Gambhīra of the Yakṣa dynasty with Kadphises I and II. Coomaraswamy in his Yakṣas, Part II, Washington, D. C. 1930, has pointed out the manifold ramifications of the Yakṣas from pre-Vedic days. He has adduced literary and archaeological evidence regarding the general character of the Yakṣa type. There were Yakṣas long before Gautama Buddha, and their descendants continued to hold sway long after the Sungas. In La

¹ Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 206-7, 256, 267.

² Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, 1934, pp. 18-9.

Catalogue Géographique Des Yakṣa Dans La Mahāmāyūrī, 1915, Sylvain Lévi¹ has traced the Yakṣa belt and the kingdom of the Yue-tche, and the country of Varnu noted in Pāṇini. A comparison of Mañjuśrī, Coomaraswamy's Yakṣas and Lévi's Mahāmāyūrī is instructive. The following premises emerge.

- (a) The geographical distribution of Yakṣa history and Yakṣa sculptures agree.
- (b) Special sites of Yakṣa cover the Indus Valley, the North-West and the Himalayan regions spreading from the west to the east. (i) Thus Varṇu² (30, 4. Mahāmāyūrī) is mentioned by Pāṇini, 4, 2, 103 along with Suvastu, Sindhu and Gandhāra. (ii) Nandivardhana (35, 3) associated with Vaiśālī, Puṣkalāvatī and Taksaśilā (B. E. F. E. O., 1905, p. 230).
- (c) Jayaswal's *Gambhīrayakṣa* (Imp. Hist. Ind., p. 19; *Mañjuśrī*, G. 621 should be compared with *Mahāmāyūrī*, 101 *Kumbhīro yakṣo* Rājagṛhe vipule'smin niveśikaḥ.3
- (d) Intimate association of Yakṣas with Mayūra in literature, and of the Mauryas with Mayūra in archaeology (J. R. A. S. 1935, p. 413); cf. also Mahenjo-Daro, vol. I, p. 349—"We have a bird with a very long, broad tail, which may possibly be a peacock."
- (e) The similarity in technique between Yakşa and Maurya sculptures has been pointed out

¹ Journal Asiatique, Janvier-Fevrier 1915, pp. 55-6.

Przyluski, Journ. As., 1914. II, 513.
 Lévi, Journ. As., op. cit. 1935, p. 41.

by Bachhofer in his *Indian Sculptures* under the Saiśunāka statues in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the Didarganj image in the Patna Museum.

(f) The name of Nandi, the bull in place names, and its representations in icons and plaques.

I will merely indicate the direction of the conclusion, leaving it to shape gradually with the progress of further research. May it not be suggested tentatively that mūrti is a derivative from Mūra, worshipped by the earliest pre-Vedic people the Mūradevas, to whom may be affiliated the Yakṣas and the Mauryas?

Besides the manufacture and installation of images and shrines, the Rājadharmakaustubha describes various other social, political, executive and judicial functions of the king. The pratyadhidevatāsthanam (pp. 280-292) may be read profitably along with Chap. V (Parokṣa, pp. 121-152) of Coomaraswamy.

The get-up of both the books is excellent. The editor of the Rājadharmakaustubha is a legist, and as such has missed a number of significant details which an artist and historian would have noted.

Both Coomaraswamy and the Oriental Institute of Baroda have done useful work in collecting and interpreting systematised material which would help in reconstructing Indian history on sound lines.

A. BANER JI-SASTRI

Mauryan Public Finance. By M. H. GOPAL, M.A., PH.D. (London) Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Mysore, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1935. 8½" × 5½", pp. 1-237.

The author seeks to interpret texts on his own responsibility (Preface) but he fails to inspire confidence about his competence. His poor knowledge of Sanskrit, and in spite of his claim of access to a long series of authorities ("Sources"; pp. 207-212) his ignorance of those authorities are apparent. There is no Sanskrit author as Chandisvara (p. 208) but he is Chandesvara. His description of the Rajanīti-Ratnākara shows that he has not seen the book. Similarly his description of Jolly's Brihaspati (SBE) as being the translation of "Brihaspati-Smriti" published by the Anandāśrama Series, Poona, proves that he is not aware of the fact made clear by Jolly himself that the translator collected fragments from Nibandhas (Digests). It is doubtful whether the author has seen any of the two works, either Jolly's or the alleged Anandāśrama publication. Similarly he mentions Naug's "Aitereya Brāhmaṇa" (209). Here 'Naug' may be taken as a misprint for Haug, but that he has not seen the Sanskrit Text is proved by the spelling Aitereya which is also found throughout (p. 118). Cowell did not edit (Divyâvadhāna but Divyāvadāna. It is a libel on Manu (VIII. 308) to say that he wrote "bhāgahārīṇam" (117). The "Pratipadapañchikā, by

Bhaṭṭaswāmi (sic., read *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*) has, according to Dr. Gopala, incorrect readings," (p. 207) but not a single one has been pointed in his book of 206 pages.

The author has failed to realize the scope of Public Finance.

Dr. Gopal introduces his book with the observations of a finance minister of modern India, James Wilson:— "Finance is not arithmetic; finance is a great policy."

At the last session of the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Grigg, the finance minister of to-day, pointed out that such high finance without arithmetic soon led the financier to an enforced cessation of further activity within four walls. A greater teacher than either Wilson or Grigg, Plato laid down in his Laws¹, that a true statesman must begin his education with 'geometry' as his work will require him to be a realist, in the best sense of the word, and not a romantic or sentimentalist, much less the complacent tool of a policy. If the author had paid greater regard to the dry facts of Arithmetic, more attention to accuracy of details, the book would have been less useless to serious students of Mauryan finance.

Besides his misuse of Bhatṭasvāmin, the author collects and repeats discredited theories with less than

¹ The Laws of Plato, Book VII. Cf. "Such ignorance seemed to me more worthy of a stupid beast like the hog than of a human being, and I blushed not for myself alone, but for our whole Hellenic world." Some of Dr. Gopal's interpretations of Sanskrit passages have reminded me of *bibhety-alpa-śrutād Vedah mām-ayam praharisyati. A knowledge of Sanskrit is necessary to construe a Sanskrit passage, and a familiarity with the milieu is essential to interpret it.

their originators' acumen. The dissertation is helpful in indicating the root-cause of the failure of most modern research, viz., a lack of background. Specialization is not broad-based on original, allied and ancillary literature. Hence the most preposterous interpretations are often advanced with a naiveté that is the despair of those who know what precedes. Take a few samples.

In pp. 51-62, the author discusses the question of the ownership of land in India. Dr. Barnett 'has kindly supplied' Dr. Gopal with an English translation of Strabe, xv, 1, 40: "they work it for hire, at the rate of fourth (part) of the produce." (p. 53) Armed with this authority, Dr. Gopal considers the view of Jayaswal based on Manu, viii, 39, and Bhattasvāmī-Rājā bhūmeh etc., as 'incorrect'. (p. 62) Apart from qualified state-landlordism advocated by Thomas, Macdonell and Smith, Dr. Gopal betrays the besetting sin of researchers of his type by his statement—"the difference between the two interpretations of the śloka is *** whether in the fourth quarter the word is sāmyam or svāmyam." (p. 57) Dr. Gopal does not realise that a fundamental political, social and economic problem like this has to be examined in the light of the whole trend of Hindu jurisprudence, the Mīmāmsā, and not to be disposed of on the strength of an uncertain word in an obscure ms. of unknown date. Jayaswal's opinion is based on the Mīmāmsā. The Arthasāstra assumes acquaintance with the Mīmāmsā. So does Bhattasvāmī. Dr. Gopal exhibits Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. The view he represents may be compared to Hotman's interpretation of the right hereditates capiendi mentioned in Cicero's orations.1 Cicero refers the right to the capability of being appointed heir in a testament: Hotman refers it to the right of entering upon the inheritance. This entrance, he says, was a solemn act, to wit, a cessio in jure. Now since, as he himself adds, it was requisite to every cessio in jure that there should not only be a person to acquire the thing ceded, but also a person to cede it, one must assume that the deceased got up out of his grave in order to assist at the performance of the ceremony. This is incomprehensible. Jolly quotes Manu, viii, 39-"The king is the owner of the soil." One must assume then that the king must always have been there to assist at the conferring of lands. What becomes of those aspects of Hindu polity that recognise no crown? What becomes of Manu, ix, 44—"The land belongs to him who cleared it." What becomes of the age old custom still obtaining among the Oraons and Mundas of Chotanagpore to clear jungles and call the lands thus reclaimed their own? Even the bearing of the problem is beyond the competence of Dr. Gopal.

In pp. 15, 102, the author refers to the tax on prostitutes and professes to note a remarkable parallel in Athens. He quotes Boeckh—"According to a passage of Suidas and Zonoras, the agaronomi designated the price which each prostitute should take. "Dr. Gopal's supposed parallelism is due to a lack of perspective, a superficial piecing together of undigested opinions. On this topic, the viewpoint of

¹ On the Jus Latti. See Niebuhr, Roman Hist. Vol. I, p. 566.

India essentially differs from that of Athens. Plato wrote his Laws about 350 B.C., Kautilya his Arthaśāstra about 320 B.C. By Plato and all serious Greek statesmen, the physical conjunction itself was looked on wholly unsentimentally as a merely animal function in which a man temporarily abdicates his personal dignity and becomes grossly ridiculous, though in practice, in view of the insistence of the appetite, such self-forgetting received an easy indulgence.1 The attitude of Rabelais towards such things is more in keeping with Hellenic feeling than the demand Kautilya² makes for continence in his-Krtsnam hi śāstram-idam-indriyajah. The political and economic exploitation of prostitutes in the Arthaśāstra is adjusted to this socio-religious background in the form of a department by itself.

In p. 190, discussing expenditure on the military, justice and police, the author says, "Even in British India, where there is little likelihood of internal disturbance and not much chance of external trouble, a large army is maintained." The single word 'even' shows how inadequately equipped the author is for his task. The writer has no conception of the influence of military preparedness on sound finance. He ignores the Hindu ideology of Danda-nīti in the scheme of practical politics and economics. Behind both British and Mauryan finance lives the spirit of ancient India's Mayūra-dharma. Dr. Gopal should study Jayaswal's Hindu Polity and Schackt's Armament and

¹ E. R. Bevan, *Christianity*, (Home University Library), p. 53 ff.
² Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, section III.

Finance in Germany (1935).

Thus both from its manner and matter, Dr. Gopal's *Mauryan Finance* is the work of an amateur who contributes nothing new or useful to an already abundant literature on the subject.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

REVIEW

By Dr. J. Misra, Ph.D.

Dholā-Mārūr-ā Dūhā. A mediaeval folk-song of Rajputānā in Rājasthānī dialect of Hindī. Edited by Messrs. Rām Singh, M.A., Viśārada, Sūrya Karaņa Parīka, M.A., Viśārada, and Narottama Dāsa Svāmī, M.A., Viśārada; and published by the Nagarī Pracāriņī Sabhā, Kāśī. Saṃvat 1991, pp. 213 + 664, price Rs. 4.

Not long ago the attention of Hindī scholars was drawn towards the folk-poems. Since then many admirable works and articles on the subject have been published from time to time and the present work is an addition to the previous publications.

The work has been divided into three sections; the Introduction, the Text and the Parisista.

In the first part of the Introduction the editors deal with the historical and literary aspect of the subject matter. They have come to the conclusion that the hero of the poem is a historical person of the 10th century A. C. The data advanced by them being insufficient, it is not free from risk to identify the hero of a popular ballad with the prince of the same name and of a particular period. Like the folk-songs of Sāraṅgā-Sadābrja, Rājā Bhartharī etc., the song of Dholā and Mārū is current in the villages of Bihār also. In the circumstance one feels tempted to presume that the story may belong to a period when

Magadha and Ujjayinī were more closely connected than they were in the 10th century A. C. or later. It would be interesting if a scholar would take the trouble of compiling the poem, as it is prevalent in Bihār.

In discussing the literary merit of the work the editors have entered into unnecessary details. It may serve the purpose of a text book for a beginner, but, for the average reader it becomes a tedious reading. The editors might have done well if they might not have attempted to take upon themselves the entire burden of thinking for the readers. This portion being unnecessarily long many commonplace things have been given in great detail and the same thing has been repeated here and there².

In the second part of the Introduction the editors, have dealt with the language of the work and they have used a peculiar expression "Bihārī Language," which is occasionally used by some Hindī philologists. We ourselves in Bihār do not understand the expression. To us Bihār is a Hindī province where dialects of Hindī exist in different parts of it.

The editors have laboured hard to prove that the language of Kavīr is Rājasthānī. But the students of Hindī will not find it easy to favour the theory. It is an instance of local patriotism, which is at the root of many misleading linguistic theories.

The grammar of Rājasthānī dialect added here is a useful contribution.

¹ Description of love sentiment and its divisions and subdivisions etc.

² Use of riddles in folk-songs. See pp. 52 and 128.

The story of the poem is that Dholā or Sālha Kumāra was the son of Nala, the King of Naravara. Once there was a famine and Pingala, the King of Pūgala, with his daughter Māravaņī (abbreviated into Mārū) and his queen went to the court of Nala. The queen liked the prince Dholā and the princess Māravanī was married to him. At that time the prince was three years old and the princess a year and a half. As the princess was a little child, she was brought back to Pūgala by her parents. In course of time prince Dhola grew up and was married to Mālavanī, the princess of Mālva, and Māravanī, being at a great distance, was almost forgotten. In order to keep her position safe, Mālavaņī appointed men, so that, nobody might approach the palace with the news of Māravaṇī.

One day young Māravaṇī saw the prince in dream and his separation made her restless. Her parents sent messengers to the prince Dholā, but they were killed by the men of Mālavaṇī. One day a merchant came to Pūgala and related to the king all about Mālavaṇī, her men and the fate of his messengers. So it was decided to send some minstrels, disguised as beggars, to Pūgala. These minstrels escaped the notice of the men of Mālavaṇī and delivered the message to the prince. In spite of all the remonstrances of and obstacles put by Mālavaṇī, the prince went to Naravara, brought back Māravaṇī and lived happily with his two wives.

The text consists of 674 Dūhās, translated into

¹ Dūhā is a metre of two lines and is very widely used in Rājputāna. It is just like the Hīndī Dohā.

modern High Hindi. The language of the poem is musical and sweet and the plot has been executed with graceful simplicity. Charming are the descriptions of the things with local interest in Rajputana, such as, the seasons, birds, beasts—specially camels, mountains, lakes, flowers, shrubs etc. Human emotions have been dealt with in the simplest form and they enter the heart directly. The elements of Indian folk-song e.g. pi pi (= priya-beloved) note of the papihā bird, message through traders and travellers are present as usual. The onrush of love, the chief sentiment of the poems is unchecked from beginning to end. Want of technical refinement gives it the appearance of a rustic poem, but the natural and unobstructed flow of human emotions makes it highly artistic. There is no doubt that the poem is a first class piece of ballad poetry.

The third section is Parisista and consists of different readings in 17 manuscripts, annotations on peculiar words and expressions, and a glossary. It has been prepared carefully and is very useful.

The work, as a whole, is a beautiful gem of Hindī Literature and the editors are to be congratulated for the pains they have taken.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on February 20, 1936.

A meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the B. A. lecture theatre of Patna College at 6-30 p. m. on February 20, 1936. Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered a much appreciated lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her address with specimens of terra-cottas and bronzes.

J. L. HILL

February 25, 1936

Honorary General Secretary

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, March 15, 1936.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President in the chair)

Mr. G. E. Fawcus

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Shyam Bahadur

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh

Mr. J. L. Hill

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting held on December 15, 1935.
- 2. Passed the accounts for the months of December, 1935, and January and February, 1936.
- 3. Elected the following gentlemen members of the Society:—
 - Mr. S. M. Moinul Haq, M.A., Principal,
 B. N. College, Patna.
 - 2. Mr. Jayantilal M. Baxi, Honorary Secretary, Watson Museum.
 - 3. Mr. Srinath Shah, Durga Kund, Benares.
- 4. Considered the request of the Editors of "The Dacca University Studies" that their journal should be placed on the Society's exchange list.

Resolved that the Editors be requested to submit another application in a year's time.

5. Read a letter dated January 8, 1936, from the General Secretary of the 10E Congrès International de Linguistes.

Resolved that Dr. Sten Konow be requested to represent the Society at the Congress to be held in Copenhagen in August, 1936.

6. Read a letter dated December 17, 1935, from the Vice-Chancellor University of London.

Resolved that Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be requested to represent the Society at the 4th Anglo American Conference of Historians to be held in London in July, 1936.

7. Considered two applications of the Office Pandit.

Resolved that the Pandit be granted 3 months leave on average pay with effect from April 14, 1936; and that to be permitted to prefix Good Friday and the Easter holidays to this leave.

Resolved that the Pandit be permitted to withdraw Rs. 225 from his Provident fund for use in connexion with his daughter's marriage; and that this sum be repaid in 23 instalments (22 instalments of Rs. 10 a month and the 23rd instalment of Rs. 5).

8. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on

March 25 at 6-30 p. m. in the University Library hall.

9. Passed the Agenda paper of the Annual General Meeting.

AGENDA

- I. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., to declare the meeting open.
- 2. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King-Emperor, George V, and tenders its loyal and respectful sympathy with His Majesty King Edward VIII, with Queen Mary and with the other members of the Royal Family.
- 3. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Levi, an honorary member of the Society, and desires that its sympathy be conveyed to the members of the bereaved family.
- 4. The Vice-President to propose that the following gentlemen be elected honorary members of the Society.

Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D. The Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana. Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I. Dr. A. Coomaraswami, D.SC.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali to propose that the following members be elect-

ed office bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1936-37:—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Secretary-Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.)

Joint Secretary-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer-Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Librarian-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board-Mr. K. P. Jayswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members)—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali.

- 6. The Honorary Secretary to present the Annual Report.
- 7. The Honorary Treasurer to present the Annual Statement of Accounts.

- 8. The Vice-President to review the year's work of the Society.
- 9. The President to introduce Mr. P. C. Manuk.
- 10. A lecture by Mr. Manuk on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."
- 11. The President to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
- 12. Mr. Jayaswal to propose a vote of thanks to the chair.
- 13. The President to declare the meeting closed.
- 14. Read a letter dated March 7 from Mr. L. K.

 Jha.

 Resolved that Mr. Jha should be requested

first to pay the arrears due to the Society, and that subsequently, if he so wishes, he can become a life member on payment of the necessary sum (Rs. 180).

- register the names of the following members, who have not paid their arrears:—
 - 1. Mr. Paul Roland Carr, Long Island.
 - 2. Mr. Ram Kumar Chaube, Benares.
 - 3. Mr. G. K. Chaudhuri, Ballipur.
 - 4. Rai Sahib G. K. Despande, Poona.
 - Raja Bahadur G. N. Harichandan, Tekkali.
 - 6. Mr. Rameswar Prasad Jaruhar, Patna.
 - 7. Mr. V. L. Khanna, Calcutta.
 - 8. Mr. R. Kimura, Japan.
 - 9. Mr. Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, Agra.
 - 10. Rai Sahib Pandit Balgobind Malaviya, Patna.

11. Sir F. D. Miller, London.

12. Mr. Sri Nivas Rao Pantulu Garu.

13. Mr. Krishnadeva Prasad, Langartoli, Patna.

14. Mr. S. Narasingh Rao, Madras.

15. Mr. E. H. L. Seppings, Rangoon.

16. Mr. Paramanad Shaw, Dinapore.

J. L. HILL

March 16, 1936

Honorary General Secretary

- Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the reading room of the University Library at 6-30 p. m. on March 25, 1936.
 - I. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., declared the meeting open.
 - 2. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King Emperor George V. The motion was carried, all present standing.
 - 3. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi, an honorary member of the Society. The motion was carried, all standing.
 - 4. The following gentlemen were elected honorary members of the Society on a motion of the Vice-President:

Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D. The Rev. Rāhula Sānkrityāyana. Sir Richard Burn, c.s.i. Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

5. The following members were elected officebearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1936-37 on a motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali: President .. His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary .. Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.).

Joint Secretary Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Librarian Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., 1.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

- 6. The Honorary Secretary presented the Annual Report.
- 7. The Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts.

The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

Mr. P. C. Manuk delivered a popular and interesting lecture on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."

The President proposed a vote of thanks to 10.

the lecturer.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

The President declared the meeting closed. 12.

> J. L. HILL Honorary General Secretary

April 17, 1936

Annual Report for 1935-36

I-MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1935, was 152. This represents a decrease of five from the corresponding figure at the end of 1934, the Society losing six of its ordinary members by resignation, and the Journal three of its subscribers, while four new members were enrolled. With the 12 honorary and 13 life-members, the total membership of the Society stands at 177.

II-MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 29th March, 1935, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a most interesting lecture on the "Expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan" delivered by Professor H. Heras, M. A.

Two ordinary meetings were held this year. One was held on September 19, 1935 at which Mr. O. C. Ganguly, Editor of "Rupam", gave an illustrated lecture on "Moghul Painting," and the other on February 20, 1936, at which Dr. Stella Kramrisch gave a

lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her lecture with specimens of bronzes, and with *terra-cottas* recently discovered in Patna.

Meetings of the Council were held on 4th August and 15th December, 1935, and on March 15, 1936.

III-JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXI of the Society's Journal, containing 552 pages and three plates, have been published. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1935.

The printing of Buchanan's "Accounts of the District of Bihar and of the City of Patna" is nearing completion.

The Archæological Department, Cochin State, and the Muslim University Journal, Aligarh, have been put on our Journal's exchange list.

IV —LIBRARY

During the year 237 books (343 volumes), of which 25 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 9 Hindi, 3 Persian, and 1 each in Mundarica, Gujarati, and Santali, were added to the Library. Of this total 68 were presented, while 126 were obtained by exchange and 43 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1935, the Library contained 6984 volumes as compared with 6641 volumes at the end of the previous year. Khan Bahadur Syed Md. Ismail gave a donation of Rs. 50 last year, with which books on Islamic culture have been purchased.

Babu K. K. Datta of Patna College has been engaged in examining manuscripts of historical importance in the Record Room of the District Judge, Patna. 41 of these have already been received for storage in the Society's Library.

V-SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The search for manuscripts proceeded under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri. The Mithila Pandit noticed 1143 manuscripts from April, 1935 to February, 1936.

Vol. III of the Catalogue of manuscripts on Jyotisha is in the press.

VI-ACCOUNTS

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

J. L. HILL

March 15, 1935

Honorary General Secretary

Statement of Accounts from 1st April, 1935 to 29th February, 1936

- A. The actuals for 1934-35 showed a closing balance of Rs. 2,054-5-11 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 4,372-7-9, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6,426-13-8 at the end of 1934-35.
- B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1936 the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,916-15-1. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 4,491-11-6 which gives a total of Rs. 6,408-10-7.
- C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realized up to the 29th February, 1936 amounted to Rs. 1,687-2-0, up to the 28th February, 1935 the realized amount was Rs. 1,123-8-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 484-4-0 up to the end of February, 1936. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 249-9-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 119-3-9 up to the 29th February, 1936.

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

Actuals up to February 29, 1936

INCOME

	2				Revised Budget.				
			a.		Rs.				
Subscriptions	••	1,687	2	0	1,300		T 4		
Sale of Journal	• •	454	12	0	200		0		
Miscellaneous (a)		53	7	0					
The state of the s		7			10		o		
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila	a								
7.7		29	8	٥					
	• •	5,445		0	5,445	C	٥		
Library unspent Balance					234				
Opening Balance—									
Hathwa Fund		2,323	4	9	2,365	4	9		
Darbhanga Fund	•	2,293					- 1		
Mayurbhanj Fund		861					13		
General Balance		948		93	948		95		
Interest on F. D	•	119		9	,		12		
GRAND TOTAL .		14,223	ıı	5	13,726	ı	G		

⁽a) This includes Rs. 18 refund from Telephone.

Actuals up to February 29, 1936

EXPENDITURE

		Actuals		F	Revised Budget				
		Rs.	. a.	р.	Rs.	a.	р.		
Establishment	•	1,172	14	6	1,276	٥	o		
Mithila Pandit		1,424	4	2	1,546	٥	0		
Telephone		246	0	0	228	٥	0		
Printing Charges		2,623	14	6	2,825	٥	٥		
Postage	•••	331	2	0	260	٥	0		
Stationery	••	82	3	0	60	0	٥		
Library	••	414	11	11	584	4	I		
Electrical Charges	•	73	0	0	90	0	0		
Out of Hathwa Fund		1,240	4	3	2,365	4	9		
Out of Darbhanga Fund					1,752	0	٥		
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	• •	••			881	11	1 ½		
Miscellaneous	•	205	10	6	300	0	°		
TOTAL		7,815	0	10	12,168	3	112		
CLOSING BALANCE	••	6,408	10	7	1,557	13	91/2		
GRAND TOTAL		14,223	11	5	13,726	I	9		
							defeat to		

Details of closing Balance on 29th February, 1936:-

	C/A		F/D			Total			
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs			Rs.		
Hathwa Fund	99	8	6	1,025	0	0	1,124	8	6
Darbhanga "	332	2	3	2,050	14	3	2,383	٥	6
Mayurbhunj,,	180	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	698	5	3	878	11	$4\frac{1}{2}$
General Balance	1,304	14	$2\frac{1}{2}$	717	8	0	2,022	6	21/2
TOTAL	1,916	15	ī	4,491	11	6	6,408	10	7

S. BAHADUR Honorary Treasurer At the Annual Meeting of the Society

His Excellency the President in inviting Mr. P. C.

Manuk, lecturer of the evening, said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

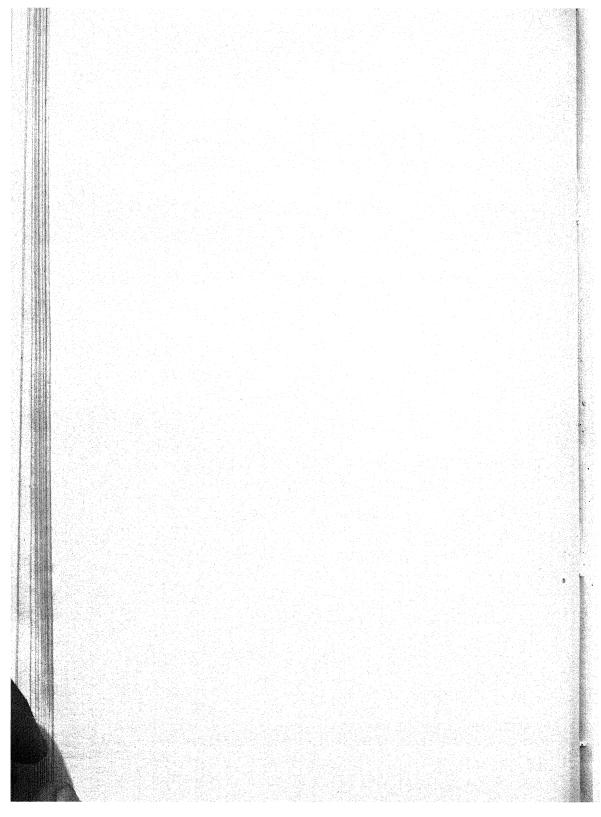
Mr. Manuk really needs no introduction from me. He is one of the oldest members of the Society; he has served on its Council as well as on the Museum Committee and has addressed you on former occasions.

Mr. Manuk is well known to us as an authority on Indian painting, particularly of the Moghul and Rajput schools. His collection—the result of forty years work—is widely known, and it is due to his enthusiasm and knowledge that many pictures and manuscripts have been saved from destruction and have been made available to the public. Tonight, however, he is going to address us on the subject of Hieroglyphs—the picture characters of the more elaborate civilizations of the old world to which the development of writing, as we know it today, can be ascribed. He has chosen a subject in which he does not claim to be an expert, but in which he has long been interested as an amateur and he promises that his exposition will not be entirely above the heads of his audience, as it well might be. I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Manuk to speak to you now on "The Fascination of Hieroglyphics."

At the close of the lecture His Excellency moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sure that we have all enjoyed this evening's interesting and instructive lecture, and I ask you to record in the usual manner a vote of thanks to Mr. Manuk for the pleasure he has given us.



वाद्न्यायः

२. न्यायमतखंडनम्

श्रन्यत्तु न युक्तमिति नेष्यते । यत्रेदं यथोक्तं निम्रहस्थान-लच्चणत्रास्ति तस्य निम्रहस्थानन्त्वमयुक्तमिति नोक्तमस्माभिः ।

प्र⁵तिहष्टान्तधम्मीभ्यनुज्ञा स्वहष्टान्ते प्रतिज्ञाहानि (न्यायसूत्रं ५।२।२) निंप्रहस्थानमिति । अत्र भाष्यकारमतं दूषिक्वा वार्तिककारो॰

अन्यतु न युक्तमिति (8b5) यदुक्तमक्षपादेन द्वाविशतिविधं निग्रहस्थानं। प्रतिज्ञाहानिः। प्रतिज्ञान्तरं। प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः। प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासो हेत्वन्तरमर्थान्तर-न्निरर्थकमविज्ञातार्थमपार्थकमप्राप्तकालं न्यून मधिकं पुनरुक्तमननुभाषणमज्ञा-नमप्रतिभा विक्षेपो मतानुज्ञा पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणित्ररनुयोज्यानुयोगोपिसद्धान्तो हेत्वाभासारच निग्रहस्थानानि (न्या० सू० ५।२।१) । "तानीमानि द्वाविश्वति-विधानि विभज्य वक्ष्यन्ते" । प्रतिदृ²ष्टान्तधर्मानुज्ञा स्वदृष्टान्ते प्रतिज्ञाहानिः। (न्या०सू०५।२।) तत्र भाष्यकारमतं दूषियत्वा वार्तिककारोयं स्थितपक्षमाह। तमेव बूम इति । भाष्यकारमतस्य भारद्वाजेनैव दूषिश्तत्वादस्माकमर्द्धन्तावदविसतं भारस्येति भावः । तत्रेदम्भाष्यकारस्य मतं । "साध्यधर्मप्रत्यनीकेन धर्मेण प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्मं स्वदृष्टां तेनुजानन् प्रतिज्ञां जहातीति प्रतिज्ञाहानिः। निवर्शनमनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वात् घटविदित कृते पर आह । वृष्टमैन्द्रियकं सामान्यं नित्यङकस्मात्⁵ न तथा शब्द इति प्रत्यवस्थित इदमाह यद्यैन्द्रियकं सामान्यं कामं घटोपि नित्योस्त्वित । स खल्वयं साधनस्य दृष्टान्तस्य नित्यत्वं प्रसञ्जयन्निगमना⁶नन्त (र)मेव पक्षञ्जहाति पक्षञ्च जहतः प्रतिज्ञाहानिरित्यच्यते। प्रतिज्ञाश्रयत्वात् पक्षस्येति।" वर्गातिककारेण चैवमेतद् दूषितं । " "एतत्तु न बुद्धचा-महे कथमत्र प्रति⁷ज्ञा हीयत इति हेतोरनैकान्तिकत्वं सामान्यवृष्टान्तेन परेण चोद्यते।

^१ उद्योतकर आह न्याय-वार्तिके (पृ० ५५१-५२)।

र न्यायवात्स्यायनभाष्ये (५।२।१)। 🤚 तत्रैव (५।२।२)।

न्यायवात्तिके (५।२।२) ।

यं स्थितपद्ममाह । तत्रैवं ब्रूमः (—) प्रतिदृष्टान्तस्य यो धर्मस्तं यदा स्वदृष्टान्ते ⁶ ऽभ्यनु जानाति निगृहीतो वेदितव्यः । तत्र दृष्ट्रचा-स्वदृष्टान्तः १वपद्यः, प्रति-दृष्टान्तः प्रतिपद्यः । प्रतिपद्यस्य धम्मे स्वपद्येऽभ्यनु जा नन्पराजितः । यथाऽनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्त्वादिति ब्रुवन प्रतिपद्यवादिनि सामान्येन प्रत्यविश्यते त्राह यदि सामान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यं शब्दाद्भावनमिन्द्वति । प्रया प्रतिज्ञाहानिः प्राक्पतिज्ञातस्य शब्दानित्त्यस्य योगादिति । स्या प्रतिज्ञाहानिः प्राक्पतिज्ञाहानौ विशेषप्रतिनियमः किंकृतोऽनेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञां त्यजतः प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । सम्भवन्ति ह्यन्येनापि प्रकारेण हेतुदाषाद्भावनादिना प्रतिपद्मसायनाभिग्रानेन च स्वपद्मपित्यागः परपद्मोपगमश्च । इदमेव च प्रतिज्ञाहानेः प्रधानं निमित्तं एवं प्रतिपादि- १व तेन प्रतिज्ञा हात । ०व्या हानौ च पराजय इति ।

तस्यानैकान्तिकदोषोद्धारमनुक्त्वा स्वदृष्टान्ते नित्यतां प्रतिपद्यते । नित्यताप्रतिपत्ते-श्चा[®]सिद्धताद्ष्टान्तदोषो भवतीति सोयं दष्टान्तदोषेण वा हेत्दोषेण वा निप्रहो न प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । दृष्टान्तञ्च जहत् प्रतिज्ञाञ्जहातीति उपचारेण निप्रहस्थानं । न च प्रधानासम्भवे उपचारो लभ्यत इति प्रतिज्ञाहानेर्मुख्यो विषयो वक्तव्य इति।" इदानीम्वार्तिककारमतं स्वयमेवोपन्यस्यति । प्रतिदृष्टान्तस्येत्यादिना (8b6)कः पुनर¹त्र दृष्टान्तोऽभिमतो यदि तावत् यत्र¹ ''लौकिकपरीक्षकानो [?णां] बृद्धि-साम्यं स दृष्टान्त (न्या० सु० १।१।२५) इति पारिभाषिकस्तदा भाष्यकारमताद-विषेशस्तत्र च प्रतिविहितं । अथान्यः स न ग²म्यत इत्याह । तत्र दृष्टश्चासौ पञ्चाव-यवेन साधनेनान्ते च निगमनस्य व्यवस्थित इति चुट्टान्तः पक्षः । ततः स्वशब्देन सह विशेषणसमासः । तद्विपरीतः प्रतिवृष्टान्त^३(:) । यथाऽनित्यः शब्दः ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति बुवन्वादी प्रतिपक्षवादिनि सामान्यादिकमैन्द्रियकं नित्यं च । ततोविषक्षेपि वृत्तेर्व्यं-भिचायंयं हेतुरित्येवं "सामा'न्येन प्रत्यवस्थिते सत्याह यद्येवं शब्दोप्येवमस्त्वित एषा प्रतिज्ञाहानिर्नाम निग्रहस्थानं"। कस्मात्। प्राग्प्रतिज्ञातस्य शब्दानित्यत्वस्य त्यागात् । प्रतिज्ञाश⁵ब्देन र्धामविशेषणभूतो धर्म उच्यते समुदायावयवत्वात् । एतत् प्रतिक्षिपति । अत्र भारद्वाजमते उपगतायाः प्रतिज्ञायास्त्यागात् कारणात् । येयं प्रति⁶ज्ञाहानिर्व्यवस्थापिता तस्यां विशेषनियमः किङ्कृतः। कोसावनेन प्रकारेण स्वपक्षे प्रतिपक्षधर्मानुज्ञास्वरूपेण प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । स्यात् मतमयमेव प्रति'ज्ञा-हानिः प्रकारो नान्योस्ति ततो नियमार्थमुच्यत इति । सम्भवति ह्यन्येनापीति । अथ

इदं पुनरसम्बद्धमेव सामान्यं नित्त्यमैन्द्रियकमित्युक्त शब्दोप्येवमित्त्वित कः स्वस्थात्मा स्वयमैन्द्रियकत्त्वादिनित्त्यः शब्दा घटविदिति
बुवन सामान्येनोपदर्शनमात्रेण नित्यं शब्दं प्रतिपद्यते । सामान्यस्य(ा)पि नित्यस्यैन्द्रियकत्वेष्यनित्ये घटे दर्शनात्संशियतः स्यात् । जात्या
स्प्र(१प्र)तिपद्येतापीति चेत् । तथापि किं सामान्यस्योपदर्शनेन ।
ए वमेव नित्यः शब्द इति वकव्यं । जहस्य प्रतिपत्तौ विचाराभावात् ।
न च नित्यसामान्योपदर्शनेन तद्धर्म शब्दे प्रतिपद्यमानेन प्रतिपत्तधर्माऽभ्यनुज्ञातो भवति । ष्रानित्यः शब्द इति च वदतो नित्यशब्द इत्याभासः
प्रतिपत्तः स्यास्र नित्यं सामान्यमिति (।) तस्मादैनिद्रयकत्त्वस्य
नित्यानित्यपत्तवृत्तेवर्थभिचारादसाधनाङ्गस्योपादानान्त्रियहार्हो न, प्रतिपत्त्वधर्मानुज्ञया १८नेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञाहानेः ॥ त्॥

मतिः प्रधानमेतिश्विमित्तं तस्यास्ततोस्मिन् प्रदर्शितेऽन्योपि प्रकाशित एव भवती कि । तदत्राप्याह । इदमेव च हेतुदोषोद्भावनादिकऊकारणं यस्मादेवं हेतुदोषोद्भावनादिना प्रतिपादितेन प्रतिवादिना प्रतिज्ञा हातव्या सम्यग्दूषणाभिधानात् । ध्यच्चेदम्यधायि सामान्यं नित्यमैन्द्रिचकमित्युक्ते शब्दोप्येवमस्त्वित्यत्र प्रतिविधत्ते । इदम्युनरसम्बद्धमेव (921) । यस्मात् कः स्वस्थात्मा सामान्योपदर्शनमात्रेण सामान्यमस्ति न चैन्द्रियकित्यञ्चेत्येतदिवचार्यं शब्दं नित्यं प्रतिपद्येत । एतावत्तु भवेत् सामन्यस्यापि नित्यस्यैन्द्रियकत्त्वे तस्य ऐन्द्रियकत्वस्यानित्येषि घटे दर्शनात् संशिवतः स्यात् (।) अपि च प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्मानुजैवात्र न युक्तेत्याह । न च तद्धमं तस्य सामान्यस्य धर्मित्रत्यत्वं यतोऽनित्यः शब्द इति वदता कस्यचित्रित्यः शब्द इत्ययमञ्जशो [?से] कि प्रत्यासन्नः प्रतिपक्षः स्यान्न सामान्यन्तस्य धर्म्यन्तरत्वात् । तथा हचेका-धिकरणयोरेव नित्यत्वानित्यत्वयोविरोधो न नानाधिकरणयोः । आञ्जसभ्रहणमयमिषि विचद्धधर्माधिकरणत्वात् प्रतिपक्षो न त्वतिनिकटो यथा नित्यः शब्द इत्ययमिति परिदीपनार्थं । नानेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञाहाने निप्रहार्हं इति वर्तते । केनानेनेत्याह । प्रतिपक्षधर्मानुज्ञया । अथवा अनेनेत्यसाधनाङ्गवचनेन । यथोक्तमिवमेव प्रधानं निमत्तमिति ।।

5 1a

१ ''यदाह कीर्तिः —तस्मादैन्द्रियकत्वस्य नित्यानित्यपक्षवृत्तेर्व्यभिचारावसा धनांगस्योपादानान्निग्रहो न प्रतिपक्षधर्मस्याभ्यनुज्ञानादिति"—इति न्यायवार्तिक-तात्पर्यटीकायां वाचस्पतिमिश्रः (पृ० ७००-१)।

प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्माविकत्यात्तदर्थनिदेशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरं (न्या० ५१२३)। प्रतिज्ञातोर्थोऽनित्त्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्त्वादित्येव, तस्य हेतुव्य-भिचारो पदश्नेन प्रतिषेधे कृते धर्म्मभेद्विकल्पात्सामान्यघटयोः सर्वन्यतत्वासर्वगतत्वधर्म्मविकल्पेन प्रतिज्ञान्तरङ्करोति । यथा घटोऽसर्वगतो ऽनित्य एवं शब्दोप्यसर्व गतोऽनित्य इत्येतत्प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम नियन्द्रश्यानं साधनसामर्थ्यप्यपिज्ञानात् । सिह पूर्वस्या स्त्रनित्यः शब्द इति प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनात्तदा यामसर्वगतः शब्द इति प्रतिज्ञामाह । तदर्शनाय तदर्थनिर्देश इत्याह । तदर्थः पूर्वोक्तसाध्यसिध्यर्थे उत्तरप्रतिज्ञानिर्देशस्तदर्थनिर्देशः । न च प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञान्तरसाधने समर्थेति नियवहर्थानं ॥

श्रत्रापि नै॰वं ब्रुवता प्रतिज्ञान्तरं पूर्वप्रतिज्ञासाधनायोक्तं भवति । किन्तिई विशेषणं । ऐन्द्रियकत्त्वस्य हेतोः सामान्ये वृत्त्या व्यिभिचारं उद्भावितेऽसर्वगतत्त्वे सत्यैन्द्रियकत्त्वस्य हेतोर्विशेषणो॰पादाने व्यभिचारं परिहरित न पुनः प्रतिज्ञान्तरमाह । श्रस्वगतस्य शब्दे सिद्ध-त्वात् । प्रतिज्ञायाश्र्यं साध्यनिर्देशत्वच्च एत्वात् ।

यद्प्युकः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञासाधनायोत्तरां प्रतिज्ञामाहेति 10 तद्प्ययुकः।

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प्रतिज्ञा वार्यप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात्तदर्थनिदंशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरमिति (925) (न्या० सू० ५।२।३) द्वितीयलक्षणसूत्रं (।) निग्रहस्थानमिति सर्व्यत्रानुवर्तते। अस्यार्थः प्रतिषेधो विपक्षे हेतुसद्भाव कथनं तिस्मन्सित सपक्षविपक्षयोर्ध्वमंभेदेन करणभू-तेन पूर्व्यप्रतिक्षार्थप्रतिपत्यर्थं प्रतिज्ञान्तरङ्करोति। यथा घटोऽसर्वगत एवं शब्दोप्य-सर्व्यगते घटवदेषा नित्यः शब्द इति शेषः सुज्ञानः। इदं निराकरोति अत्रापी (928) त्यादिना। अविद्वकर्णस्तु भाष्यटीकायामिदमाशङ्क्यपरिजिहीषंति (।) ननु चासर्व्यगतत्वे सतीति। हे त्रविशेषणमुक्तं। सिवशेषणश्च हेतुर्विपक्षे नास्तीति न प्रतिज्ञान्तरं निग्रहस्थानं। निह तदेवमसर्व्यगतः शब्द इति प्रतिज्ञान्तरोपादानात्। हेतुविशेषणोपादाने हेत्वन्तरं निग्रहस्थानमिति। एतच्चातिस्थूलं। स हचेवं पक्षधमंमेव विद्यध्यव्यतिहेत्वत्तरं निग्रहस्थानमिति। एतच्चातिस्थूलं। यदिष हेतुविशेषणोपादाने हेत्व-तर्राप्तप्रहस्थानमित्यभ्यधायि तद्य्यतिपेलवं। यस्मादेवं तदेव नामास्तु प्रतिज्ञान्तरत्वसम्बद्धं। जदाहरणसाधम्यदिक्ष्वेति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। जदाहरणसाधम्यत्विक्ष्यति। ज्याव्यतिर्वर्शे प्रतिज्ञेत्यतस्याभावात्। नियावस्यानिक्ष्यत्वता चानेन प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधनाय प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण युक्तरहिते न सिद्धिरिष्टा

नहि प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञासाधनायोच्यमाना प्रतिज्ञान्तरं भवति. किन्तर्हि ob हेत्वादेरन्यतमः, साध्यसाधनायोपादानात् । साधननिर्देशः स स्यान्न साध्य-निर्देशः । उदाहरणसाधम्या देशश्च हेतुलत्तणस्यासर्वगतत्वे भावात्प्रति-ज्ञालत्तरणस्य चाभावात्। हेतुत्वमसवगतत्त्रे प्रयुक्तं न प्रतिज्ञान्तरं। १ श्रत्यन्तासम्बद्धञ्चेदं प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधनायाहेति। यो हि प्राक् प्रतिज्ञास्2-क्त्वा हेतूदाहरणादिकं वक्षं जानाति स किञ्चिदनुक्रमं साधनस्य जानात्येव हि,जानन्कथमपिकनान्तः [? विकलान्तः] करणः प्रतिज्ञामेव प्रतिज्ञा-साधनायोपाददीत । उपाददता चानेन प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण सिद्धिरि³ष्टा भवति । ततश्च न प्रागपि हेतुं ब्रूयात् । एवं प्रकाराणामसम्बद्धानां परिसङ्खयातुमशक्यत्वात्। लज्ञ्णनियमोप्य(स)म्बद्ध एव प्रतिज्ञान्त-राभिधाने प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम निष्रहस्था नीमित । असम्बद्धाभिधानं नियहस्थानमिति । एवं प्रकाराणामेकमेव लच्चणं वाच्यं स्यात्। न चैवं विधः कश्चिद्विवादेषु दृष्टपूर्वो व्यवहारो येन तद्र्थे यत्नः क्रियते । न च व बालप्रलापानुहिश्य शास्त्रं प्रवतंते, प्रवृत्तौ च का निष्ठा, तेषामनिष्ठा-नात् । दृश्यते च विदुषामपि नातिनिरूपणाद्सिद्धाभिधानमिति व्यवहारदर्शनात्तादृशं पराजया धिकरणं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तस्मादिहापि यदि निवृत्ताका(ङन्ते) वादिनि परो नैकान्तिकतामुद्भावयेदसाधनाङ्गस्यानै-

भवित । ततश्च प्रागिप प्रथमप्रतिज्ञानन्तरमि हेतुमैन्द्रियकत्वन्न ब्रूयात् । तस्मादेवं प्रकाराणाम्बालप्रलापानां प्रतिज्ञासाधनाय प्रति^ऽञ्चान्तरमुच्यत इत्येवं रूपाणां परिसङ्ख्यातुमस[?श]क्यत्वात् लक्षणनियमोप्यसम्बद्ध एव । कोसौ । प्रतिज्ञान्तरा-भिधाने प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम निग्रहस्थानमिति ।

ननु नायमीदृशो लक्षणनियमः प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात्तदर्थनिर्वेशं इत्येवं क्रतत्वात् । नास्ति दोषस्तस्यैव पर्य्यायान्तरेण कथनात् । अथोच्यते य^गथा विद्वांसो न प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधानयाहुस्तथा साध्यसिध्यर्थमसिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तकादी-निष प्रयुञ्जते ततश्चासाधनाङ्कगवचनित्यादि त्वयापि न वाच्यं भवेदतः प्राह (।) विदुषामपी (9b6) ति । अनुद्दिश्याप्रमाणकं शास्त्रोपगमिति मामकीने तन्त्रे

१ ''अत्यन्तासम्बद्धमेतव् यत्प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञासाधनायेति० स कथं चिदनु-क्रसं० जानात्येव जानन् कथमविकलान्तःकरणः० साधनायोपादवीत"—इति (न्या० वा० ता० पृ० ७०३)।

कान्तिकस्याभिधानान्निग्रहस्थानं वादिनः। एवं यदि प्र⁷तिवादी सत्सा-मान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्त्यञ्च प्रमाणेन प्रतिपाद्यितुं शक्नुयात्। श्रनुहिश्या-प्रमाणकं शास्त्रोपगमं प्रमाणेनैषामर्थानामप्रतिपादनेन भूतदोषाद्भावन-मेत(त्) न किश्चित्पराजयोऽ(यः, श्र)भ्युपगममात्रेण वस्तुसिद्धेरभावात्। प्रतिवादिना दोषस्याप्रतिपादितत्त्वात्। प्रमाणेरसमर्थितसाधनाभिधानात्तु जेतापि न भवतीति। श्रनित्याकांत्ते पुनर्वादिनि न कश्चिदोषो, विशेषणा-भिधानेन हेतोः समर्थनापक्रमात्।।त्।।

प्रतिज्ञाहेत्गेर्विरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः (न्या० ५।२।४)। यथा (—)

10a "गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्त¹ एरस्यानुपलब्धेरिति
हेतुः । सोयं प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधः ।" एतेनैव प्रतिज्ञाविरोधोप्युक्तो

यत्र प्रतिज्ञावचनेन विरुध्यते । यथा श्रव [१ श्रम] ए। गर्भिणी (,)

नास्त्यात्मेति वा । हेतुविरोधोपि यत्र प्र¹तिज्ञया हेतुविरुध्यते । यथा सर्व

प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो (न्या० सू० ५।२।४) (9b10) नाम निग्रहस्थानं । "गुणव्यति²रिक्तं द्रव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा । रूपादिभ्योगान्तरस्यानुप-लब्धोरिति हेतुः । सोयम्प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधः । यदि गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यं रूपादिभ्ये-ऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिनोपपद्यते । अथ रूपादिभ्योर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिर्गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति नोपपद्यते ।" एतेनैव प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधेन प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः स्ववचनेन व्याख्यात (1) भूत्रकारेणास्योपलक्षणार्थमुक्तमेतत् । अमणा (1021) प्रतिविरत-पुरुषसम्भोगा गर्भद्रच नान्तरेण पुरुषसम्भोगमिति स्ववचनव्याहतिः । हेतुविरोध एतेन वोक्त इति वर्तते । सर्व्वं पृथग् नाना नास्त्येको भाव इति यावत् । समूहे भाव सब्द [?शब्द]प्रयोगात् समूहवाचकधटादिभावशब्दवाच्यत्वादित्यर्थः । यस्मात् समूह इ ति ब्रुवाणेन एकोभ्युपगतो भवति । एकसमुच्चयो हि समूह इति । तथा हि गवादिद्रव्याणि समुदितानि प्रतिपद्यमानेन समूहोभ्युपेयः । स चायं समूह्यन्ति

⁵²² सामान्यं यथा भूतं सिद्धमित्येव न प्रदर्श्यंत (६) त्यर्थः । तथाहि व्युत्थित वितसो न परसमयव्यवस्थोपरोधमाद्रियन्ते तत्वदर्शनाध्यवसायशूराः शू[?सू]रयः । अप्रमाणकम्वचनं प्रमाणोपेतस्याभ्युपगमस्य विद्वव्भिरलङ्घनीयत्वात् । एतच्च स्या त् प्रमाणैरसर्माथतसाधनाभिधानाद्वाद्यपि जेता न भवति प्रतिपक्षस्य निराकरणात् ॥४॥

^१न्यायभाष्ये (पु० २५९)।

पृथक् समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादिति । एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तिवरोधोपि व्याख्यातः । हेतोश्च दृष्टान्तादिभिविरोधः प्रमाणिवरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतो-वंक्तव्य²:। यः परपन्नं स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना व्यभिचारयित तद्विरुद्धमुक्तरं वेदितव्यं (।) स्वपन्नानपेन्नञ्च यञ्च स्वपन्नानपेन्नं हेतुं प्रयुंक्ते श्रनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकस्वादिति तस्य स्वसिद्धस्य गोत्वादेरनित्यविरोधाद्विरुद्धः ।

द्र"व्याण्येतानि गवादिभावेन व्यवस्थितानीति न व्यवतिष्ठते। भेदोप्यल्पतरतमत्वेन यत्तत्र परमाल्पं यदभेद्यं ततो निवर्त्तते यतत्रचायं भेदो निवर्त्तते तदेकं। अथ म⁸न्यसे यं तमभेद्यं परमाणुं मन्यसे सोपि रूपादीनां समुदाय इति। एतिस्मन्वै दर्शने ये रूपादयः समुदितास्ते परमाणुरिति परमाणौ रूपं स कस्य समुदाय इ⁰ति वक्तव्यं। एवं शेषेषु गुणेषु। अथ न तं समुदायम्प्रतिपद्यसे। अष्टौ द्रव्याणि समुदितानि परमाणुरिति शास्त्रं व्याहतं। कामेऽष्टद्रव्यकोऽशब्दः परमाणुरिति (अभिधर्मकोशे २।२२)। तस्मा वनुपपत्तावनेकोपपत्तिरित्यतिमौढचं। असिद्धश्चायं हेतुः। यस्मादनेकविधलक्षणैर्गन्धाविभिर्गुणैर्बुध्नादिभिश्चावयवैः सम्बद्ध एको भाव उपपद्यते। अतः शब्दादेकार्थाधिगतौ शेषोनुसक्तो [१षक्तो]र्थो गम्यत इति।

ननु चायमपि प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोध इति प्रथमादस्याविशेषः। मैवमुभयाश्रित त्वात् विरोधस्य । विवक्षातो³ऽन्यतरनिर्देश इति भारद्वाजेनैवोक्तत्त्वात् । प्रति-ज्ञाया दृष्टान्तविरोधो यथा व्यक्तमेकप्रकृतिकं परिमितत्वात् शरावादिवदिति शरावादिर्दृष्टान्त ए⁴कप्रकृतित्वं बाधते । दृष्टान्तभूतायाः प्रकृतेः प्रकृत्यंतरत्वात् । एकप्रकृतित्वे वा शरावादिर्दृष्टान्तोऽयुक्तः । हेतोश्च दृष्टन्तादिर्भिवरोधो यथा गुण⁵व्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमर्थान्तरत्वेनानुपलभ्यमानत्त्वात् । घटादिवदिति । घटादी-नाम्भेदेन ग्रहणाद्धेतुं बाधते दृष्टान्तः । आदिग्रहणेन हेतोरुपनयनिगम (न)।भ्यां विरोधो गृहचते । अनयोख्दाहरणमनित्यः शब्दः कृतकत्वात् । यत्कृतकन्तदनित्यं यथाकाशन्तथा च कृतकः शब्द इत्युपनयेन हेर्ताविरोधः। तथा हचुदा¹हरणा पेक्षस्तथेत्युयुपसंहारो न तथेति चेति (न्या० सू० १।१।३८) साध्यस्योपनय उक्तेः । इह च विपरीतमुदाहरणमित्येतदपेक्षोपनयेन हेर्ताविरोधः । ईदृशे च प्रयोगे त[®]स्मादनित्य इत्युपसंहारे निगमनेन । प्रमाणविरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्यथाऽनुष्णो-ग्निर्द्रव्यत्वाज्जलविदिति प्रत्यक्षम्बाधते । परपक्ष (10 2 2) इत्यादि । एतच्च यच्च स्वपक्षा नेपेक्षञ्चेत्यादि (10 2 3) । एतदप्युभयम्प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोध इत्यनेनैव सङ्गृहीतत्वात् पृथग् निग्रहस्थानत्वेन नैव वक्तव्यमिति वर्शयिति । परपक्ष इत्यत्र परेणप्र माणे कृते कणादोऽनैकान्तिकमुद्भावयति । स्वपक्षानपेक्षञ्चेत्यत्र

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इति परपत्तेष्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिनाऽनैकान्तिकचं।दनाविरुद्धः । उभयपत्त-सम्प्रतिपन्नस्त्वनैकान्तिकः । यदुभयपत्तं प्रतिपन्नं वस्तु तेनानैकान्तिक-चोदनेति।°

श्रत्रापि प्रतिज्ञार्थः साधनवाक्ये प्रयोगप्रतिषेधात् । तदाश्रयस्त-त्कृतो वा हेतुदृष्टान्तयोर्ने विरोध इति न प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो नाम किञ्चित्रि-प्रहस्थानं ।

स्यादेतद्सत्यिप प्रतिज्ञाप्रयोगे गम्य मानोपि प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधो भवति । यथा रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलिक्धस्तद्गुणक्यतिरिक्तं नोपलयभ्यते च रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरं द्रव्यमित्युक्तेषि गम्यत एव साध्यसाय नयोविरोधः कथन्ततोऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलिक्धस्तद्वयितरेकश्चेति। सत्यं स्याद्यं विरोधो यदि हेतुः साध्यधमीवपर्ययं साधयेत । यदि द्युपलिक्धलचण्व्याप्तत्वेनोप्पातस्य सतो द्रव्यरूपादिप्रतिभासविवेकेन स्वप्रतिभासानुपलिक्धिस्तस्य तद्वयितरेके नास्तीतोष्टव्यतिरेकविपर्ययसाधनाद्विरुद्धो हेतुरस्माभिरुक्त एवति । भवत्येवेदं निप्रहाधिक रण्यं यद्येवंविधः प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोध इष्टः । स्थ पुनरस्योपलिक्धलज्ञणप्राप्तिर्जुप्यते तदा न कश्चित्प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोधः व्यतिरिक्तानामिष भावानां कुतिश्चिद्वप्रकर्षाणां तद्वयितरेक णानुपलब्धानविष् व्यतिरेकस्य भावान् ।

यदुक्तं (—) स्ववचनप्रतिज्ञायाः स्ववचनविरोधे प्रतिज्ञाविरोप इति । तत्रेद्मेव निष्रहाधिकरणमसाधनाङ्गभूतायाः प्रतिज्ञायाः साधन-

तु नैशेषिक एव प्रमाणद्धकरोति। परस्तं व्यभिचारयतीति भेदः। यदि तर्िं गोव्यदिना व्यभिचारे कृते विरुद्धमुत्तरं तथा सत्यनैकान्तिको निविषय इत्याह। उभयेत्या(1024)दि। वादिप्रतिवादिप्रसिद्ध उभयपक्षसंप्रतिपन्नः सोऽनैकान्तिकस्त-द्विषयत्वाद्धपव्यादेण तथा च वृत्तिस्तेनानैकान्तिकचोदनेति। अत्रापी(1023)स्यादि। नैतदिप प्रतिक्षिपति तदाश्रयः सा प्रतिज्ञाऽश्रयो यस्य विरोधस्य स तथा। तत्कृतो वेति तभ्या प्रतिज्ञया कृतः। परिज्ञिष्टमितस्फुटं। व्यतिरिक्तानामिप कृतिक्वत् पर्वन्तादेः सकाशाद्विप्रकर्षिणान्यसा [? ज्ञा]चादीनां तत्रदेभेव निग्रहाधिकरणं। व्यदुत प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रयोगः। न विरोधः प्रतिज्ञायाः निग्रहाधिकरणमिति वर्तते। किभिति। तदिधिकरणत्वात्। प्रतिज्ञाश्रयत्वात् इत्यथः। यदि पुष्नस्तदिधकरणो न भवेद्

^१ न्यायर्वातके (पृ० ५५३-४) स्वल्पभेदेन ।

वाक्ये 10 प्रयोगों न विरोधस्तद्धिकरणत्वात्। यदि प्रतिज्ञानपेत्तो 10b विरोधः स्यात् स्यात्पराजयाश्रयः। प्रतिज्ञाधिकरण्गन्वे पुनस्तत्प्रयोगकृत एव पराजयोऽस्य प्रस्तावोपसंहारावज्ञानत्त्वात्। व्यर्थं विरोधो द्भावनं पराजितपराजयाभावाद्धस्मोकृतनालवत्। ये तु केचिद्विचारप्रसङ्गेष्वेकत्र साध्ये बहवो हेतव उच्यन्ते तेषां विकल्पेन तत्साध्यसाधनाय वृत्तेः सामर्थ्य-मन्यथा द्वितीयस्य वैयर्ध्या १ यदि हि तत्राप्येकप्रयोगमन्तरेणापरस्य प्रयोगो न सम्भवेत् न तदा द्वितीयस्य कश्चित्साधनार्थः, प्रतीतप्रतिपादना-भावात्। तस्मान्न प्रतिज्ञायाः स्ववचनविरोधो नाम किश्चित्रिमहस्थानं। 3

न च नास्त्यात्मेत्यत्र कश्चित्प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः। नास्त्यात्मशब्दार्थस्य

भवेन्निप्रहाधिकरणमित्याह । यदी(10b1)त्यादि । प्रस्तावस्य वादस्योपसंहारः परि-समाप्तिस्तस्यावसानित्रमितं प्रतिज्ञाप्रयोगः । तन्मात्रेणै वासाधनाङगाभिधानात् वादिनोभङ्गात । क्वचित्प्रस्तावोपसंहारावसरत्वादिति पठचते । तत्रापि वादपरिसमाप्तेः प्रतिज्ञापदप्रयोगे सत्यवसरोऽधिकार इत्यर्थः। अथ बद्धिर्यथा भवदभिः कस्यचिदर्थस्य क्षणिकत्वादिकमेकमेव साध्यं बहुभिः सत्वोत्पत्तिमत्व-प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वादिभिर्हेतुभिः प्रतिपाद्यते तथैक°मपि दृष्यम्परोपन्यस्तं साधन-वाक्यं प्रतिज्ञोपादानद्वारेण तद्विरोधद्वारेणान्यथा वा दृष्यते। तथा च नायन्दोषः पराजितपराजयाभावादिति । तदत्राह । ये तु हेतवः उच्यन्ते (10b2)तेषान्विकल्पेन पूर्व्वहेत्वनपेक्षया। एवं वैतत्। अथवान्यथा साधयामीत्येतत् साध्यसाधनाय वृत्तेः कारणात्सामर्थ्यमस्ति (।) कि पुनः कारणं न समुच्चये नैव प्रयोग इत्याह । अन्यथा यदि(IOb3)समुच्चये नैवापरहेत्वन्तरप्रयोगोभीष्टस्तदा द्वितीयस्य वैयर्थ्यात विकल्पेन सामान्यमिति वर्तते । वैयर्थ्यमेव प्रतिपादयति । यदि हि तत्रा व्येकप्रयोगमन्तरेणा-परस्य प्रयोगो न सम्भवेत्। उभयप्रतिषेधेन विध्यवसायात्। यद्येकस्य प्रयोगे-ऽपरस्य समुच्चयेन प्रयोगः सम्भवेदि⁴त्यर्थः । तदा न द्वितीयस्य कञ्चित् साधानार्थो प्रतीतप्रतिपादनाभावात् । प्रथमहेतुप्रतिपादित एवार्थे व्यापृतत्वान्निष्पादित-क्रिये दारुणि प्रवृत्त⁵स्यैव दात्रादेनं कश्चित्साधकतमत्वार्थ इति यावत्। ननु च साधनवद्विकल्पेनैव दूषणमपि भविष्यति । एवं मन्यते । नैवं परोभ्युपगन्तुर्महति । ए°वं हि तेन स्वयमेव प्रतिज्ञाया असाधनाङगत्वम्प्रतिपन्नम्भवेत् । ततश्चैतद् व्याह-न्यते । प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनान्यवयवा (न्या॰ सू॰ १।१।३२) इति । अन्येरेव हेत्भिरित्यव यविद्रव्यनिषेधकैः पृथ्वीक्तप्रकारैः कुम्भादिशब्दस्यैक-घटाद्यवयविद्रव्यलक्षणविशेषानभिधानमनेकस्य चार्थस्य रूपादेर्यत्सामान्यमेकार्थ-

भावोपादानत्वनिषेधात्। शब्दार्थनिषेधे हि विरोधः स्यात्। न च स्वलक्त्रणं शब्दार्थं इति। यः पुनः प्रतिज्ञा या वाधनाद्धेतुविरोध उक्तः। यथा सर्वः प्रथक्तसमूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादिति। नात्र प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रयोगो नापि हेतोर्थेन विरोधः स्यात्। किन्तर्हि प्रतिपादितार्थोपदर्शनेनोपः संहारवचनमेतस्मात्।

कियासामर्थ्यात्म कन्तदिभिधानञ्च प्रतिपाद्य सर्व्वस्य शब्दार्थस्य रूपावेरेकार्थ-क्रियासमर्थस्य नानार्थरूपत्या करणभूतया। एकश्चासौ वस्तुविशेषस्वभावश्चा-वयिवद्वव्यरूपस्त स्य भाव एकवस्तुविशेषस्वभावता तस्या अभावमुपदर्शयन्नास्त्येको भाव इत्यभिदध्याद् बौद्धो न तु रूपाणीन्द्रियार्थान् प्रतिक्षिपन्। स्यात् मती रूपाद्यव्यतिरेकात् सामर्थ्यमप्यनेकं तत्कथन्तदेकिमत्युच्यते कथं वा तस्य शब्दार्थत्वं। नहि स्वलक्षणं शब्दार्थं इत्युच्यते। नानाभूतमिप सामर्थ्यभन्नवत्स्वव्यतिरेकादेकार्थ-क्रियाकारितयैकप्रत्यवम र्थहेतुत्वात् परम्परयैकिमत्याख्यायते। यथोक्तम्।

एकप्रत्यवमर्षस्य हेतुत्वाद्धीरभेदिनी (।) एकघा हेतुभावेन व्यक्तीनामप्यभिन्नतेति ॥(२५)

पुरुषाध्यवसायानिरोघे³न शब्दार्थत्वं तस्य व्यवस्थाप्यते । पुरुषोह्यनादिमिथ्या-भ्यासवासनापरिपाकप्रभावादन्तर्मात्राविपरिवर्तिनमाकारं बाह्येष्वेवारोप्य दृश्य-विकल्पयो⁴रेकत्वम्प्रतिपन्नः परमार्थतस्तु निर्विषया एव ध्वनयः । व्यक्तीनाम्बिज्ञाना-कारस्य चार्थान्तरानुगमाभावेनाभिलापागोचरत्वात् । यथाध्यवसायञ्चाका⁵रस्य सत्वात् । यथोक्तं सूत्रे ।।

येन येन हि नाम्ना वै यो यो धर्मोभिलप्यते । न स सम्बिद्यते तत्र धर्माणां सा हि धर्मतेति ॥ (२६)

तदयमत्र समदायार्थो रूपादी नाङ्घयदस्य च यथा क्रममनेकत्वमेकत्वञ्च बहुवचनैक-वचनाभिधयत्वात् (।) तद्यथा नक्षत्राणि शशीत्येवमादिभिरनुमानाभासैः परेण घटादिशब्दस्य विषयो ग्योयमेकार्थोऽवयव्यभिधानोभ्युपगतः स एव प्रतिक्षिप्यते । नतु रूपरसादयः परमाणुस्वभावास्तथा हि तेषाम्प्रत्येकमेकैकात्मकत्विमिष्टमेव । केवला -स्तदातिसफलबीजवन्न समुदायमासादयन्तीति नियतसहोत्पादत्वपरिदीपनायोक्तं ।।

कामेष्टद्रव्यकोऽशब्दः परमाणुरतीन्द्रियः (।)

कायेन्द्रियो नवद्रव्यो दशद्रव्योऽपरेन्द्रिय इति । (२७,अभिधर्मकोशे २।२२)

यथा तु परमाणूनामैन्द्रियकत्वमनित्यत्वञ्च तद्विस्तरेणोक्तमन्यत्रास्माभिः। पत्पुनरेतद्वहुवचनैकवचनाभिधेयत्वादिति तद्वचभिचा¹रिः। तथाहि यदैकस्यामणि

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अन्येरेव हेतुभिः शब्दस्यैकविशेषानभिधानमनेकार्थसामान्याभिधानस्त्र । प्रतिपाद्य सर्वस्य शब्दार्थस्य नानार्थरूपत्यैकवस्तुविशेषस्व भावताऽभाव-मुपदर्शयन् शब्दार्थमधिकृत्य सर्वे पृथगिति त्रूयात्। एतेन तद्विरोधः प्रत्युक्तः दृष्टान्तोपदृष्णां चैतद्नित्यः शब्दः कृतकानित्यत्वादिति । यथा कश्चि-दर्थे विप्र तिपत्तौ प्रसिद्धमनेकार्थसामान्ये शब्दप्रयोगमुपद्श्ये प्रति-

योषिति जले सिकताद्रव्ये वा दारा आपः सिकता इति व्यवहारः । तदा किन्तत्र बाहुल्यं येनैवं भवित शक्तिभेद इति चेत् । सर्व्वत्रोच्छि भिदानीमेकवचनमेक-शक्तेरभावात् । वस्त्वभेदादन्यत्रैकवचनमिति चेत् । इहाप्यस्तु । तदयिन्नर्वस्तुको नियमः क्रियमाणः स्वातन्त्र्यमिच्छायाः शब्दप्रयो गे ख्यापयित । एतेन तदिष प्रत्युक्तं यदाह कुमारिलः (।)

तत्र व्यक्तौ च जातौ च दारादिश्चेत्प्रयुज्यते । व्यक्तरवयवानाम्वा संख्यामादाय वर्तत इति ।। (२८)

षण्णगरीति च कथम्बहुष्वेकवचनं । निह नगराण्येव किञ्चित् कुतस्तेषां समाहारः । प्रासादपुरुषादीनां विजातीयानामनारम्भात् कुतस्तत्समु द्याये द्रव्यं असंयोगाच्च नापि संयोगः । प्रासादादीनां परस्परसंयोगात् । प्रासादस्य स्वयं संयोगात्मकस्य निर्गुणत्यापरेणासंयोगाच्च । तत एव च संख्याभावः । तत्संयोगपुरुषविशिष्टा सत्ता नगरिमित चेत् । किमस्यानिरित्स[? श]याया विशेषणं सत्तायाश्चैकत्वात् नगरबहुत्वेषि नगराणीति बहु वचनं स्यात् (।) द्वयस्य परस्परसिहततेति चेत् । अनुपकारकयोः कः सहायीभावः । पुरुषसंयोगसत्तानां च वहुत्वान्नगरिमित कथमेक-वचनं । तथा भू तानां क्वचिदिभन्ना शिक्तः सा निमित्तमिति चेन्न । शक्तेवंस्तु-रूपाव्यतिरेकात् । व्यतिरेके चानुपकार्यस्य पारतन्त्र्यायोगात् । उपकारे वा शक्त्यपुपकारिण्या अपि श क्तेवंयितरेक इत्यवस्थितेरप्रतिपत्तिः । तद्व्यतिरेके अन्यासामिषि प्रसंग इति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । प्रकारान्तरमप्याह । दृष्टोपदर्शनश्चिति । कि पुनः पञ्चस्यन्त निर्देशेषि दृष्टान्तो भवतीत्याह । कृतकानित्यत्वादि (10b7) ति यथा येनोक्तं ।

हेतोः साघ्यान्वयो यत्राभावेभावश्चकथ्यते । पञ्चम्या तत्र दृष्टान्तो हेतुस्तूपनयाऽ°त्मक (२९) इति ।।

क्वचिवर्थे घटादिद्रव्ये विप्रतिपत्तौ सत्यां रूपादिव्यतिरिक्तमस्ति नास्तीत्यने-कस्यार्थस्य परस्परव्यावृत्तस्य नगरादेः सामान्यं षण्णगरीत्यादि[°] यद् बुध्यारोपितं · (9

पादितविप्रतिपत्तिस्थानः सामान्येनोपसंहरति । सर्वे पृथगिति । यदि हृष्टान्तप्रयोगः किमृजुनैव तत्प्रयोगक्रमेण न प्रयु^डक्तो विप्रतिपत्तिविषयश्च किन्न दर्शित इति चेत्। न (।) समासनिर्देशात्। एवमपि प्रयो(ग)-दर्शनादसाधनवाक्यत्वाच । अत एव न प्रतिज्ञया हतोर्घाधनं । न चैक-IIa मेव किञ्चित्रास्तीति बुवाणः क श्रिक्षत्तत्समुचयरूपमेकञ्च समृह-मिच्छति येन विरोधः स्यात ।

तत्र प्रसिद्धं शब्दप्रयोगमादश्यं परस्परव्यावृत्तानामेकार्थाननुगतानां बुद्धिसमाकृते समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादित्यनेन पश्चा दुपनयेन पक्षधर्मोपसंहारमागूर्य प्रतिपादित-विप्रतिपत्तिस्थानः सन्सामान्येनोपसंहरति । सर्व्व पृथगि (10b8)ति । प्रतिपादितं प्रतिपत्तिस्थानम⁵नेनेति विग्रहः । एतदुक्तम्भवति । कपालादिव्यतिरेकेना [?णा]-वयव्यस्ति नास्तीति विवादे सत्ययं त्रिलक्षणहेतुसूचनपरो दृष्टान्त उपन्यस्तो न हेतुः । प्रयोगस्त्वत्रैवं क्रियते । ये परस्परव्यावृत्ता न ते व्यतिरिक्तैकावयविद्रव्यानु-गतमर्त्तयः। तद्यथा षण्णगर्यादयः। तथा च परस्परव्यावृत्ताः कपालादय इ^नति।।

नन् च यद्ययं दृष्टान्तप्रयोगस्तित्कमृजुनैव तत्प्रयोगक्रमेण न प्रयुक्तो यथा यत्सत तत्क्षणिकं यथा घट इत्यादौ। किस्पञ्चम्यन्तनिर्देशेन। विप्रतिपत्तिं-विषयञ्च किन्न विज्ञातः कपालादेरवयवित्रतिषेधविज्ञिष्टः। यथान्यत्रानित्यः शब्दः ९९b कृतकानित्यत्वादिति । चकारात् स्पष्टश्च कस्मात् हेतुः साध्यानुगतो न प्रदर्शातः । तथाह्यत्र परस्परव्यावृत्तानामेकार्थाननुगतानां बुद्धचा समाहिते समूहभावशब्द-प्रयोगादित्यभ्यह्य वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः क्रियते। अत्रोत्तरं न समासनिदें¹शात संक्षेपाभिधानादित्यर्थः। एवमपि प्रयोगदर्शनात् कृतकानित्यस्वादित्यादौ । असाधनं वाक्यत्वाच्च साधनप्रयोगोत्प्रेक्षासूचकं वाक्यमेतत्। नित्वदं साधन-वा²क्यमित्यर्थः। अत एवेति दृष्टान्तवाक्यत्वादेवेति । यश्चायं हेत्रस्तन्तृपटरूपे भिन्नकारणे विशेषवत्वाद्रपस्पर्शवदिति ।। अयमपि तन्त्रपटयोर्भेदासिद्धौ तदा³-श्रितस्यापि गुणस्य विभागासिद्धेरसिद्धाश्रय इति नालमिष्टसिद्धये । तथा हि सुक्ष्मर-थुलद्रव्यसमवायो विशेषवत्वं भिन्नकालोत्पन्नद्रव्यसंवाया वेति व्याचक्षते।

परे । ननु विचित्राभिसन्धयः योक्तारः । तत्र ये केचिद्धेत्वभित्रायेनैव [? णैव] वाचः प्रयुञ्जते तान्प्रत्यस्माभिः प्रतिज्ञया हेतोर्बाधनम् च्यते न त ये दष्टान्ताभि-मानिन इत्यत्राह (1) नचे (10b9)त्यादि । भगवत्तथागतमतावलम्बनामुपर्ययमु-पक्षिप्तो विरोघो भवद्भिराक्षपादैर्न च नः स्वप्न°व्ये तादकोस्तीति पिण्डार्थः। स्यात् मतमस्त्येव योगाचारो यः (---)

योपि युगपत्पङ्केन योगादित्यादिना परमाणोर्भेदमाह । न तस्या-प्येकः समुचयक्तपः साधयितुमिष्टः किन्तर्छभाव एव ए¹कानेकप्रतिषेधात् । श्रतः सोपि न समूहस्तस्येष्टो न तत्र शब्द इति न विरोधः । न विरुद्धोयं पूर्वकात्प्रतिज्ञाहेतुविरोधाद् भिद्यते येन पृथगुच्येत । तत्र हेतुप्र-तिज्ञयोर्वाधनमिह प्रतिज्ञया² हेतोरित्यस्ति भेद इति चेत् । श्रर्थ-विरोधे हि हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोर्वाध्यवाधकभावः स्यात् । सर्वार्थविरोधो द्विषु इति यम पि परस्परं वाधकमेकार्थसिन्नधावपरार्थासम्भवात् । तत्र हेतुप्रतिः ज्ञयोः पृथग्वाधोदाहरण्योर्न कश्चिद्धंभेदः । श्रपि चायं विरुद्धो

पङ्केन युगपद्योगात् परमाणोः पतङ्गतां । षण्णां समानदेशत्वात् पिण्डः स्यादणुमात्रक (:॥३०)

इ'त्यादिना परमाणोरेकत्वमनभ्युपगच्छन्नपि पिण्डं समूहापरपर्यायमिच्छती-त्येतदुच्यते। योपी(1121)त्यादि किन्तह्यंभाव एवाणोरनेन प्रकारेण साधियतुं मिष्टः। कथं। एकानेकप्रतिषेधात्। पद्धकायोगादिना तावदेकत्वं प्रतिसि [?िष]द्धं। तत्समुदायरूपमनेकत्वमपि तदभावादेव न विद्यते। यथोक्तन् ननुं (।)

तस्य तस्यै°कता नास्ति यो यो भावः परीक्ष्यते । न सन्ति तेनानेकेपि येनैकोपि न विद्यत (३१)इति ।। 56a

नन् पद्धकयोगादिना कथमेकत्वमपोदितं । यावता तत्र तस्य सावयव-त्वमापादितं ।। त एव चावयवास्तस्याल्पीयांसः परमाणवो विश्मागपर्यवसानलक्ष-णत्वात् परमाणूनां । अथ तेषामप्यद्भगानामनेनैव विधानेन सावयवत्वमापाद्यते । तथा सति तत्राप्येतदेवोत्तरिमत्यनेनैव प्रकारेश्ण न शक्यते परमाणोरेकत्वनिषेधं कर्तुं । विभागस्य विभज्यमाण्[? न]तन्त्रत्त्वात् । कथञ्चानभ्युपगताणुस्तस्य पद्धकयोगा-दिकमभ्युपगच्छतीति त⁴दसत्वप्रतिपादने सर्वे हेतवः स्वत एवाश्रयासिद्धा इति । एतच्च नैवं यस्मात्समर्था वादिनोऽपगतावयवविभागमासादितापकर्षयन्तं भावश्मणुरित्याचक्षते तस्य तेन पद्धकायोगादिनैकत्वमपाक्रियते । ते च यद्येवं निराकृताः सन्तो यथोपगतस्य सावयवत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तदा स्व°प्रतिज्ञायारच्यवे-रन् । न हि अनद्धगीकृतसावयवत्वास्तथा प्रत्यवस्थानमहंन्ति । त एवावयवाः सन्तु परमाणव इति । तैरेव च तल्लक्षणम्ब्यवस्थापनीयं योगाचा'रेण च निषेध्यमिति निगृह्यन्ते । अत एव नानवस्था । प्रसङ्गसाधनत्वाच्चासिद्धतादोषोपि नास्तीत्यल-मेतेन । अथोच्यते न वयं भवन्तं प्रतीदं बूमो यस्तु किश्चदधौं तपादो वाद्येवं वा सित हेतुप्रयोगे व्यथिकरण्त्वाद्सिङ इत्यसिङ्कता हेतोर्निग्रह-स्थानं स खलूच्यमान एवातद्धर्म⁴तया प्रतीतो वकुः पराजयमानयति । पराजिते तस्मिस्तद्र्थविरोधचिन्तया न किञ्चित्। ऋपि च सर्वत्रायं प्रतिज्ञाहेतो[?त्वो]विरोधः।सम्भवंत्वमीदोपजातिमभिपतिविविरुद्ध³ताम-

प्राह तस्प्रतीति । तच्चासत्सर्वं पृथाभावलक्षणपृथात्वात् नानेकलक्षणे-नैकभावनिष्यत्तेरित्यत्र प्रस्तावे भारद्वाजेनास्मान्प्रत्येव कामेष्टद्रव्य⁸क इत्यादिना सिद्धान्तमस्माकीनमुपक्षिच्याप्यभिधानात् । तथाप्यभ्युपगम्य दोषान्तरमाह । न चायम्पूर्वकाद् गुणव्यतिरिक्तमित्यादिपदसूचितात् परस्परार्थमा धाय भिद्यते। हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोः सम्बन्धिन्योः बाधयोरुदाहरणोपेतयोः पृथग्बाधोदाहरणयोनं कश्चि-दर्थभेदः शब्दभेदस्त केवलः। तथाविधस्य च पृथगुदा हरणेऽतिप्रसङगोऽकृतकः शब्दः कृतकत्वादित्याद्यप्यदाहर्त्तव्यम्भवेत । सह पृथग्वेति क्वचित्पाठः । तत्राय-मर्थः सह यौगपद्येन यथा प्रथमे पृथक् प्रत्येकं। य³थेह अथवा विरोधचिन्ताप्यत्रा-युक्तेत्याह (1) अपिचे (1125)त्यादि। सर्व्वं पृथक् समूहे भावशब्दप्रयो (गा) दित्ययं हेतु:। सर्व्वस्य धर्मिणो धर्म एव न भवति शब्दधर्म'त्वादित्यसिद्धः। तथा च व्यधिकरणत्वादिसद्धतैव दोषो गुडो मधुरः काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यादिति यथा। तत्र न विरोधो भिन्नाधिकरणत्वाद्धेतुप्रति⁵ज्ञार्थयोः। स्याद् बुद्धिः समूहवाचक-शब्दवाच्यत्वादित्येवं भाविविक्तेन भाष्यटीकायां प्रयोगाद् व्यधिकरणत्वं नास्ति। एवं मन्यते न तावदयमु धोतकरेणैवं प्रयुक्तस्य वायमस्माभिदों बोभिधातुमारब्धो येपि सम्प्रत्यन्यथा प्रयुञ्जते तेषामि यद्ययं दोषो न भवति । भवतु अनन्तरोक्तस्तु दोषो वक्ष्य माणश्च ब्रह्मणाऽपि न शक्यते परिहर्तुमिति । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधस्य च निग्रहस्थानान्तरत्वमङगीकृत्य मयेदमभ्यधायि। न त्वस्य तद्युक्तं। हेत्वाभासा-रच निग्रह⁸स्थानानी (न्या० सू० ५।२।२४) त्यनेतेव सङ्गृहीतत्वादित्येतद्विभणि-षुराह । अपिचे (1 125)त्यादि । द्वाववयवौ यस्या दोषजातेर्दो धप्रकारस्य सा द्वयो । कामित्याह । विरुद्धतामसिद्धताञ्च । कथम्पुर्नावरुद्धतेत्याह । विरुद्धतेत्यादि । अयमत्र संक्षेपार्थः । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्यत्र प्रयोगे विरोधश्चोद्यते तत्रा वश्यं सिद्धेन धर्मिणा भाव्यं । सिद्धे च तस्मिन्धर्मणि[?र्धामणि] हेतोर्वा सत्वम्भवेत् साध्यधर्मस्य । द्वयोर्वा । तत्र न तावत् द्वयोरिष सत्वं प²रस्परिवरोधित्वेन शीतोष्णयोरिव एकाधिकरणत्वाभावात् । अन्यथा सहैकत्रावस्थानाद्रसरूपवदिवरोध एव भवेदिति प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधो दूरतर एव³ प्रसज्यते । तद्दक्ष्यति । विरुद्धयोः स्वभावयोरेकत्रासम्भवान्न चान्यथा विरोध इति । अथ हेतोस्तत्र सत्वं । एवमपि यत्र हेतुस्तत्र न साध्यधर्मस्तद्विप'र्ययस्तु विद्यत

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सिद्धताञ्चेति । विरुद्धता सिद्धे हेतोर्द्धर्मिग्ण भावे साध्यधम्मविपर्यय एव भावेन प्रतिज्ञाविरोधात्। श्रसिद्धता पुनर्द्धर्मिगि प्रतिज्ञातार्थसिद्धौ विरुद्धयोः स्वभावयोरेकत्रास हम्भवात् । न चान्यथा विरोधोऽसिद्धे धर्म्भस्यभावेऽभिहितयोर्हेतुप्रतिज्ञातार्थयोर्विरोधाद्विरोधसम्भव इति चेत्। अप्रमाणयोगे तूभयोर्द्धिर्मिण संशयः । तथा सति हेतो द्रिर्मिण भावसंशयेऽसिद्धतैव हेत्रदोष इत्यसिद्धविरुद्धाभ्यामन्यो न प्रतिज्ञया विरोधो नाम पराजयहेतुः। श्रसिद्धविरुद्धे च हेत्वाभासवचनादेवोक्त इति न पृथक प्रतिज्ञाविरो⁸ घो वक्तव्य इति ।

उभयाश्रितत्वाद्विरोधस्य विवज्ञातोऽन्यतरिनर्देशइति चेत्। स्यादेतत प्रतिज्ञाहेतो[? त्वो]र्विरोध इति प्रतिज्ञाहेतू त्र्याश्रित्योभयाश्रयोभवति । तत्र यदा प्रतिज्ञाविरो°धो विवित्तस्तदा प्रतिज्ञाविरोध इत्युच्यते । यदा प्रति-IIb ज्ञाया हेतोर्वा विरोधस्तदा विरुद्धो हेतुरिति। अतः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो हेतु-विरोधो वेत्यदोषः। तत्र हेतोरुदाहरणन्नित्यः शब्द उत्पात्तिधर्म्भकत्वादिति. प्रतिज्ञाविरोधस्य नारत्यात्मेति । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोः परस्पर्विकृद्धोदाहर्णां गुण-व्यतिरिक्तिमत्यादि । प्रतिज्ञया हेतुविरोधोदाहर्गां नास्त्येको भाव इत्या-दिकमिति । न (।) सर्वहे ²त्वपेत्तस्य विरोधहेत्वाभासानतिक्रमात्। यथोक्तं

इति व्यक्तमस्य विरुद्धत्वं। नित्यः शब्दः कृतकत्वादिवत्। तदाह (।) विरुद्धता सिद्धेर्हेत्वोर्धीर्मिण भाव (1126)इति। यदा पुनस्तस्मिन्धीमणि प्रमा⁵णान्तरेण साध्यधर्मस्य सत्वं निश्चितं तदा तत्र हेतोरवृत्तिर्विरोधिना त्रोडीकृतत्वात्। अतश्चासिद्धत्वं हेतोः। कृतकः शब्दोऽकार्यत्वादिति यथा। तज्जा⁶ ते असिद्धता पुनर्द्धीमणीत्यादि । अथमन्यसे। प्रमाणेन सिद्ध एव गुणव्यतिरिक्ते द्रव्यादौ र्धामणि प्रतिज्ञाहेतोविरोघो व्यवस्थाप्यते ततो नायं दोष इत्य⁷त इदमासङ्कते [?शङकते] असिद्ध(IIb8) इत्यादिना । एवमिप यदि नाम धर्म्यभावेन पक्षधर्मस्यासम्भवात् विरुद्धत्वं परिहृतं। असिद्धत्वं पुनस्तदवस्थमेवेति मनस्या⁸-घायाह । प्रमाणयोगे तुभयोर्वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्धीमणि हेतोर्वृ त्तिसंशयः । प्रमाण निवृत्तावप्यर्थाभावासिद्धेः । अतश्चासिद्धतैव सन्दिग्धाश्रयत्वात् । इह नि[®]कुञ्जे 57b मयूरः केकायितत्त्वादित्यादिवत् । तु शब्दः प्रतिपादकप्रमाणायोगे धर्मिणः सन्दिग्धाश्रयताहेतोर्धीमबाधकप्रमाणवृत्तौ स्फुटमेवाश्रयासिद्धतत्वं ।सर्व्वगत आ¹त्मनि साध्ये सर्वत्रोपलभ्यमाण[?न]गुणत्ववदित्यस्य समुच्चयार्थः । तथा हचसिद्धेः र्धामस्वभाव इत्यत्र प्रतिपादकप्रमाणावृत्तेरसिद्धो धर्मी विवक्षितः

प्राक्। श्रनपेन्ने च केवले स्वतः प्रतिविरोधे विविन्तते प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोध इति हेतुप्रहण्णससम्बद्धं। न चोत्पत्तियम्मित्वाश्रित्यमित्य श्रापि हेतुविरोधो युक्तः। प्रतिज्ञाया हि हेतोर्वाधने हेतुविरोधः। इह तु हेतुना प्रतिज्ञा बाध्यत इति प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो युक्तः। उभयाश्रयेपि विरोधे बाध्यमानवियन्तया तिहरोध व्यवस्थापनात्। यद्ग्युक्तं। एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तिवरोधाद्योपि वक्तव्या भण्डालेख्यन्यायेनेति । तत्रापि पन्नीकृतधम्मीवपर्ययवित

बाधक प्रमाणवत्तेवा । पूर्विस्मन्पक्षे कण्ठेनैवीक्तो दोष उत्तरत्र शब्देन समुच्चितः। अत्रौद्योतकरम्तरभाशक्तते। उभयाश्रयत्वा (1129) दित्यादिना। गतार्थत्वात् सूज्ञानं अर्व्वमेतत्। न सर्व्वत्रेत्यादिना निराकरोति। यथोक्तं प्राग् न द्वयीं दोष-जातिमित्यत्र। अथ प्रतिज्ञामात्रभाव्येव हेत्वनपेक्षः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो व्यवस्था प्यते यथा नास्त्यात्मा श्रमणा गींभणीत्यत्रेत्यत आह (।) अनपेक्षे च हेन् ग्रहणमसम्बद्धं ं(IIb3)। अनुपकारकत्वात्। यदपीदं हेतुविरोधस्योदाहर[ः]णं दत्तं नित्यः शब्द इत्यादिना तत्प्रतिज्ञाविरोधस्य हेतुनायुक्तमिति कथनायाह। न चेदि (IIb3) त्यादि । स्यात् मतमुभयाश्रयत्वाद्विरोधस्यैवमि न हेतुतं एवेत्यत उच्यते उभयाश्रयेपी (11b4) त्यादि । एवमुपर्वाशतान्युदाहरणानि प्रक्षिप्याति बिष्ट-दूषणायाह। यच्चोक्तमेतेन प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तविरोधादयोपि वक्तव्या भण्डा-लेख्यन्यायेने(11b5)ति । इति शब्दो वक्तव्य इत्यत्र प्रतिपत्तव्योऽन्यथापरे-णोत्तरस्याप्रयुक्तत्त्वात् दुःश्लिष्टो भवेत । भण्डप्रहणन्नित्यपुरुषोपलक्षणार्थं । यथा हि भण्डा प्राकृतान् विस्मापयन्तिश्चत्रलक्षणोपेतकपिशालभञ्जिकादिप्रति-च्छन्दकमालिख्य विचित्रशिल्पकलाकौशलसादि[?शालि]नोऽतिवि[°]शंत्येवं प्रका-राण्यप्यस्मत्कौशलनिर्मितान्येकतालमात्रेण हस्त्यादिरूपकस्थानानि प्रतिपत्तव्या-नीति तथा जातीयकमेतदुद्योतकरस्य । तथा हचेतदेव भाव उप'विशतहेतुविरोधा-दिकं हेत्वाभासन्यतिरिक्तलक्षणोपेतं। तदितिदिष्टे पुनः केंद्र चिन्ता। तामेव चार्ति-दिष्टस्य दृष्टान्तविरोघादेहेंत्वाभासव्यतिरिक्त²लक्षणापेततामभिघातुमुपक्रमते । तत्रापी (11b5) त्यादिना । यत्र प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तविरोधस्तत्रापि पक्षीकृतधर्मवि-पर्ययवित दृष्टान्ते सित विरोधः स्यात् प्र°तिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तेनेति शेषः। पक्षीकृतक्चा-

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[&]quot;एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्ताविरोघोऽपि वक्तव्यः"—(न्या० वा० ५५३-४); "न चैवं भण्डालेख्यन्यायः एकदेशेनाव्यापकेन समुदायसंग्रहे स हि भवति।"—(न्या० वा० ता० ७०३)।

दृष्टान्ते विरोधः स्यात्, विरुद्धे च दृष्टान्ते यदि पत्तधर्म्भस्य वृत्तिरनन्य-सां धारणा प्रसाध्यते विरुद्धस्तदा हेत्वाभासः । साधारणायामप्रसा-धिते वा तदुवृत्तिनियमेऽनैकान्तिकः । अवृत्तौ वा साधारणः ।

विरुद्ध दृष्टान्तवृत्तौ विपर्ययवृत्तौ च हेतोर्न कश्चिद्धे वित दोषो दृष्टान्त-विरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञया इति चेत्। न (।) तद्पि संशयहेतुत्वात्। निवृत्ते-ह द्वान्तविरोधो हि प्रतिज्ञायाः । साधम्ये दोषो न वैधम्येंऽभिमतत्वात ।

सौ धर्मश्च तस्य विपर्ययः स विद्यते यह्मिन्निति विग्रहः । दृष्टान्त इति च साधर्म्यदृ-ष्टान्तो । अभिप्रेतः । यस्मा द्वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः साध्यधर्मविपर्ययवानेव तत्र को विरोधः । तत्रोदाहरणं । नित्यः शब्दो घटवदिति । विरुद्धे च वृष्टान्ते सति यदि पक्षधर्मस्य वृत्ति⁵ रनन्यसाधारणा प्रसाध्यते प्रमाणेन विरुद्धस्तदा हेत्वाभासः। नान्यसाधारणेत्यनन्य-साधारणा । अन्यशब्देन पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवतः पृथग्भूतः पक्षीकृतधर्मवानभि-प्रेतः पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवत्येववर्तते इत्येवं यदि साध्यत इत्यर्थः । यथानयोरेव साध्यबष्टान्तयोः कार्यत्वादि ति तद्विपक्षीकृतधर्मबहिन्यींमादौ न वर्तते तद्विपरीते पुनर्वटे वर्तत इति । साधारणायाम्ब्तौ साधितायां सपक्षविपक्षयोरिति शेवः । अनै-कान्तिकः साधारणाख्यः । यथानयोरेव साध्योदाहरणयोः प्रमेयत्वादिति । अप्रसा-धिते चातद्वृत्तिनियमे तयोः सपक्षविपक्षयोर्वृत्तिनियमे सपक्ष एव वर्त्तते वि⁹पक्ष 58b एवेति अनैकान्तिक एव सन्दिग्धान्वयः सन्दिग्धव्यतिरेको वा। यथा सर्व्वविद्वीत-रागो वा विवक्षितः पुरुषो न वा तथा वक्तृत्वाद्रथ्यानरविदिति । तयोरेव सपक्षी-विपक्षयोरवृत्तौ वा सत्यामसाघारणः । नित्यः शब्दः श्रावणत्वादिति यथा । परः प्राह विरुद्धदृष्टान्तावृत्तौ हेर्तोविपर्ययवृत्तौ च सत्याझ कश्चिद्धेतुदोषः तद्यथाऽनित्यः शब्दः प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वात् नभोवदिति साधम्येण । वैधम्येण च घटवदिति । अत्र नासिद्धत्वं ध(ि)र्मणि हेतोः सद्भावात् । नाप्यनैकान्तिकत्वमुभ³यत्रावृत्तेः । प्रतिबन्धसद्भावाच्च। न च विरुद्धत्वं सपक्षविपक्षयोर्वेपरीत्येन वृत्यभावात्। दृष्टान्तेन तु विरोधः प्रतिज्ञायाः इत्ययं हेतुदोषानति⁴कान्तो विषयः प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तेन च विरोधस्येति। इदमपनुदति। न। तदापि संज्ञयहेतुत्वानतिवृत्तेः। यस्माद् दृष्टान्ते न प्रतिज्ञाया विरोधः सा⁵धर्म्ये दृष्टान्ते दोषो न वैधर्म्ये । कस्माद-भिमतत्वाद् विरोधस्य । पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवानेव हि वैधर्म्यंदृष्टान्त उच्यत इत्य-भिप्रायः। यदि ना⁶मैवं तथापि कथं हेत्वाभासानतिवृत्तिरित्याह साधर्म्यदृष्टान्ते च विपरीतधर्मवति नभिस नाऽव्यभिचारधर्मता शक्या दर्शयितुं। तदर्थश्च दुष्टान्तः प्रदर्शते ॥ यदाह

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साधर्म्यदृष्टान्ते च विपरी तथर्मवित वस्तुतः साध्याव्यभिचारेषि हेतोर्नाव्यभिचारधर्मता शक्या दर्शायतुमिति । नाप्रद्शिताविनाभाव-सम्बन्धाद्धेतोर्निश्चयः तन्न प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तिवरोधो हेत्याभासानितवर्ते के । उभयथापि दोपोस्त्विति चेत् । न (।) न हेतुद्रोपस्य प्राक् प्रसङ्गो न पराजितस्य दोषान्तरानपेच्चणात् । विशेषणं साधनावयवानुक्रमनियमा वादिन उदाहरणसाधर्म्य हेतु कच्चणं विरुद्धे दृष्टान्ते न सम्भवतीति प्राक्ष्युक्तस्य हेतोर्दोषेण पराजय इति नोत्तरदृश्चनापेच्या विरोध-

त्रिरूपो हेतुरित्युक्तं पक्षधर्मे च संस्थितः। रूढे रूपद्वयं शेषं दृष्टान्तेन प्रदर्शत इति।(३२)

नन् च कथमशक्या यावता प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वमनित्यत्वाव्यभि चायेव तत्वत इत्यत आह । वस्तुतः साध्याव्यभिचारेपी (11b7)ति । विद्यमानोप्यव्यभिचारः प्रमाणेनाप्रतिपादितत्वादसत्कल्प इति भावः। तदेतभाप्रदश्चितावि नाभायसम्बद्धा-द्धेतोः साध्यनिश्चयः । तत्तस्मान्न प्रतिज्ञाया दृष्टान्तविरोधोपि हेत्वाभासानितवर्तते । अस्यापि तदानीं संदिग्धविपक्षव्यावृत्तिकत्वादित्यागृरितं । न केवलहेतुविरोध इत्यिप शब्दः परमतमास[?श]ङकते । उभयथापि हेतुद्वारेण वृष्टान्तद्वारेण च। न हेतृद्वारेण प्राग्दुष्टान्तदोषात् प्रसङ्गेन पराजितस्य वादि[°]नो दोषान्तरस्य दुष्टान्त-विरोधस्य वाच्यस्य वानपेक्षणात् पराजितपराजयानावादित्याकृतं । विशेषेण साध-नावयवानुक्रमवादिनो नैयायिकस्य स हि³ प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानामान्-पूर्वीं प्रतिपन्नः । कः पुनः तस्यातिशय इत्याह । उदाहरणसाधर्म्यमि (IIb9)-त्यादि । अङगीकृत्य चेदमवादि न तु दृष्टान्तविरोधो हेत्वाभासरूपासंस्पर्यस्ति । ययोक्तमनन्तरमिति । एतेन विकल्पतो दोषविधानं प्रत्युक्तं । एवन्तावद्वचवस्थित-मेतद्यथा प्र⁵तिज्ञाया दृष्टान्तिवरोधो हेत्वाभासान्नातिवर्तत इति । यत्पुनरुदाहृत-मविद्धकरणेन भाष्यटीकायां व्यक्तमेकप्रकृतिकं परिमितत्वाच्छरावादि[©]वदिति । तत्रापि विरुद्धो हेतुः परिमितत्त्वस्य हेतोः सपक्षेऽभावे वा वृत्तेः । विपक्षे चानेकप्रकृति-के शरावादौ वृत्तेः । मृदः प्रतिक्षणं प्रत्यवयवञ्च भिद्य⁷मानत्वात् । संप्रति हेतोरपि बृष्टान्तेन विरोधो हेत्वाभासान्तर्गत इति कथर्गति । हेतोरपि वृष्टान्तविरोधे सत्यसा(धा)रणत्वमुभयत्रावृत्ते:। विरुद्धत्वम्वा। कदा विरुद्धत्विमत्याह। वैधर्म्ये यदि स्यादप्यत्रोदाहरणमुक्तं तेनैव गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमर्थान्तरत्वेनानुपलभ्यमा-नत्वाद् घटविदिति अत्रापि दृश्यत्वे सतीति हेत्विशेषणे विरुद्धः सपक्षे अवर्तमान-त्वात् । विपक्षे च रूपादीनां स्वरूपे वर्तमानत्त्वात् । विशेषणानुपादाने तु व्यभिचारो-

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श्चिन्तामहीत । हेतोरपि दृष्टान्तविरोधेऽसा(धा)र(ण)त्वंविरुद्ध-त्वं वा वैधर्म्यं यदि वृ¹त्तिः स्यात् । प्रमाण्विरोधे त हेतोर्यथा न दहनो-ऽग्निः शैत्यादित्यादि ह्यसिद्धो हेत्वाभासः। प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधः स्ववचनविरोधेन व्याख्यात इति । सर्व एते साधनविरोधे हे²त्वाभा-सेष्वेवान्तर्भवन्तीति हेत्वाभासवचनेनैवोकाः।

यत्त विरुद्धमृत्तरं परपद्मे स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिनाऽनैकान्तिकचोद्नेति। तर्सम्बद्धमेव। यदि हि स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना प³रस्य व्यभिचारसिद्धिमाका-(ङ ज्ञे)त तस्य तत् स्वपज्ञविरुद्धं नाभिमतिमति विरोधो युज्येत । स हि स्वयं

र्थान्तरत्त्वेनानुपलब्धानामपि पि¹शाचादीनां परस्परव्यतिरेकित्वात् । न चात्र घट-विदिति दृष्टान्तो युक्तस्तस्यैव द्रव्यान्तरत्वेन पक्षीकृतत्वात् । तस्य रूपादिभ्यो भेदेन ग्रहणं पूर्व्वमेव प्रतिसि[?षि]द्धं ग्रहणे चासिद्धो हेत्वाभास इत्यस्मन्मतमेव स्थितं । अथ हेतोः प्रमाणविरोधे को हेत्वाभास इत्याह । असिद्धोग्नेः ज्ञैत्यस्या-विद्यमानत्वात् । यत्पुनरत्रो³दाहरणमन्यदनुष्णोग्निर्द्रव्यत्वाज्जलवदिति तदयुक्तं । निह प्रत्यक्षं द्रव्यं हेतुं बाधते । तस्य धीमणि सिद्धत्वात् । किन्तु प्रतिज्ञार्थमनुष्णत्वं ॥ अथ प्रतिज्ञार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षेण बाधितत्वाद्धेतोस्तेन व्याप्तिर्ज्ञास्तीति हेतोः प्रमाणविरोध उच्यते । एवर्न्ताह विरुद्धेन साध्यधर्मेणाव्याप्तेः सन्दि⁵न्धव्यतिरेको हेत्वाभास इत्यस्मत्पक्ष एव सर्माथतः।

हेतोः प्रमाण[?मान]विरोघस्य हेत्वाभासानतिक्रमात् ॥ (३३)

तदुक्तम्

प्रत्यक्षादि (वि) रोधा ये व्याप्तकालो ⁶पपातिनः। ते सर्वे न विरुद्धेन व्याप्तिधर्मेण युञ्जत (३४) इति ॥

स्यान्मतम्प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधस्तन्मात्रभावित्वाद्धेत्वाभासेऽन्तर्गमियतुं न पार्यंत इत्यत आह । प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधः स्ववचनविरोधेन व्याख्यातः(1222) कृतप्रतिक्रियस्तत्रेदमेव निप्रहाधिकरणमसाधनाङ्गभुतायाः प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनवाक्ये प्र^इयोग इत्यादिना । इति तस्मात् सर्व्व एवेत्युपसंहरति । यत् विरुद्धमुत्तरमिति पूर्व्वपक्षोक्तमपरमुपक्षिपति तदसम्बद्धमेव । यस्माद्यदि ही (1223)त्यदि । अनि⁹त्यः 602 शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वाद् घटविदत्येकं बौद्धेनान्येन वा कृते मीमांसकः काणादीन्यो वा स्वपक्षसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना सामान्ये न परस्य साधनवादिनो बौद्धस्य हेतोर्व्यभिचार-सिद्धिमाकांक्षेत गोत्वमप्येन्द्रियकं तद्वि भवतोऽनित्यं प्रसल्यत इत्येव यदि परं प्रत्ये-

प्रतिपन्ने गोत्त्वे हेत्रवृत्तेः संशयानोऽप्रतिपत्तिमात्मनस्तथा ख्यापयति । स च हेतुः सत्यसति गोत्त्वेऽप्रसाधितसाधनसामर्थ्यः संशये हेत्त्त्वादनैकान्तिक एव । प्रसाधिते तु सामध्यें गोत्त्वेऽवृत्त्या हेता [? हेती] न संशय एव सर्व-संशयप्रकाराणां परिहारेण समर्थनात् । एतेन स्वपन्नानपेनहेत्प्रयोगस्या-नैकान्तिकता व्याख्याता। सोपि स्वाभि(म)तनित्यगोत्त्वय्तिहेटमनित्य-

वाध्यारोप्याभिदध्याद् व्यभि वारं तदा तस्य वी उस्य तत्सामान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यञ्च स्वपक्षविरुद्धं नित्यपदार्थानभ्यपगामास्राभिमतमतस्च कथं व्यभिचार इति विरोधो व्याहतिरयुक्तत्त्वमितिः यावत् युज्यत उत्तरस्येत्यध्याहर्तव्यं । न तु पुनरेव-मसौ परस्येवोपरि भारमपक्षिप्य व्यभिचारमृद्भावयति तत्कथम्तरस्य विरोधः यतः स' हचत्तरवादी स्वयं प्रतिपन्ने नित्यत्वेन गोत्वे हेतोरैन्द्रियकत्वस्य वृत्तेः संश-यानः सन किङ्गघटवदैन्द्रियकत्वादनित्यः शब्दो भवतु किम्बा गोत्वा दिविन्नत्य इत्य-प्रतिपत्तिमनिश्चयमात्मनस्तथा बुवाणः स्यापयति सत्पक्षे खल्वेन्द्रियकमपि गोत्वं नित्यं तस्मादयं सांप्रत्यनैकान्तिक इती त्थमात्मीयमेवाभ्यपगमं पूरस्कृत्यानेकान्त-ञ्चोदयति । ततः साध्विवोत्तरिमति समुदायार्थः । स्यात् मतम्बौद्धस्य नास्त्येव-गोत्वं नित्यं ततो व्याहतमेवोत्तर'मित्यत आह । स च हेत् (1225) रैन्द्रियकत्वादिति सत्यसित वा गोत्वे परमार्थतः। अप्रसाधितसाधनसामर्थ्यः सन् विपर्यये बाधक-प्रमाणावृत्या संशयहेतुत्वाद^६नैकान्तिक एव । अप्रसाधितं साधनाय सामर्थ्यं साध्या विनाभावित्वलक्षणमस्येति विग्रहः । साधनशब्दो भावसाधनः । यदा तु बाधक-60b प्रमाणबलेन हेतोरिव नाभावं सर्व्वोपसंहारेण साधयित यत्किञ्चिदिन्द्रयज्ञानप्राहर्च स्विनर्भासज्ञानजनकत्वात्तत्र सर्व्वमनित्यं नित्यत्वे सर्व्वदा तदिषयं जानं प्रसञ्जते न वा कदाचिदपि तथाहि।

> स्वात्मनि ज्ञानजनने यच्छक्तं शक्तमेव तत्। अथवाऽशक्तं कदाचिच्चेदशक्तं सर्वदैव तत ॥(३५) तस्य शक्तिरशक्तिवी या स्वभावेन संस्थिता । नित्यत्वादचिकित्स्य²स्य कस्तां क्षपयितुं क्षम (३६)इति ॥

तदानीं गोत्वादीनामिप नित्यानामेकप्रघटेन इव पाटितत्वात् गोत्वे हेतोर-वृत्तेन संशय एव भवति । एतेने (1226)त्यादि सुज्ञानं । तत्रा प्यनेकान्तिकहेत्वा-भासत्वानतिवृत्तिरिति संक्षेपः। तत्संशयहेतुत्वमुखेनानैकान्तिकत्वमसर्माथते सति हेतौ । अन्यत्रापीत्येकपक्षप्रतिपन्नेपि वस्तुनि तुल्यमिति नोभयसिद्धेतरयोर्वस्तुनोरनै-कान्तिकत्वविञ्ञेषः । यथा कथितमनन्तरमेव । स च हेतुः सत्यसति वेत्यादिना । इतर-

त्त्वे ब्रुवाग्गोऽसमर्थत(या) साधनाङ्गत ^६या संशयहेतुमेवाहेति यत्पुनक्कसुभयप्च संप्रतिपन्नेन वस्तुना ऽनैकान्तिकचोदनेति तत्राप्यवश्यं संशयहेतुत्त्वमुखेनैवानैकान्तिको वक्तव्यः । तद्समर्थि⁷तेऽन्यत्रापि तुल्यमिति नोभयसिद्धेतर्योरनैकान्तिकत्त्वैविंशेषः।

यद्प्युकः दृष्टान्ताभासहत्वाभासपूर्वकत्त्वात्तद्भिधानेनैवोका इति न पृथिमिमहस्थानेपूका इति । तद्प्यवयवान्तरवादिनोऽयुकं योऽवयवान्तरं दृष्टान्तहेतोराह तस्य न हेत्वाभासोक्त्या दृष्टान्ताभासोकिर्व्याप्या तद्वचनेन गम्यमानस्य तस्मात्साधनान्तराभावप्रसङ्गात्। दृष्टान्ताभासा⁹नां हेत्वा-भासेप्यन्तर्भावाद दृष्टान्तस्यापि हेतावन्तर्भाव इष्टो भवति । तथा च न दृष्टान्तः पृथक साधनावयवः 10 स्याद्पृथम्वृत्तेः । यो दृष्टान्तसाध्योर्थस्तस्य 12b हेतावन्तर्भावाद्धेतुनैव साधित इति न दृष्टान्तस्य पृथिकञ्चित्सामर्थ्य। श्रापि च न किञ्चित्पूर्वपद्मवादिनो हेत्वाभासासंस्पर्शे न्या व्याव्या निमहस्थान-

देकपक्ष⁵प्रतिपन्नमनैकान्तिकविषयत्वाच्चानैकान्तिकसिति व्याख्यातं । स्याच्चित्तन्ना-निष्टेर्दूषणं सर्व्वप्रसिद्धस्तु द्वयोरिप साधनं । दूषणम्वेत्येतत्कथमेवन्न⁶ व्याहन्यत इति तच्च नैवं। निश्चितदूषणाभिसन्धिवचनात्। तत एव तदनन्तरमाहान्यः पुनः साध्य-त्वमीक्षत इति । एतत्तु स्यात् । तदा द्वयोरेकस्यापि न जय⁷पराजयौ । यदप्युक्तमुद्योत करेण प्रतिज्ञाविरोधसूत्रमेव विवृण्वता दृष्टान्ताभासा इत्यादि तदप्यवयवान्तरवा-दिनो नैयायिकस्यायुक्तं । बौद्ध एवैवं बुवा⁸णः शोभत इत्यभिन्नेतं(।)तद्वचनेन हेत्वा-भासवचनेन गम्यमानस्य दृष्टान्ताभासस्य तस्माद्धेतोः सकाशात् सा⁹धनान्तरत्वा- 612 भावप्रसङ्गात् । दृष्टान्तस्येति शेषः ।

नन् च दृष्टान्ताभासानां हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तभिवेऽतिदिष्टे हेतोर्दृष्टान्तेऽवयवान्तरं न प्राप्नोतीति वचन¹मसम्बद्धमेवेत्यत आह । दृष्टान्ताभासानामि (1229)त्यादि । अयमस्य प्रयोगो मनसि विजुम्भते । यद्यतोऽर्थान्तरभृतं न तदाभासवचनेन तदाभास-वचनं न्याय्यं² न च तदाभासेषु तदाभासानामन्तर्भावः । तद्यथा प्रत्यक्षाभासानाम-नुमानाभासेषु । तथा च भवतो हेतोर्दृष्टान्तोर्थान्तरभूत इति व्यापकविरुद्धोप-लिब्धः अतोऽवश्यं दृष्टान्तस्य हेतावन्तर्भाव एष्टव्यः । तत्र च न दृष्टान्तः पृथक् साधनावयवः स्यात् । अपृथग्वृत्तेः एकव्यापारत्त्वादित्यर्थः । एतदेव व्या वष्टे यो दृष्टान्त (12b1) इत्यादिना। एवं प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधस्य प्रपञ्चस्य हेत्वाभासैः सङ्गृहीतत्वान्न पृथग्वचनं कर्त्तव्यमित्यभिधायाधुना प्रतिघहा⁵न्यादीनामपीयमेव गतिरित्यावेदनायाह । अपि चे (12b1)त्यादि । पूर्व्वपक्षवादिग्रहणमुत्तरपक्षवादि-

मस्तीति तत्सम्बन्धीनि सर्वारयेव हेत्वाभासतावचनेनैवोक्तानीति न पृथरवाच्यानि स्युः । श्रर्थान्तरगमनादेरपि हेतोरसा(म)थ्य एव सम्भ-वात् । नहि समर्थे हेतौ साध्ये च सिद्धेऽर्थान्तरगमनं कश्चिदारभनेऽसम-र्थस्य मिथ्याप्रवृत्तेरिति ॥ त ॥

पद्मप्रतिषेधे प्रतिज्ञातार्थापनयनं प्रतिज्ञासना [? न्या]सः (न्या० ५।२।५)। यं प्रतिज्ञातमर्थमनित्य(ः) शद्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादित सामान्य- वृत्त्या हेतोर्व्यभिचारप्रदर्शनेन स प्रतिषेधे कृते क एवमाहानित्यः शद्द इति परित्यज्ञति तस्य प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासो । नाम निष्रहस्थानमिति । अत्रापि यद्युद्धावितेपि हेतोर्व्यभिचारे न सपद्यं किं न गृद्धोतानिगृहीत एव हेत्वा- मासाभिधानादिति चेत् । किमिदानीमुत्तर प्रतिज्ञान्यासापेत्त्या तस्य तदेवाद्यन्निष्रहस्थानमिति किमन्यरशक्यपरिच्छेदैः क्षीवप्रलापचे दितै हप- न्यस्तैरेव चित्रसङ्गः स्यात् व पद्मित (?) प्रतिपेधे त्र्य्योभवतस्तृष्यीं-

नोऽज्ञानादीनि हेत्वाभासस्पर्शानि संतीति कथनाथं । तत्सम्बन्धीनीति हेत्वाभास-पूर्व्वपक्षवादिसम्बन्धीनि वा । अथोच्यते । अर्थान्तरगमनादीनां हेत्वाभासासंस्पिशत्त्वा स्न तेस्व[? घ्व]न्तर्भाव इ'ति । तच्चासत् । अर्थान्तरगमनादेरिप हेतोरस-मर्थ एवमितसम्भवात् । कुतः असमर्थस्य न्यायबलेन साध्यप्रतिपादने वादिन इति शेषः । मिथ्याप्रवृश्तरेरथन्तिरगमनादिनेत्यभिप्रायः ॥४॥

उत्तरः पश्चाद् फलभावी स चासौ प्रतिज्ञासन्यासश्च तस्यापेक्षया किन्न किञ्चि-61b दित्यर्थः । अशक्तः परिच्छेदः सं®स्ये येषां क्लीवप्रलापचेष्टितानां तानि तथा क्लीवा-दीनां प्रलापा येषां वादिनान्तेषां चेष्टितानि प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासादीनि वै किमुपन्यस्तैः (।) क(ः) पुनरेवं सित दोष इत्याह । एवं हचितप्रसङ्गः (। 1b6) स्यात् । एवमाद्यपीति मूच्छविपथुत्रसत्त्वादीनामादिशब्देनावरोधः । तस्मादेतद्य्यसम्बद्धं विद्वत्सदस्येवं प्रकारस्य स्थूलत्वादित्याभिप्रायः तदत्र भाविविक्तः स्वयमाशंक्य किल प्रतिदिधत्ते स्थूलत्वेनेदं निग्रहत्थानमिति चेत्। प्राश्निकप्रतिवादिसिन्निधौ प्रतिज्ञातार्थापट्नव-

^१न्याय-भाष्ये पृ० २५९; न्या० वा. ५५४।

रेन्या० वा. ता. (७०७)—-"िकमिदानीं हेत्वाभासादुत्तरसंन्यासापेक्षया तस्य प्रतिवादिनो हेत्वाभास एवाद्यं निग्रहस्थानमिति ।"

[ै]तत्रैव—"पक्षप्रतिषेघे तूष्णींभवतस्तूण्णींभावो० प्रलपतदच प्रलपितं नामः।"

भावो नाम निम्नहस्थानं । प्रपलायमानस्य प्रपलायितन्नामेति एवमन्य ान्य [? द]पि वाच्यं स्यात् (I) तस्मादेतद्प्यसम्ब(द्)धमिति II7

श्रविशेषोक्ते हेतौ प्रतिषिद्धे विशेषिमच्छतो हेत्वन्तरं (न्या० ५।२।६) निदर्शनमेकप्रकृतीदं वक्तव्यं परिणामात्मृत्रूर्वकाणां शरावप्रभृतीनां दृष्टं परिमाणिम हित । अस्य व्यभिचारेण हत्यवस्थानं नानाप्रकृतीनामेकप्रकृ-तीनाञ्च दष्टं परिसार्णं इति । एवं व्यविश्वत [? प्रत्यविश्वत] आह । परिणामदर्शनात्स्खदु:खमोहसम- 13a एकप्रकृतिसमन्वय १ प्रकाराणां न्वितं हीदं सर्वे व्यक्तं परिगृह्यते । तस्य प्रकृ(त्य)न्तररूपसमन्वयाभावो-ऽसत्येकप्रकृतिकत्त्वमिति तद्विशेषोक्ते हेतौ प्रतिषेधं ब्रु वतो हेत्वन्तरम्भ-वति । सति हेत्वन्तरभावे पूर्वस्य हेतोरसाधकत्त्वान्नियहस्थानं (।) अत्रापि पूर्वस्यैव हेतोरनैकान्तिकस्याभिधानान्निगृहीते हेत्वन्तरचिन्ता कोपयुज्य ²ते । यदि प्राक्साधनवादी हेतुमनैकान्तिकमुक्त्वा दत्तोत्तरावस-रस्तेनैव निगृद्यते । श्रद्ताेत्तरावसरो हेत्वन्तराभिधानेपि न निग्रहमईत्य-विरामात् ॥ ॥

ङकरोतीति । असम्बद्धः मुच्यते तन्नाभिप्रायापरिज्ञानात् । न ब्रूमो ध्वंसी शब्द इति किन्तु संयोगविभागाभ्यां न व्यक्त इत्ययं प्रतिज्ञातार्थं इत्याह सामान्यस्य च स्वाश्रय-व्यङ्ग्य⁴त्वात् विवादाभाव इति । निग्रहस्थानन्तु पूर्वमप्रतिज्ञातार्थत्वात् । अनैकान्ति-कदोषेण प्रतिषेधे हेतौ प्रतिज्ञातार्थापहनवङ्करोतीति निगृह्यत इति तत्रवाच्यं यदि वादी साकांक्ष एवान्तराले केनचिद् दुन्विदरधेनानैकान्तिकदोषेण चोदितः सन्प्रतिज्ञातार्थफलीकरणेन स्वाभिप्रायमाविष्करोति । तदा⁶न्योपि न कश्चि-होषः। किमङ्ग पुनः प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासः। अथ निराकांक्षः सन् पश्चाच्चोदितः प्रतिज्ञां विशिन्षिट। तदप्यनैकान्तिकदोषेणैव निगृहचत इति कि भूत्तरप्रतिज्ञा-संन्यासापेक्षयेति न किञ्चित्परिहतं किञ्च स्फुटमिदं प्रतिज्ञान्तरेन्तर्भवतीति नः पृथग्वाच्यमिति ॥४॥

अविशेषोक्ते हेतावित्यादि सूत्रं अत्र निदर्शनमुदाहरणमित्यर्थः। कापिलः प्रमाणयित प्रधानसिद्धिप्रत्याशया । एकप्रकृतीदं व्यक्तं व्यक्तादिपरिमितत्वाद् घटश-रावादिवदिति । एका प्र°कृतिरस्येति विग्रहः । प्रकृतिरुपादानकारणं । या च 622 किल सा प्रकृतिर्विकारप्रामस्य तत्प्रधानिमतीयमलीकप्रत्यासा [?शा] साङ्ख्यस्या-

^९न्यायभाष्ये (२५९-६०) अल्पभेवेन ।

प्रकृतादर्थादप्रतिबद्धार्थमर्थान्त(रं) (न्या० ५।२।०)। "यथा-कलक्त ए एक्प्रतिपक्षपरिप्रहे हेतुतः साध्यसिद्धौ प्रकृतायां कुर्यान्नित्त्यः शब्दोऽस्परात्त्वादिति हेतुः । हेतु श्व नाम हिनोतेर्धातोस्तुराब्दे प्रत्यये कृद्नतं पदं (।) पद्व नामाख्यातोपसम्गनिपाता इति प्रस्तुत्य नामादीनि व्याच्छे । इदमर्थान्तरं" नाम निष्रहस्थाः नं "अभ्युपगतार्थासङ्गतत्त्वादिति"। न्याय्यमेतन्निप्रहस्थानं पूर्वोत्तरपक्तवादिनोप्रतिपादिते दोषे प्रकृतं परित्यज्या-साथनाङ्गवचनमदोषो द्वावनाञ्च । साथनवादिना ह्युपन्यस्तसाधनस्य

परिमाणञ्चतुरस्यम्परिमण्डलिमत्यादि । मृत्यूर्वकाणामित्यन्वयमाह । अस्य हेतोव्यंभिचारेण प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रतिवादिना कियते । नानाप्रकृतीनाङ्गवाद्यविनामेकप्रकृतीनाञ्च कुम्भोदञ्चना दीनान्दृष्टम्परिमाणिमत्येवं प्रत्यवस्थितं सित प्रतिवादिनि । यदि वा प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिषिद्धः प्रधानवाद्याह । एकप्रकृतिसमन्वये सित
परिमाणदर्शना दिति सिवशेषणत्वाद्धेतोर्व्यभिचाराभाव इति मितः । कथं पुनरेकप्रकृतिसमन्वय इत्याह । सुखदुःखमोहसमिन्वतं हीदं व्यक्तं परिमितं गृहच ते । सर्व्वत्र
तत्कार्यदर्शनादित्याकूतं । तथाहि सुखबहुलानाम्प्रसादलाधवप्रसवाभिष्वङ्गाद्धिष्
प्रीतयः कार्यं । रजोबहुलानां शोषतापभेदस्तं भोद्वेगापद्वेषाः । तमोबहुलानां सावरणमादनायध्वंसवीभत्सदैन्यगौरवाणि । एतानि च सर्व्याणि सर्व्वत्रैव यथोत्कर्षापकर्षभेदमुपलभ्यन्ते । त स्माद्वैगुण्यप्रकृतीदं विश्वं । तदिदमित्यादिना निप्रहस्थानत्वे
कारणमाह । अत्रापीत्याद्यस्य प्रतिषेधः सुज्ञानः । अविरामादच्छेदादपरिसमाप्तत्वात् साधनाभिधानस्येत्यथंः ॥०॥

यथोक्तलक्षण इत्येकाधिकरणौ विरुद्धौ धर्माविति पक्षप्रतिपक्षलक्षणं स्मरयित । परिप्रहे वादिप्रतिवादिभ्यां कृते सित हेतुतः साध्यसिद्धौ प्रकृतायां
हेतुवसा[?शा]त्साध्यसिद्धिरित्येतिस्मन्प्रकरणे सित प्रकृतोर्थः शब्दिनित्यत्वं । तेनाक्ष्रिक्यातत्वात् । तदसम्बद्धत्त्वात्तवनुपकारकत्वादित्यर्थः (।) तथा हि विनापिरूपसिद्वचा प्रातिपदिकादिव्याख्यानं यथा कथिञ्चत्प्रतिपादितादर्थादेवार्थः सिध्यति ।
न्याय्यमेतिदिति स्वमतेनाविरुद्धत्वादभ्यनुजानाति । कदा च पूर्वो त्रपक्षवादिनोन्याय्यं निग्रहस्थानित्याह । प्रतिपादिते दोषे सित वादिप्र(ति)वादिभ्यामन्योन्यमसाधनाङगवचनमेतददोषद्भावनञ्च भवेदिति अन्यथा न हच²(न)-

^९ दप्रतिसंबन्धार्थमर्थान्तरम्—इति न्यायभाष्ये पाठः ।

रेन्या० भा० पू० २६० ।

[ै]न्या० वा० पु० ६४६।

समर्थंने कर्त्तव्ये तदक्रत्वा परस्य प्रसङ्गेनाप्रसङ्गेन वाऽजनान्तरी(य)कस्या-भिधानसुत्तरवादिनोपि दोषो⁷द्भावनमात्रादपरस्योपन्नेप इति ॥

वयर्ग्याक्रमनिर्देशवित्ररर्थकं (न्या०५।२।८)। "यथा नित्य(:) शब्दो जबगडत्वात् भभघढवदिति" "साधनान्युपादानाश्चिगृद्यत" इश्ति (।) इदम्प्यसम्बद्धं निह वर्ग्यक्रमनिर्देशसिद्धावानर्थक्यं यदेव किञ्चिदसाध-नाङ्गस्य वचनं तदेवानर्थकं साध्यसिद्धचु पयोगिनोऽभिधेयस्याभावात् 13b निष्प्रयोजनत्वाच्चेति । प्रकारविशेषोपादानससम्बद्धं। वतेरुपादानाद-दोष इति चेत् । स्यादेतद्वरण्कमिनर्देशवदिति वितरत्रोपात्तः सोन्यदाप्यः नत्रक्षं गृह्णातीत्यदो । ष इति नार्थान्तरादेनिमहस्थानस्यावचनप्रसङ्गात । एवं हि ता निरर्थे [? निरर्थेका] वाच्या निरर्थेकेनैवाभिधानाहित ि तं न साध्यसिद्धावनर्थकं निरर्थकं यस्य नैव कश्चिद्रर्थस्तिश्वर थ्येकिमिष्ट-मिति चेत्। यस्य कस्यचिद्वादिनो पि हि निरर्थकामिधाने किन्न निप्रहो निमहनिमित्ताविशेषात् । तस्येहाऽप्रस्तावादिति चेत्। श्रायातमिह् यो निर-

योरेकस्यापि जयपराजयावित्युक्तं । प्रकृतं परित्यज्येति न्याय्यतामेवास्य प्रतिपादयति । प्रकृतमत्र साध्यसाधनहेत्वभिधानं तदकृत्वेति उपन्यस्ते दोषे न समर्थनं । अपरस्य(1327)रूपितध्यादेः । अतन्नान्तरीयकस्यापीति । उपन्यस्त-साधनसमर्थनाङ्गस्येत्यर्थः । अपरस्य नामादिव्याख्यानादेखपक्षे पः पराजयस्थान-मिति वर्तते ॥४॥

वर्णक्रमनिदेश(व) त्रिरर्थकं (न्या॰ सू॰ २।१।८) यत्र वर्णा एव केवलं क्रमेण निद्दियन्ते । न पदन्नापि वाक्यं । अर्थान्तरे किलाप्र⁵कृतार्थकथनमिह वर्णमात्रोच्चा-रणियति शेषः ।। असम्बद्धतामेबाह । नहि वर्ण्णकमिनर्देशादेव(1329)केवलादानर्थ-वयमपि तु यदेव किञ्चिदसाध°नाङगस्यासिद्धविरुद्धादेः शब्दरूपसिध्यादेश्च वचन-न्तदेवानर्थकं । किं कारणं । साध्यसिद्धचुपयोगिनोऽभिष्येयस्याभावात् । साध्यसिद्धचु-पयोगिनोऽभावे⁷पि कस्यान्यत्त्रयोजनमस्तीत्यपि न मन्तव्यं इति कथयति। निष्प्रयोजनत्वाच्चेति । साध्यसिद्धेरेव प्रस्तुतत्वादन्यप्रयोजनवत्वेषि आनर्थक्यमेव तत्र प्रस्ता⁸व इत्यभिप्रायः । तस्मात्प्रकारविशेषोपादानवर्णकमनिर्देशवदित्यसम्बद्धं । परः प्राह । न साध्यसिद्धौ यदनर्थकमनङगन्तिन्नरर्थकमभिप्रेतमिष⁹ तु यस्य वचनस्य 632 काकवासितादेरिव नैव कश्चिदर्थः । तथा च नाथन्तिरापार्थकादीनामनेनैव संग्रहस्तत्र-

^९''कीर्तिनाप्यनुमोदितं''—न्या० मं० पृ० ६४६ ।

र्थकं त्रवीति वस्य तेनैव निम्नह इति । तत्तुल्यं सर्वस्यासाधनाङ्गवादिन इति । स सर्वो निरर्थकाभिधा(नो)ध्यनेनैव निम्नहस्थानेन निम्नहार्हः । न च वर्ष्णक्रमनिर्देश (:) सर्व त्र निरर्थकः, कचित्रकर्णे तस्याप्यर्थव-स्थान् । तस्माद्त्रैवास्यानर्थक्यान् निम्नहस्थानस्वं । अपिचान्यदि दमुच्यते वर्ष्णक्रमनिर्देशो निम्नहस्थानमिति । कपोज्ञवादिनकंद्यविद्वितकमित्येवमादीनामित वाच्यत्वात् ॥

पर्यतिवादिभ्यान्त्रिरमिहितमप्यविज्ञातार्थ (न्या० ५।२।९)।
"यद्वाक्यं पर्षदा प्रतिवादिना च त्रिरमि हितं न विज्ञायते शिलप्टशब्दमप्रतीतप्रयोगमितद्वतोच्चारितमित्येवमादिना कारणेन तद्विज्ञातार्थमसामध्येसम्बरणाय प्रयुक्तं निष्रहस्थानमिति" (।) नेदं निर्धाकाद्भियते ।
सपदि प्रकृतार्थसम्बद्धं गमकमेव कुर्यात् नास्यासामध्ये न च जाड्यात्पर्षदादयो न प्रतिपद्यन्त इति न विद्वान्त्रियहमहित पर्यत्रिमासपरिकल्पार्ह्वच नान्निप्रहाह् एवेति चेत्। न्यायवादिनो जाड्यादुक्तमजानन्कन्न

कस्यचिद्यंलेशस्य सद्भावात्। आचार्य आह 1 (1) यस्य कस्य चिद (13b3) प्यादिनोपि निर्यंकाभिधाने वाहित इव किन्न निम्रहो भवित । कयं स्यादित्याह (1) निम्रहिनिमित्त तस्य निर्यंकाभिधानस्य वाद्यवादिनोरिव शेषात् । नेति परन्तस्य वादिन इह वादप्रकरणे । आयातमित्याचार्यः । तस्य तैनैव निर्यंकाभिधानेन । तत्रैवं स्थिते वादे तुल्यं । सर्वस्यासाधनाङ्ग वादिनो निर्यंकाभिधायित्वमित्यध्याहत्तंव्यं । क्व-चित्तवेतिपाठः । तत्र नोपस्कारेण किञ्चित् । अनेनैव निर्यंकाभिधानेन । प्रत्युच्यते । यस्य नैव किश्चदर्थं इति । एतदप्यसन्बद्धं । यस्मान्न च वर्णकमनिद्शोपि निर्यंकः क्वचित्प्रकरणे प्रत्याहारादावर्यवत्वाच्च । तस्मादत्रेव वादेस्य वर्णक मन्द्यानर्थक्यं । तच्चार्यान्तरादेरिप तुल्यमिति चित्तं कक्कङपिङ्गितमित्यत्रादिशब्देन उत्त्वत्य गमनं तालदाननृत्त[?नृत्य]।दीनाङ्गहणं ॥४॥

त्रिर⁶भिहितमिति त्रिवचनङ्कार्यमिति न्यायत्वं दर्शयति । सकृदुक्तं स्पष्टार्थ-मिष कदाचित्र ज्ञायत इति त्रिरुच्चारणङ्कार्यं। कस्मात्पुनः पदवाक्यप्रमाणिव^नद्-

१ ''कपोलवादितककक्ष्याभिताडनादीन्यपि कामं निर्दिश्यन्ताम् । अत एवो न्मत्तप्रलापतः शाक्यभिक्षवोऽपि परिशुद्धबोधिनः परलोकयायार्थ्यर्दाशनः शौचाचारव्यवहारेष्यबाह्या महान्तो विद्वांसः काममर्थशून्यमपि कथयन्तो नोन्मत्ता भवितुमर्हन्ति ।" न्या० मं० ६४७ ।

प्रतिवादी निगृह्यते । जाड्यात्पर्षदादेरिप ज्ञातप्रतिपादनासामर्थ्य इति विजेता न स्यान्न निग्प्रहार्हः। श्रसम्बद्धाभिधाने निर्थकमेवेति न पृथग्विवित्तार्थे नाम निप्रहस्थानमिति ॥ त्॥

14a

पौर्वापर्यायोगादप्रतिवद्धार्थ मपार्थकं (न्या० ५।२।१०)। "यत्रानेकस्य पदस्य वाक्यस्य वा¹ पौर्वापर्येग योगो नास्तीत्यसम्बद्धार्थता गृह्यते। तत्समुदायार्थोपायादपार्थकं दशदाडिमादि वाक्यवत्। इदं किल पदानाम-सम्बद्धादसम्बद्धवर्षाक्षिरर्थकात्पृथ²गुक्तं (।) नन्वेवमसम्बद्धवाक्यमपि

भिर्वाक्यन्न ज्ञायत इत्याह । क्लिष्टशब्दिमित्यादि । क्लिष्टशब्दं मनागुच्चारितत्वात् । अपशब्दत्वादित्यपरे । कस्मादेवं प्रयुक्तिमित्याह । असामध्यंसम्वरणा॰ये (13b9) ति । स्पष्टार्थस्य प्रयोगे दूषणम्बक्ष्यतीति भयात्प्रयुंक्ते । इदञ्च साधनदूषण-वादिनोः समानं । दूषणवाक्यमि हचेवंभूतिनग्रहप्राप्तिकारणं । नेदं निरर्थकाद्- 63b भिद्यते । तथा हि शिलष्टशब्दादिभिः प्रकृतार्थसम्बद्धङगमकमेव बूयात् । एतद्विप-रीतम्बा । प्राक्तने प्रकारे नास्यासामध्यन्तत्र तु परिषदादयो जाड्या नत्वुक्तस्र प्रतिपद्यंत इति नेयता विद्वान्वादी निग्रहमहैति ।

वक्तुरेव हि तज्जाड्यं यच्छ्रोत्रा नावबुद्धचतें । (३७)

ततोसौ निग्रहार्ह एवेत्याक्तवानाह परः। परिषत् प्रज्ञामिति। न्यायवादिन (13b9)इति परिहरति। न्यायवादिनः उक्तमिति सम्बन्धः। वादी तु जाड्या-त्परिषदादेरविज्ञातसाधनसामर्थ्यं इति कृत्वा विजेता न स्यात्। परिषत्प्रतिवादि-प्रत्यायनेन जयव्यवस्थापनात्। अविज्ञातं प्रतिपादनसामर्थ्यं परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां यस्येति कार्यं। द्वितीयन्तु विकल्पमधि कृत्याह। असम्बद्धाभिधाने निर्श्वकमेवे (1421)ति॥४॥

अनेकस्य पदस्येति । यदानीमसम्बद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वे वाक्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं निराकरोति वाक्यस्यासम्बद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वे प्रकरणाध्यायप्रतिपत्यभावः । समुदायप्रतिपत्यभावाच्च निग्रहस्थानं । उदाहरणं दश डा[?दा]डिमाः षडपू पाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पललपिण्डं । अथ रौक्कमेतत् कुमार्थः स्फँयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिश्चीन इति अत्र च भारद्वाजेन निरर्थकापार्थकयोरभेद इत्याशङ्कय प्रतिविहितं तत्र हि वण्णमात्रमिह यदान्यसम्बद्धानीति । तदेवाचार्योप्युपक्षिपति । इदं किले (1422)त्या-दिना । असम्बद्धा वण्णा यस्मिन्नरर्थक इति विग्रहः । कि॰ल शब्दोऽनभिमतत्व-

^१वप्रतिसंबद्धार्थ—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

पृथग्वाच्यं । नोभयसंब्रहान् । ऋषार्थकान्निरर्थकस्यासङ्ब्रहत्रसङ्गन् । एवस्विधार्थविशेषसमाश्रयात् । पृथग् नियदम्थानलच्रणप्र[ः]लपनेऽति-प्रसङ्गेत्यकः न च संब्रहनिर्देशे कञ्चिदोपं पश्यामः। प्रभेदे वा गुणान्तर-मिति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् ॥

श्रवयविषयांसवचन मप्राप्तकालं (न्या० ५।२:११)। "प्रतिज्ञा-दीनां यथा लुज्ञणमधेवशास्त्रसस्तत्रावयवानां विपर्ययेगणमिधानं निम्नह-

प्रदर्शनार्थः । अनभिमतत्वमेवाह । नन्वयं पदानामसम्बन्धादपार्वकवदसम्बन्ध-वाक्यमपि निरथंकात् पृथग् वाच्यं स्यात् । स्यात्मतमपार्थकं नैवासम्बद्धपदार्था-सम्बद्धवाक्यार्थयोः सङ्गृहीतत्वात् पृथग् न बाच्यमित्यत उच्यते । नोभय-सङ्ग्रहाद(1423)पार्थकं यक्तं । कस्मादसम्बद्धपदार्थेनापार्थकेनैवासम्बद्धवा । वयत्येव निर्थकस्यापि वर्णकममात्रलक्षणस्य सङ्ग्रहप्रसङ्गात् । अयोच्यते । निर्थकं किम्-च्यते। यस्यार्थ एव नास्ति भेवलं वर्णकममात्रं। असम्बद्धपद वाक्ययोस्तु साध्य-सिद्धचनुपयोगेषि न सर्वथा नैरर्थक्यमतोऽर्थतत्वे साम्यात् हयोरेवैकीकरणिन्यत आह । एवं विधाच्चेत्यादि । कपोलवादितादीनामपि³ प्यगिनधानप्रसङ्ग इत्यत्रातिप्रसङ्ग उक्तः। नहि किञ्चित्मात्रेण विशेषो न शक्यते क्वचित्प्रदर्शयित्-मित्यभिसन्धिः अथ निरर्थकापार्थकयोः सङ्ग्रहनिर्देशदोपं भेदनिर्देशे च गुणम्प-श्यताऽक्षपादेन न सङ्ग्रहनिर्देशः कृत इति मन्यसे। न साधु मन्यस इत्याह। न च सङग्रह (14 2 4) इत्यादि ॥४॥5

यथा लक्षणमर्थवसा[?ज्ञा]दित्यर्थः सामर्थ्यः। अनुपर्दाज्ञते हि विषये निविषया साधनप्रवृत्तिर्सा भूदिति साध्यनिर्देशलक्षणा प्रतिज्ञा पूर्व्वगुच्य^६ते । तदनन्तरमुदाहरण-साधम्याँत्साध्यसाधनं हेतुरित्येवं लक्षणो हेतुस्तत्साधनायोच्यते । ततो हेतोर्वाहर्व्या-फ्तिप्रदर्शनार्थं साध्यसाधर्म्यात्तद्धर्मभाविद्¹ट्टान्त उदाहरणिम (न्या० सू०१।१।३६) त्येवं लक्षणमुदाहरणं । ततः प्रतिबिंबनार्थं साध्यर्धामणि सम्भवप्रदर्शनार्थम्वा-उदाहरणापेक्षस्तथेत्युपसंहारो न तथेति वेति साधनस्योपनय (न्या०सू० १।१।३८) इत्येवंलक्षण उपनयः। तत उत्तरकालं सर्व्वावयवपरामर्षेण[?शेंन] विपरीतप्रसङ्ग-64b निवृत्यर्थं हेत्वपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगºमनिम (न्या॰ सू॰ १।१।३९) त्येवं लक्षणं निगमनिमति । अयमसौ यथालक्षणमर्थवसा[?शा]त्क्रमः । तथाहि लोकेपि पूर्व्यङकार्यं मृत्पिण्डाद्युपादीयते पश्चात्तु करणञ्चक्रदण्डादिकमिति । न्यायः । तत्रैतस्मिनक्रम[?न्क्रमे] न्यायतः। स्थितेऽवयवानां प्रतिज्ञादीनां विपर्ययेणाभिधानं

स्थानं ।" 4 "नैवमपि सिद्धेरिति चेतु" । न (।) प्रयोगापेतरा 5 ब्दतुल्य-त्वात् । यथा गौरित्यस्य पदस्यार्थे गोगोति प्रयुच्यमानं पदक्कदादिमन्त-मर्थं प्रतिपादयतीति न शब्दार्थाख्यानं व्यर्थं। अनेन च परेन ह गोशब्द-मेव प्रतिपद्यते गोशब्दात् कक्ददादिमन्तमर्थे तथा प्रतिज्ञाद्यवयवविपर्यथे-णानपूर्वी प्रतिपद्यते । त्रानपूर्व्या चार्थमिति । तथा हि पूर्व कम्मोपादी न-यते ततः कर(गां) (मृत) पिण्डादिकं लोक इति ।" तदेतदुन्मत्तस्योन्मत्त-सम्बर्णनिमव प्रयोगापेतराब्दवदेतदिति । यदि गोग्धी-राब्दात्ककुदादि-प्रतीतिशब्दान्वा श्र्यानप्रयत्नेनार्थं पश्याम:। गोग्रीशब्द- 14b स्यार्थप्रतिपादनेऽसामर्थ्यात् प्रतिपादकव्युत्पत्त्यर्थमन्वाख्यानसिति चेत् ।

ननु गोग्गीशब्दादिप लोके प्रतीतिह¹ हा। सत्यं दश न तु साचा-दित्युकः । उक्तमेतन्न पुनर्युकः स्त्रीशूद्राणामुभयप्रतीतेरभावात् । यः खल्भयं नेति शब्दमपशब्दञ्च स एवं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्तु नक्ष शब्दन्सुकशब्दमेव वा

निग्रहस्थानं । यथा घटवत्कृतकत्वादनित्य इति । नैवमपि सिद्धेरिति भार²द्वाजः स्वयमेबाशङ्क्य परिहरति । न प्रयोगापेतशब्दवदेतत्स्यादिति अनेनेति गोणीपदेन । यथा (।)

अम्बन्बिति यथा वालः शिक्ष्यमाणः प्रभासते [? पते ।] अव्यक्तं तद्विदान्तेन व्यक्ते भवति निश्चयः । (३८)

तथा किल गोण्यादयः शब्दाः ते साधुष्वनुमाणे[?ने]न प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिहेतव इति । तदेतदुन्मत्तकस्य वैया करणस्योन्मत्तकसंवर्णनमुन्मत्तकेनोद्योतकरेण संवर्णनं यथा हचेक उन्मत्तो द्वितीयमुन्मत्तकं सम्बर्ग्णयति तथा भूतमेतदपीति या⁵वत् । यदि चोन्मत्तकस्योद्योतकरस्योन्मत्तकस्य वैयाकरणस्य सम्वर्णानं । तथा हि शाब्दिक एव तावडुन्मत्तः प्रमाणविरुद्धवत्त्वाभिधायित्वात् । तत(ः) कु[®]तस्तत्प्रित्रयायाः प्रमाण-चिन्ताया ज्ञापकत्विमत्यभिष्रेतं । कथम्पुनः शाब्दिकस्यायुक्ताभिधायित्विमत्याह । यदि(1424)त्यादि सुबोधं। स्त्रीशूदशब्दो मूर्खवचनः। यस्तु ननकशब्दं मुक्कशब्द-मेव नासापर्यायम्येति । स कथमपशब्दाच्छव्दं साधुं प्रतिपद्यातः साधोः शब्दा-दर्थम्प्रतिपद्येत । किमुच्यते नैवासौ तथा विवोधम्प्रतिप°द्यत इत्याह । दृष्टाचानुभय-वेदिनोपि (14b3) सनकादेः प्रतीतिरिति तस्मान्न परम्परया प्रतीतिरर्थस्य । अयमत्र संक्षेपः । स्यादेवमसाधूनां साध्वनुमापकत्वम् । य $^{\circ}$ द्येषान्धूमादीनामिव त्रैरूप्यम्भवे- 6_{52}

> ^२ दिङ्गागेन कृत आक्षेपः । ^१न्या० भा० प० २६१।

बन्या० वा० पुरु ५५५-५६।

वेत्ति न नासार।व्दं स कथमपशब्दाच्छव्दं प्रतिपद्येत ततार्थे प्रतिपद्येत (1) दृष्टा चानुभयवेदिनोपि प्रतीतिरिति न परस्परं या पि प्रतीतिर्धे-

न्निविचतं। तच्च न सम्भवति। यस्मादेतावदनुभयवेदिनः सनकादयस्ते सन्तमपि व्याप्यव्यापकभावस्र प्रतिपद्यन्ते। न चासाव[ः]ज्ञातो गमको ज्ञापकत्वात्। येपि शब्दापशब्दप्रविभागकुशलास्तेप्यविद्यमानत्वादेव भावयन्ति। तथाहचसाधूनां साधुभिः सम्बन्धस्तादात्म्यं कार्यकारणभावो वा² भवेत । तद्भयविकलस्याव्यभिचारनियमा-भावात्। तत्र च तावन्न तादात्म्यमभ्युपेयं पारमाधिकस्यैव भेदस्य स्फुटं प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतीतेः। शब्दवद[ु]साधोरप्यव्यतिरेकतो वाचकत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । तदुत्पत्तिरिप दूरो-त्सारितेव। यतो नासाधवः साधुभ्यो जायन्ते । क (।) रणगुणवक्तुकामतामात्रहेतुत्वा -त्तेषां। न च तेषान्नित्यत्वङकादाचित्कोपलम्भतः। तत्वे वा मृतरान्तदृत्यत्तेरभावः सत्यपि वा व्याप्यव्यापकभावे तत्परिज्ञाने च पक्षधर्मत्ववैक त्याच्चाक्षुषत्वादे-रिवासाधुभ्यो नानुमानं। नहचत्र धर्मे विद्यते। यतः पक्षधर्मत्वं निष्पद्यते। नहि साधृनामेव धर्मित्वन्तेषामेवानुमीयमानत्वात् । न च धर्मिसा धनं युक्तिमतः । भावा-भावोभयधर्मस्यासिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकदोषदृष्टत्वतः। कथं वा साधनां तत्धर्मत्वं। निह तत्काले ते सन्ति । असताञ्च धर्मित्वं वाचकत्वं⁷ चेति सुभाषितं । किम्च्यते पुरुषो धर्मी साध्यब्दविवक्षा साध्यधर्मः पक्षधर्मञ्चासाध्रिति तदप्यसम्बद्धं। 65b व्याप्यव्यापकभावाभावादेव । यस्मान्न चं गोणीशब्दप्रयोगकाले गोशब्दविवक्षाम-पलभामहै । अथ प्रत्यवस्थीयते । यथा पक्षधर्मत्वादिवैकल्येप्यय्यक्तं । बालवचोव्यक्त-मनुमापयति । तथैवासाधवोषि । साधूनिति (।) तदयुक्तं तत्रापि तुल्यपर्यनुयोगत्वा-त्। वयन्तु प्रतिपद्यामहे साक्षादेव तस्मादप्यव्यवतान्मात्राद्ययंः प्रतीयत इति। तत्र संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धस्याननुभूत²त्वादयुक्ताप्रतीतावित्यपि न मन्तव्यं। अनादि-मति संसारे व्यवहारपरम्परायास्तथाभृतायाः सम्बन्धस्योल्लिङ्गितत्वात । तथाहि न गवादिशब्दानामिव प्रा³यः शृद्धगद्धग्राहिकयार्थनियमः सद्धकेत्यतेषि तु व्यवहार-पारम्पर्यतो विदग्धा निश्चिन्वन्ति । तच्चेहापि समानमेव । तस्मादेतदरण्यरुदितं ।

> अम्बम्बिति यथा बाल: शिक्ष्यमाण: प्रभासते । अव्यक्तन्तद्विदान्तेन व्यक्तेन भवति निश्चयः ॥(३९) एवं साधौ प्रयोक्तव्ये यो यद्भ्रंशः प्रयुज्यते । तेन साधु व्यवहितः कश्चिद श्योवसीयत (४०) इति ॥ यदप्यभ्यधायि कुमारिलेन ।

ऽसमर्थस्य शब्देपि प्रतीतिजननासामध्यीच्च । नह्यथेपि वाचकत्त्वं नामान्यदेवान्यत्र तद्विषयप्रतीतिजननात् । अपशब्दश्चेच्छब्दे प्रती⁴ तिञ्जनयेत् । ऋर्थ एव किन्न जनयति । न ह्येतस्यार्थात् किञ्चिद्धेदं पश्यामो येन तं परिहरेत् । अकृतसमयस्य शब्देप्यप्रतीतिजननाच्च । नद्ययमप शब्दः शब्देपि स्वभावतः प्रतीतिं जनयत्यदृशंनासमयत एव तु जनयेत्। समयवसा[? शा]त्प्रवर्तते । एवं हि प्रतिपत्तिपरम्परापरिश्रमः परिह तो भवति । विपर्ययदर्शनाच । शब्दादर्थमप्रतिपद्यमाना अप-शब्दैरेव ज्ञानं व्यत्पद्यमाना लोके दृश्यन्ते इति व्यर्थे शब्दानुशासनं।

> गोशब्देऽवस्थितेस्माकरतदशक्तिजकारिता । गाव्यादेरिप गोबुद्धिर्मूलशब्दानुसारिणी (४१) ति ॥

तस्यापीव भेव प्रतिविधानमिदञ्च सर्वमागृय्यं निगमयति । न परम्परया प्रतीतिरिति । अत्रैवोपचयमाह । अर्थे प्रतिपादनायासमर्थस्यासाधोः शब्देपि साधौ प्रतीतिज⁷ननासामर्थ्याच्च । तत्रैतत्स्यान्न वयमसाधूनामर्थेषु प्रतीति-जनकत्वं निराकुर्मः। किन्तु वाचकत्वं। शब्दे चासाधः प्रतीतिजनक एव न वाचक एव इत्यत आह। न ह्य⁸थेंपि शब्दस्य वाचकत्वमन्यदेवे (14b4)- 662 त्यादि । यद्यसाधोरर्थे प्रतीतिजनकत्विमध्यते । तदैतावता वयमाहितपरितोषाः । किमस्माकमभिधानान्तरकित्पतेन वाचक ¹त्वेनेत्याकृतं। नैव तहर्यसावर्थप्रतीति जनयितुं क्षमोऽपि तु शब्द एवेति चेदाह। अपशब्दश्चेदि (14b4)ति। अथोच्यते शब्देन तस्य स्वाभाविकः सम्बन्धो नार्थेन ततस्तमे²व प्रतिपादयति नार्थन्तद्यथा स्वभावतश्चक्षूरूपं प्रकाश (य) ति न शब्दादीनत आह । अकृतसमयस्ये (14b5) त्यादि । अदर्शनादिति । न ह्यप्रतीतसम्बन्धाः सिंहलशब्दा आर्य³जनव्यवहा-राय वर्त्तन्ते। समय एव तु जनयेत् प्रतीति। सामयिके च तत्र सम्बन्धे सोर्थेप्य-निवार्यः । समयवसा[? शा]दसाधुः साधौ वर्त्तमानोर्थ एव गवादौ किन्न प्रवर्तते। नहि किञ्चित्तथा दोषो गुणस्तु केवल इत्याह। एवं हीत्या(14b6)-दि । एतद्बतस्भवति । ये स्वभावतः प्रकाशका न ते समयमपेक्षन्ते । यथा चक्षुर्दी-पा⁵दयो रूपादीनां । स्वभावतश्चापशब्दो यदि शब्दस्य प्रकाशको भवेत् । ततस्ते-नापि सम्बन्धोनापेक्षः स्यात्। अपेक्ष्यते च ततो नास्य शब्दे स्वा (भा)विकं सामर्थ्यं। ध तथा चेदमपि शक्यमनुमातुं। ये समयाक्षेक्ष [? पेक्ष]प्रवृत्तयस्ते सर्वत्र यथासमय-मनिवारितप्रसराः साक्षादेव प्रतिपादका भवन्ति । यथाकायविज्ञप्त्यादयः । त'था चापशब्दा अपि समयापेक्षप्रवृत्तय इति सिद्धमेषामव्य (व)धानत एवार्थप्रति-

न व्यर्थ संस्कृत शव्दव्युत्पत्त्यर्थमिति चेत् । कोऽयं शव्दानां संस्कारः । नद्येषां प्रज्ञावाहुश्रुत्यादिकं संस्कारं परयामो, नाप्येपामेकान्तेन शव्यता । नाप्यथप्रत्यायने कश्चि दिश्यः । न धर्मस्ताधनता मिध्यावृत्तिचोदनेभ्यः संस्कृतेभ्योप्यधम्मोत्पत्तिः । श्रव्येभ्योपि विपर्यये धम्मोत्पत्तेः । शव्दस्य सुप्रयोगादेव स्व गर्ममोदनयोपणा वचनमात्रं (।) न चैवंविधानागमान (।) द्रियन्ते युक्तिज्ञाः । न च दानादि

पादकत्विमिति । विपर्ययदर्शनाच्चेत्युपचयान्तरं । तथाहि वृक्षोन्निरुत्यलमित्युवते । इत्युत्पन्निष्यो वालाः प्रश्नोपक्रमं सन्तिष्ठन्ते । कोयं वृक्ष इत्यादिना । ते चान्यस्य च्युत्पाद्यनोपायस्याभावादपशच्चेरेव व्युत्पाद्यन्ते रुक्ष्य अग्गी उप्पत्निमिति ।। त देव-मन्नासाध्य एव वाचका न साध्यः सन्तोपीति विपर्ययो दृश्यते (।) अय प्रतिपद्यसे धर्मसाधनता शब्दसंस्कारो ययोवतं ।

शिष्टेभ्य आगमात् सिद्धं साधनो धर्मसाधनं¹ अर्थप्रत्यायनाभेदे विपरीतास्त्वसाधव (४२) इति । तथा "मन्त्र(ो) हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो (वा) मिथ्याप्रयुवतो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रदात्रुः स्वरतोपराधात् १ ।² (४२)

ते सुरा हेऽलयो (हे) ऽलय इत्युक्तवंतः परावभूवः । एकोपि शब्दः सम्यवभ्यक्तः सुकुतिनां लोकञ्जनयति । आहिताग्निरपशब्दनभियाय प्रायश्चितीयामिष्टिं निःवंदे(वि)त्यादि ।" (महाभाष्ये आह्निकेश) इदमपत्तारयति न धर्मसाधनता (14b9)
शब्दानां संस्कार इति वर्तते किञ्चकारणमित्याह । मिध्यावृत्तिचोदनेभ्य (14b9)
इत्यादि । मिथ्यावृत्तिश्चोद्यते येरिः ति कार्यं । यथा हचस्याभिनवविद्रुमाञ्जुरप्रकराभिरामिकशलयमञ्जुमञ्जरीराजीविराजिततरीरशोकचनस्पतेरधः शियतस्य द्विजन्मनो नीलनीरजः नीलतातिशाधिना मण्डलाग्रेण शिरशिक्तदेत्युक्तेषि भवत्येव श्रह्महत्यया सम्बन्धः प्रयोजकस्य । अन्येभ्य इत्यसम्भूतेभ्यो विपर्थयेण सम्यवत्ववृत्तिचोदनेः । यथा अस्स बम्भणस्स गावी दीअदि । सर्वञ्चिदमप्रमाणत्वाद्वचनमात्रं
भवतादिमत्याकूतवानुपचयमाह । शब्दस्य सुप्रयोगादेवत्यादि (14b9) । एवं
विद्यानित्यप्रमाः णकान् ।

ननु च "प्रतिष्ठिते भूषवेशे चैत्यङकारयित बाह्यचं पुण्यं प्रसवित कर्ल्यं स्वगशु सोदत" इत्यादाविष प्रमाणाभावादयं तुल्यः प्रसङ्गो भवतामिष । न तुल्यो वस्मावत्र

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^९ व्याकरणसहाभाष्ये पस्पनाह्निके ।

धर्म्मसाधनचोदनाशून्यकेवलशब्दसुप्रयोगाञ्चगपातं इति ब्रुवाणस्य कस्य-चिन्मुखं वक्रोभवति । तस्मान्न¹ संस्क्रतो नाम कश्चिच्छब्दः । १

शिष्टप्रयोगः संस्कार इति चेत्। के शिष्टाः (।) ये वेद्यतादिगुण-युक्ताः। कः पुनरेषां गुणोत्कर्षानपेन्नोऽलीकनिर्वन्धो यत्तेऽमूनेव शब्दान् प्रयुक्षते नापरा १ न चात्र कश्चिच्छुब्दे (ऽ)पवाद्यः सान्नी यत इतीदमेव निश्चिनुमः। प्रयुक्षते नाम शिष्टा नन्वेवं वयं गुणातिशयमपश्यन्तः संस्कारं केषां चिच्छुव्दानामनुमन्यामहे। तद्नवाख्यानं यत्नं वा गुणा तिशया-भावात् वेदरज्ञादिकथाप्रयोजनमेव। तत्स्थामवस्थापि (१) नः। सत्यपि गुणातिशये न करणीय एवान्वाख्याने यत्नः। तत्स्वभावस्यान्यतोपि सिद्धेः प्राकृतापभंशद्रमि इतन्त्रादिभाष(।)वत्। न हि प्रतिदेशं भाषाणां

विषयद्वयपरिशुद्धिः परिनार्था (?) विसम्वादश्चास्तीति तृतीयेपि राशावाहितपरि-तोषाः प्रेक्षावन्तः प्रवर्त्तन्ते । नत्वेवं भवन्मतेऽनन्तरोदितद्वयमपि प्रमाणव्याहतत्वात् 672 प्रमाणव्याहतिश्चानन्तरमेवावेदिता । तस्मादृरिद्रेश्वरस्पर्थासमानमेतत् (।)

विवितवेद्यादिगुणप्रयुक्ता (1522) इत्यन्तर्भावितभावप्रत्यययो[? य] निर्वेशः। विदितं वेद्यं हेयोपादेयत्वं यैस्ते तथोक्ताः। आदिग्रहणात् करुणादिप-रिग्रहः । असूने(522)व संस्कृतानपरानसंस्कृतान् । एतदुक्तम्भवति (१) शब्दो हि व्यवहारोर्थप्रवैत्यायनफलः। तच्च यथा संस्कृतेभ्यः सङकेतवसा[?शा] त्सम्पद्यते तथाऽसंस्कृतेभ्योपीति किमस्थानेभिनिविष्टाः शिष्टाः। अत एव च मन्ये प्रेक्षावद्भ्योन्यत्वादनुगताः श्रंभेवं नामामीषामिति। अथवा किमस्माक-महंषितिः(?) प्रत्याख्यानैः।। ते असून्नैव प्रयुञ्जते नापरानित्यत्रैव निश्चयान्भावात्। यदाह (१) न चात्र श्रंबदे परोक्षः साक्षी यतः साक्षिण इदमेवामूनेव प्रयुञ्जते नापरानिति निश्चनुमः (1523)।

ननु चोक्तन्तदन्वाख्यानस्य प्रयोजनं रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्दे हा (महाभाष्येआहिनके १) इति । तत्कथं गुणातिशयाभावादित्युच्यत इत्याह । वेदरक्षादिकञ्चाप्रयोजनमेवातत्समयस्थायिन (1524)स्ताथागतस्य । न्यायानुपायित्वात् । तत्स्वभा न्वस्य (1524) साधुशब्दरूपस्य । अन्यतोपीति (1524) बृद्धप्रवादपारम्पर्यात् । एतदेव दृष्टान्तोप्रक्रमं व्यनक्ति । प्राक्वतेत्यादिना (1524) ।

^९ अत्र वाचस्पतिः (न्या० वा० ता० पू०)—''तदेवं व्यवस्थिते न्याय-मीमांसापरिशीलनविकलानां बाह्यतराः प्रलापा उपेक्षणीयाः ।''

किश्चिल्लच्यामस्ति । स्रथ च सम्प्रदायः साता (?) ल्लोकस्तथैव प्रति-पद्यते तासाद्घ प्रयोगश्रंशं । तथा संस्कृतानां शब्दानां प्रतीतिभै-विषय तीति जडप्रतिपत्तिरेवैषा या शब्दानां लच्यो प्रवृत्तिः ।

श्रवयविषययेषि यदि तेषां वचनानां सम्बन्धप्रतीतिर्नं न विष-र्थयो नाष्यर्थाप्रतीतिः सामर्थ्यान् । न ह्यत्र करिचत्सम व्यः प्रत्यायना-विशेषेष्येवमेवावयवाः प्रयोक्तव्या इति । स एव तेषां क्रमो यथावस्थिते-भ्याऽर्थप्रतीतिर्भवतीति न विषययात्प्रतीति (:) तत त्र्यानुपूर्वीप्रतिपत्त्या प्रती तिरिति चेन् । नाप्रतोयमानसम्बन्धेभ्य त्र्यानुपूर्वीप्रतिपत्तिः । येषां शब्दानां कश्चित्सम्बन्धो जायते इद्मिह् सम्बन्ध्यत इति । तेषु विदित-सम्बन्धेषु कः कस्य पूर्वोऽपरो वा क्रमो येन क्रमेण व्यः वस्थाप्येरन । सम्बन्धप्रतिपत्तौ स एव तेषां क्रमो यो यथावस्थितानां सम्बन्धः प्रतोयते । नहि वाक्येषु पदानां क्रमनियमः करिचन् यथा राज्ञः पुरुषः पुरुषो राज्ञ इति । यावद्भ (:) पदै रर्थपरिसमाप्ति (:) तदैकं वाक्यं यथा देवदत्त गामानय कृष्णामित्यत्र पदानां यथाकामं प्रयोगिप नार्थप्रतीतौ विशेष १५ इति कश्चित्क्रमाभिनिवेशः । प्रतिपादितज्ञ प्रांतज्ञावचनान्तरेणा १ पि यथा प्रतीतिर्भविष्यतीति प्रतीयमानार्थस्य शब्दस्य प्रयोगेऽतिप्रसङ्गः

 $\xi(\bar{q})$ थं शा(ि) ब्दकस्योन्मत्तकतामुपदश्यिधुना भा 7 रहाजस्याह ।

अवयविषयंयेपीत्यादि (1526)। सम्बन्धप्रतीतिरिति सम्बन्धः परस्परमुपकार्योपकारकभावः। सामर्थ्याद्विविक्षतप्रतिपादन इति होषः। अथ स्यादशपादसिद्धान्तनीतिपालनाय न प्रतिज्ञादीनां क्रमव्यत्ययः क्रियत इत्यत्राह । नह्यत्र
किव्यत्समयः(1526)सिद्धान्तो नियमो वा प्रमाणोपेत इत्यप्याह । निष्पर आह ।
न विपर्ययात्प्रतीतिः(1527)साध्यस्य । किन्तु ततो विपर्ययादानुपूर्व्या प्रतीतिरिति । अस्य प्रतिषेधः। नाप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धेभ्य आनुपूर्वी प्रतीतिरिति(1528)।
येषामित्यादिनै(1528)तदेव व्याचष्टे ॥ अपि च प्रतिज्ञोपनयनिगमनानां
पूर्वमेवास्माभिः साधनवाक्ये प्रयोगः प्रतिक्षिप्तः । तत्कुतस्तत्कृतो विपर्यय इत्येतत्कथयिति (1) प्रतिपादित (15210)मित्यादिना । प्रतिज्ञायहणमुपलक्षणार्थं।
अथ सामर्थ्यलभ्यापि प्रयुज्यते तदातिप्रसङ्ग इत्येतदाह । प्रतीयमानार्थस्य च
प्रयोगेति (15b1)प्रसङ्गः सार्थम्यविति प्रयोगे वैधर्म्(?म्यं)स्यापि प्रयोगप्रसङ्गः। न वेष्यते । अर्थादापन्नस्य स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनञ्चिति (न्या० सू० ५।२।१५)
निग्रहस्थानवचनात्। पक्षधर्मान्वयव्यतिरे केषु तर्हि प्रतिज्ञाद्यभावेषि क्रमनियमो-

परिशिष्टेषु च सम्बन्धं प्रदृश्ये धर्मिमणि भावः प्रदृश्येत धर्मिमणि भावं प्रदश्ये सम्बन्धः प्रदश्येतेति न नियमः कश्चिदुभयथापि प्रतीत्युत्पत्ते-रित्युक्तं । अप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धेषु च पदेषु न तेभ्य आनुपृर्व्या अपि प्रतीतेरिति नेदमपार्थकाद्भिद्यत इति नाप्राप्तकालं पृथग्वाच्यं स्यादिति ॥

हीनमन्यतमेनाप्यवयवेन न्यू²नं (न्या० ५।२।१२)। यस्मिन्वाक्ये "प्रतिज्ञादीनामन्यतमोवयवो न भवति तद्वाक्यं हीनं साधनाभावे साध्या-सिद्धेः" । न प्रतिज्ञान्यूनं हीनं तद्भावे प्रतीतिभावादिति प्रतिपादितं। हीनमेव तत् न्यूनतायामपि नि अहादित्यपरः। यः प्रतीयमानार्थमनर्थकं शब्दं प्रयुक्के स निमहमहेंत् नार्थोपसंहितस्याभिधातेति । असमीचिता-भिधानमेतत् । अतएव च प्रतिज्ञाया न साधनाङ्गभाव इति ॥

भविष्यतीत्यत आह । परिशिष्टे (15b1) व्वित्यादि । अप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धपक्षे दोषान्तरं बूते (।) नेदमपार्थकाद् भि चत (15b2) इति न पृथग्वाच्यं स्यादिति ॥४॥

यस्मिन्वाक्ये प्रतिज्ञादीनान्निगमनपर्यन्तानामन्यतमोऽवयवो न भवति । तद्वा-क्यं हीनं (15b3) निग्रहस्था नत्वे कारणमाह । साधनाभावे साध्यासिद्धे-रिति (15b3)। इदिश्लराकरोति (1) न प्रतिज्ञादीनामित्यादिना (15b3)। प्रतिज्ञाग्रहणसुपलक्षणार्थं तेनोषनयनिगमनयोरिष⁷ परिग्रहः। उद्योतकरस्य मतमुप-न्यस्यति । हीनमेव तत् (15b3) । प्रतिज्ञान्यूनं । तस्याः प्रतिज्ञायाः न्यूनतायामि निग्रहादिति अस्यायुक्ततामाह । यः साधनसा[®]मर्थ्यात्प्रतीयमानार्थमनर्थकं शब्दं साध्याभिधायिनं साधने प्रयुक्तकते स निग्रहमहेंत् (15b4)। तथा हि शब्दस्या-नित्यत्त्वविचारे प्रस्तुते यदा बवीति । कृतकानामनित्यत्वं दृष्टङकृतकश्च शब्द 68a इति । तदा वचनद्वया देवसाध्यार्थः प्रतीयत इति निरर्थकस्प्रतिज्ञावचनं । नार्थोपसं¹-हितस्य युक्तियुक्तस्य पक्षधर्मसम्बन्धमात्रस्याभिधानेत्यसमीक्षिताभिधानमेत(15b4) द्वार्तिककारस्य। अत एव चेति (15b4) यतः प्रतीयमानार्थे शब्दे प्रयुक्ते² निग्रहमर्हति। तदत्राबिद्धकर्णः प्रतिबन्धकन्यायेन प्रत्यविष्ठते। यद्येवङकुतकश्च शब्द इत्येतदिप न वक्तव्यं किकारणनी (?निमित्त) मनित्यत्व-मित्येतेनैव शब्दे पि कृतकत्वसनित्यत्वञ्चोभयं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्मात्पूर्वमपि शब्दे कृतकत्वम्परेण प्रतिपन्नमेव करणाच्छब्दोपि बुद्धौ व्यवस्थितः । अतोन्वय-वा क्येन स्मृतिमात्रकमुत्पाद्यते । अप्रतिपन्नकृतकत्त्वस्य पुनः कृतकश्च शब्द इत्ये-

^१न्या० वा० पृ० ५५६ ।

हेत्दाहरणाधिकमधिकं (न्याव्याराहः)। "एकेन कृतकस्वादित्य-स्यानर्थक्यामित तदेतिक्रियमाभ्युपगमे वेदितव्यं" । यत्रेकसाधनवाक्य-प्रयोगपूर्वको विचारस्तवाधिकाभिधानमनर्थकमिति निमहस्थानं । प्रपञ्च-कथायान्तु न कश्चिहोषो नियमाभावादिति ॥

श्रद्धार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमन्यत्रानुवादात् (न्या० ५।२।१४)। "शब्दपुनरुक्तमनित्यः शब्दोऽनित्य(ः) शब्द इति । अर्थे पुनरुक्तमनित्यः

तस्मादिष नैव भवति । यद्वा कृतकः शब्द इत्येतावद्वक्तव्यं । कृतक^{*}त्वस्य त्वनित्यत्वेनाविनाभावित्वं परस्य प्रसिद्धमिति शब्देण्यनित्यत्वं प्रतिपद्यत इति तेनानुकूलमेवाचरितं । तथा हि यदि वादिना कथिक्विप्तिश्चितः कर्तव्यो निष्फलत्वात् । प्रतिकृतकत्वं शब्द इति तदा नैव तेन पक्षधर्मोपसंहारः कर्तव्यो निष्फलत्वात् । प्रतिबन्धमात्रन्तु प्रदर्शनीयं । अथ तथा न^{*} निश्चितं । तथापि यद्ययं परः पक्षधर्मोपसंहारे
मया कृते तस्यासिद्धिक्वोदिष्यिति । तदाहन्तां प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वादिभिरुपायैः
प्रतिनिवारिषध्यामि स्व[®]यमेव वा ऽचोदित एवाशङक्यैतच्चेतस्याधाय पक्षधर्मत्वमुपसंहर्तव्यमेव कृतकश्च शब्द इति । यदाप्येवं वादो निश्चतवान् कृतकत्वस्यानित्यत्वे68b नाविनाभा[®]वित्वं परस्य प्रसिद्धमिति तस्यामप्यवस्थायां कृतकः शब्द इत्येतावेदव
वक्तव्यं । यथोक्तन्

तद्भानहेतुभावौ हि दृष्टान्ते तदवेदिनः ख्याप्यते विदुषाम्वाच्यो हेतुरे¹व हि केवल इति ॥(४४)॥

तदेतिश्चियमाभ्युपगम इत्यधिकं निग्रहस्थानं । विशिष्टे विषये स्थापयित तञ्च विशिष्टं विषयमाह । यत्रेत्यादिना (15b5) । ननु चेदं निय[°]माभ्युपगमे वेदि-तव्यमिति भाष्यकारेणैवोक्तं । तिकमत्र दूषणमाचार्येणोक्तं सत्यन्न किञ्चिदुक्तं । आ(चा)र्येण तु पक्षिलोक्तमेवनूद्यतेऽभ्यनुज्ञानार्थम् ॥४॥

शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमित्यस्यापवादमाह अन्यत्रानुवादादिति । अनु-वादो निगमनं । अनुवादो हि न पुनरुक्तव्यपदे को लभते । शब्दाभ्यामर्थविशेषोत्पत्तिः । यस्मात्साध्यनिर्देशः । प्रतिज्ञासिद्धनिर्देशो निगमनमित्युक्तं । पुनः शब्दश्च नानात्वे दृष्टः । पुनरि यमचिरप्रभा निश्चरतीत्यप्यावेदितमेव । यद्येवन्तत्र तर्हि पुन-

^१न्या० भा० पृ० २६२ ।

रेन्या० मं० पृ० ६५०—"एतच्च कीर्तिनाऽप्येवं कथितं प्रपञ्चकथायां तु न बोष इति ।"

शब्दो निरोध-धम्मीको ध्वान इति।" श्रत्र न शब्द्पुनरुक्तं पृथग्वाच्य-मर्थपुनरुक्तवचनेनैव गतत्त्वात्। न ह्यर्थभेदे शब्दसाम्येपि कश्चिद्दोषो यथा (—)

> हसितः हसित स्वामिन्युच्चैरुदत्यिभरोदिति (,) कृतपरिकरं स्वेदोङ्गारं पूर्घावित घावित । गुग्यसमुदितं दोषापेतं प्रिग्यन्दित निन्दिति (,) धनलवपरिकतिं यन्त्रं प्रमृत्यति नृत्यति ॥(२)

यथा वा, यद्यस्मिन्सित भवति भवति न भवति (,) न भवति तत्तस्य कार्यमितरत्कारणमिति । गम्यमानार्थे पुनर्वचनमि पुनरुक्तं

रुक्ततायाः प्राप्तिरेव नास्तीति किमर्थमयमपवादः प्रारभ्यते। सत्यमेवमे वता। त एव तु प्रकृष्टतार्किकाः प्रष्टव्याः । कथमेतदिति । अस्माकन्तु कि परकीयाभिर्गृह-चिन्ताभिश्चिन्तिताभिरित्यलम्प्रसङ्गेन । अत्र चेदमिष द्वितीयसूत्रमिर्न्त अर्था-दापन्नस्य स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनमिति (न्या० सू० ५।२।१५) तदाचार्येण नोपन्यस्त-मुपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । तद्भाष्य (म)पक्षिप्य निराकरिष्यति । गम्यमानार्थं पुनर्वचनम-पी^sत्यादिना (15b9)। अत्रेत्यादिना (15b7) दूषणमारभते। एतदुक्तम्भवति। यत्र शब्दसाम्येप्यर्थो न भिद्यते तत्रार्थपुनरुक्ते वन गतं यत्र तु शब्दसाम्येप्यर्थभेदस्तत्र शब्दपुनरुक्ततायामपि न किञ्चित्कृतं । किमस्त्ययमीदृशः सम्भवो यच्छब्दपुनरुक्त-तायामप्यर्थभेदोस्तीत्यत आह । यथा हस¹ति हसतीत्यादि (15b7) । अत्र हि पूर्वो हसतिशब्दः सप्तम्यन्तो द्वितीयश्च तिङन्त इत्यर्थभेदः। एवमुत्तरत्रापि । काव्य ईवृ्ञः सम्भवो न तु वाद इत्याशङकायामुदाहर²ति । यथा चेत्यादि (15b8) । ननु चेहाप्यर्थभेदवच्छब्दो[?ब्द]भेदोप्यस्ति सुबन्ततिङन्ततया । सत्त्यन्न केवलम-त्रापि । अत्राप्यनित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यःशब्द इत्यत्रास्त्येव शब्दभेदः स्वलक्ष°णभेदात । अन्यथा न ऋमभावि श्रवणं स्यात्। समानश्रुतिसमाश्रयमिह पौनक्क्त्यं यदि व्यवस्थाप्यते तदत्रापि तुल्यमेव। अर्थभेद एवायं। क्रि⁴याभेदादिवाच्यभेदात्। तद्वलकिष्पत एव हि पदभेदः। गम्यमानार्थं पुनर्वचनमपि पुनरुक्तमिति (15b9) द्वितीयम्पुनस्क्तलक्षणसूत्रमुपलक्षयति । अस्य चोदाहरणं वात्स्यायनेन न्यायभाष्य उक्तं । साधर्म्यवति प्रयोगे वैधर्म्यस्य । आचार्यस्तु प्रतिज्ञायामप्येतत्समानमित्यागूर्य प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनवा क्येऽनुपन्यासं प्रतिपादियतुकामो वक्रोक्त्या प्रतिज्ञावचनमेवो-

^१न्या० भा० पु० २६२।

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नियतिपदप्रयोगे साधनवाक्ये यथा प्रतिज्ञात्रचनमिति । अथ पुनरुक्तेनैव गतार्थन्वान्त पृथग्वाच्यं श्रियमपि नियतसायनवाक्य एव दोषो वक्ष-व्यो न विस्तरकथायां व्याचनाणो हि कराचिर्सम्यकश्रवणप्रतिपत्ति-शङ्कया सान्तिप्रभृतीनां पुनः पुनर्वृयादिति न तत्र किञ्चिच्छलं । नाविषया-दिति चे 10त् । नायङ्गुरुन् शिष्य इति न यत्नतः प्रतिपादनीयो येन पुनः पुनरुच्यत इति । पुनर्वचने निषह एवेति चेत् । न (।) साचिराां यत्नेन प्रति-16a पाद्यत्वात्। तद्वितिपादने दोषाभिधानात्। वृतिपा¹³दने दोपाभिधानात्।

दाहरणत्वेनोपन्यस्यति । नियतपदप्रयोगे साधनवानये यथा प्रतिज्ञावजनिमिति (15b9) नियतानां पदानां प्रयोगो यहिमिस्रिति कार्य। इदम्प्रतिक्षिपति अर्थपुन रुक्तेनैव गत(ार्थ)त्वास पृथम्बाच्यमिति । यथा हचेकशब्दप्रतिपादितेथें 69b तत्प्रतिपादनाय पर्या यशब्दान्तरमुपादीयमानमनर्थकन्तथा सामर्थ्यगम्बेष्यर्थ इति अर्थपुनरुक्तेनैवास्य सङ्ग्रह इति समुदायार्थः । क्व पुनरेतःप्रति जादिवचनभर्या-पत्तिलभ्यं पुनरक्तं सन्निग्रहस्थानस्भवतीति प्रश्ने नियनप्रयोगं साधनवाक्ये (15b9) इत्येतदेवम्पक्षेण विवृणोति । अयमपि दोषो गम्यमानार्थप्र^वनर्वचनकृतः साधनवाक्य एव नियतपदप्रयोग इति वर्तते । इदम्बतस्भवति । यदा प्राध्निकाः शब्दार्थप्रमाण-प्रविचयनिपुना [?णा]ः प्रेक्षावन्तोत्यं तमर्वाहतमनसञ्च भवन्ति । प्रतिवाद्यपि तथाभृत एवेति वदन्ति यदन्तरेण न साध्यसिद्धिः तदेव प्रयोक्तव्यं। नाभ्यधिक-मिति तदायन्दोधो नान्यया यस्मात्करुणापरतन्त्रचेतसोऽनिबन्धनवत्सलाः प्रतिवादि-नमतिव[? दु] ल्र्लभिमव शिष्यं न्यायवत्मीवतारियतुं यतन्ते तत्र पुनर्वचनमपि न **दोषाय । ए^ऽतदेवाह ।** व्याचक्षाणो हि वादी साक्षीप्रभृतीनामसम्यक्श्रवणप्रतिपत्ति-शङ्कया करणभूतया सम्यक्श्रवणप्रतिपत्यर्थम्पुनः पुनर्ज्यादपीति (15b10)। ना-विषय⁶त्वादिति परः। इदमेव व्याचघ्टे नायस्वादी गुरुः (15b11) प्रतिवादिनः। न शिष्यः प्रतिवाद्यपि वादिनः। द्वयोरपि परस्परिजगीयया व्यवस्थानादिति। तस्मात्^र न वादिना प्रतिबादी यत्नतः प्रतिपादनीयः। ने(15b11)त्याद्याचार्यः। यदि नाम प्रतिवादी न प्रतिपाद्यते यत्नेन । साक्षिणस्त्ववद्ययं यत्नेन प्रतिपाद्यास्त-70a द्बोधना⁸देव हि वादिनो जयोन्यथा च पराजय इति कथं साक्षिण एव न प्रति-पादयेत (?त्) किञ्चावश्यं साक्षिवत्प्रतिवाद्यपि प्रतिपादः। कस्मात्तदप्रतिपादने बोषाभि¹धानात् । तच्छ(ले)न साक्षिप्रभृतयः प्रत्यवमृश्यन्ते यदि साक्षिप्रभृतयो न प्रतिपाद्या भवेयुस्ततो यद् भवद्भिः परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यान्त्रिरभिहितमविज्ञात²म-विज्ञातार्थे निग्रहस्थानमुक्तं (न्या० सू० ५।२।१६) । तद्विरुद्धचत इत्यर्थः।

प्रतिपाद्यस्य शिष्यत्त्वात्, विजिगीषुवादप्रतिषेधत्वात् त्रिरिभधानवच-नात् । पुनर्वचनप्रसङ्गे समयनियमाभावाच । न चेदमधिकाद्भिद्यत इति न पृथगवाच्यं। विनियतपद्प्रयोगे¹हि साधनवाक्ये त्राधिक्यदोष इति पुनर्वचनेपि गतार्थस्याधिक्यमेव पदस्येति । प्रपञ्चकथायामपि कथितैकार्थ-साधनाधिकरणायालीनार्थसाधनेप्सायां नाना साधनेप्सां वा श्रोतहेंत्वादि-बाहुल्यस्य पुनर्वच ²नस्य दोषत्त्वात् । प्रतीतप्रत्ययाभावाद्धेत्वादिबा-

यच्चोच्यते नायं शिष्य इति तदिसद्धं। प्रतिपाद्यस्य शिष्यत्वात् (1621)। तत्वज्ञा-नार्थतया प्रतिपाद्य एव³ शिष्योन्यस्य तल्लक्षणस्याभावात् । प्रतिवादी च तथाभूतः कथं न शिष्यः। किमच्यते नैवासौ प्रतिवादी तत्वज्ञानार्थास्पर्धया व्युत्थितत्वा-दिति । ⁴तदयुक्तं । पूर्व्वञ्जिगीषुवादप्रतिषेधात् (1621)। एवमपि नैवासौ यत्न-प्रतिपाद्यस्त्रिरभिधाननियमस्य महर्षिणा कृतत्वादित्यत आह । त्रि⁵रभिधान (1621)वचनादित्यादि । अनेनैतहर्शयति । यद्वक्ष्यति । यदि तावत्परप्रतिपादनार्था प्रवृत्तिः किन्त्रिरभिधीयते तथा तथा स ग्राहिणीयो यथास्य प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति। अथ परोपतापनार्था तथापि कि त्रिरिभधीयते। साक्षिणाङ्कर्णे निवेद्य प्रतिवादी कष्टाप्रतीतद्रुतसंक्षिप्तादिभिरुपद्रो⁷ तव्यो यथोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिविमृढस्तूष्णीम्भवतीति । न चेद(16a1)मिति शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं। गम्यमानार्थपुनर्वचनं च। अभेदमेव साधयति । विनिय⁸ते(1621)त्यादिना । आधिक्यं (1622) हेतुदाहरणयोदीषः । एकेन कृतत्वादितरस्यानर्थक्यमिति वचनात्। पुनर्वचनेपि गतो ज्ञातः पूर्वेणैव शब्देनार्थो यस्यो°त्तरस्य पदस्य तदेवमुक्तं। तस्याधिक्यमेव दोष इत्यधिकृतं। 70b किम्पूर्नानयतपदप्रयोगेऽयन्दोष इत्युक्तमिति चेदाह । प्रपञ्चकथायामदोष (16a2) इत्यभिसम्बन्धः। क¹स्य हेत्वादिबाहुल्यस्य (16a2)। पुनर्वचनस्य आदिशब्देनोदाहरणबाहुल्यग्रहणं। कीदृश्यामनिरूपितैकार्थसाधनाधिकर-णायां अर्थः साध्यः। अर्थ्यत इ²ति कृत्वा साधनं। हेतुरधिकरणन्धर्मी। अर्थसहितं साधनमर्थसाधनं । मध्यपदलोपात् । एकञ्च तदर्थसाधनञ्च तथोक्तम् । तस्याधि-करणन्तदनिरूपि³तमेकार्थसाधनाधिकरणं यस्यां प्रपञ्चकथायां प्रतिवादिना धर्मिणो जीवशरीरादेर्नेको धर्मो नैरात्म्यादिषु प्रमातुमिष्टोऽपित्वनेकः क्षणि कत्वानात्मत्वा-नीश्वरकर्त्तृ त्वादिस्तथा नैकेनैव हेतुना किन्त्वनेकेनापि तस्यामित्यर्थः। एतदेव यथाकमं बूते । नानार्थसाधनेप्सायां नाना साधनेप्सायां वा श्रोत्रिति (1622) पूर्विकः साधनशब्दो भावसाधनत्वात्सिद्धिवचनः । उत्तरस्तु करणसाधनत्वाद्धेतुव-चनः। तस्माद्धेत्वादिबाहु°त्यं वचनबाहुल्यं साधनेन विनियतपदे दोषः। कस्मा (त्)

हुत्यं वचनवाहुत्यक्च साधनदोष इति । आधिक्यपुनर्वचनयोस्तृत्यदोष इति सङ्ग्रह्वचनं न्याय्यं, दोषाभावादेव गुगाभावात् । एवं प्रकारागां भेदानां वचने चा तिप्रसङ्गादित्युक्तं ।पर्यायशब्दकल्पां ह्युपरोक्ते तु प्रतिपादिते विषये वर्त्तमानः प्रतिपाद्यानि (१ पाद्यां) विशेषाभावात् । अर्थः पुनः प्रति-पादनान्न भिद्यते । यत्पुनकक्तमनुवादे त्वपुनकक्तं शब्दाभ्यासादर्थविशे षोपपत्तेः यथा हेत्वपदेशात्प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्यचनं निगमनिति (न्याव्रशिष्) । प्रतिज्ञाया एवङ्गम्यमानार्थाया वचनं पुनर्वचनं कि पुनरस्याः पुनर्वचनमित्ययुक्तं निगमनं ॥

विज्ञातस्य पर्षदा त्रिश्म(त्रि)रभिहितस्याप्रत्युच्चारणमननुभाषण्ं(न्या० ५।२।१६)।"विज्ञातवाक्यार्थस्य पर्षदा प्रतिवादिना त्रिभिर(त्रि)भिहितस्य यद-प्रत्युचारणं तदननुभाषणन्नाम निष्रहस्थानमप्रत्युचारयन् किमाश्रयं पर १पच-प्रतिषेधं कुर्यादिति" । उत्तरेणावसानान्नदं निष्रहस्थानमिति चेन् । स्यादेत-

प्रतीताय्याभावात् ।प्रत्य तुल्यो दोष इति कृत्वा सङ्ग्रह एव न्याय्यः। अधिकमेव वा वक्तव्यं पुनरुक्तं मेव चेत्यर्थः। अनयोरेकिस्मिन्द्वितीयस्यान्तर्भावात् । कथं पुनः शब्द-पुनरुक्ते ऽधिकस्यान्तर्भाव इत्याह । पर्य्यायशब्दकल्पो (1624) हचपरो द्वितीयो हेतुरेकहेतुप्र®तिपादिते विषये प्रवर्त्तमानः(।) कि कारणं(।)प्रतिपाद्यस्य विशेषाभा-712 वात्। अर्थस्य पुनरुक्तन्तर्ति कथमधिकेन्तर्भवतीत्याह अर्थः पुनः प्रतिपादना श्रि भिद्यत इति ॥ अर्थशब्देनार्थपुनरुक्तम्पुपलक्षयति । पुनः प्रतिपादते अनेनेति पुनः प्रतिपादनं हेतुदाहरणाधिकमेव । इदमुक्तस्भवति (।)स्फुटमेवास्य उदा हरणाधिकन्तर्भावः। तथाहि साधर्म्यवति प्रयोगे वैधर्म्योदाहरणस्याप्रयोगोऽर्थपुनरुक्तस्योदाहरणमुक्तं। यत्पुनरुक्तमेवाद्यपवादप्रतिषेद्यः सुज्ञानः ॥०॥²

विज्ञातो वाक्यार्थो यस्य त्रिरिभिहितस्य तत्तथा। विशेषणसमासो वा विज्ञातरचासौ वाक्यार्थरुचेति त्रिरिभिहितस्य वादिनेति प्रतिपत्तव्यं।। प्रतिवादिना प³दप्रत्युच्चारणमिति सम्बन्धनीयं। त्रिवचनं सकुदिभिहितस्याननुभाषणेपि न निग्रह्
इति ज्ञापनार्थं। अप्रत्युच्चारणञ्च शब्दद्वारेणार्थद्वारेण् वा। निग्रहस्थानत्वे कारणमाह। अप्रत्युच्चारयन् किमाश्रयम्परपक्षे प्रतिषेधं ब्रूयादि (1627)ति न विषयन्द्रषणाभिधानन्नास्तीत्यर्थः।। इदन्त्वयोक्तं मिति ङकुत्त्वा दूषणम्वाच्यं। एवन्दूषणवाक्य

^१न्या० भा० पु० २६२।

दुत्तरेगा गुगादोषवता मूढ़ामूढत्त्वं गम्यत इति किमुचारितेन। श्रास्ति हि कश्चि-दुत्तरेण समर्थो न प्रव्युचारेणेनासौ तावता निप्रहमहेंदिति। नोत्तरविषया-परिज्ञानाद्ययत्र प्रत्युचारयति निविषयमुत्तरं प्रसज्येत । अथोत्तरं व्रवीति कथं नोच्चारयति । तर्द्दं व्याहतमुच्यते नोचारयति ⁸ उत्तरख्च व्रवीतीति । अप्रतिज्ञानाच न चेदं न प्रतिज्ञायते पूर्व सर्वमुचारयितव्यं पश्चादुत्तरमभि-धातव्यमिति । त्रपित् यथा कथञ्चिदुत्तरं वाच्यमुत्तरञ्चाश्रयोऽभावेऽयुक्त-मिति युक्तमप्रत्युचारणित्रप्र(ह)स्था⁹नमिति । यदि नाम वादी स्वसाध-नार्थविवरण्ट्याजेन प्रसङ्गाद्परं घोषयेद्विवादास्पद्ञ जिज्ञासितमर्थमात्र-मुक्त्वा प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषपरंपरयाऽपरानर्थानुपन्निष्य कथां विस्तारये ¹०-

मिप साधनवादिना प्रत्यनुभाष्य परिहर्तव्यं । अतो द्वयोरपीदं निग्रहस्थानं । अत्र भार-द्राजोन्यक्षेणा क्षेपन्तावत्करोति उत्तरेणावसानात्परिज्ञानान्नेदन्निग्रहस्थानमिति चेदि-ति। इदम्वाक्यम्ब्याचष्टे (।)स्वादेति (1627)त्यादिना। नोत्तरिवषयपरिज्ञानादिति स ए"व प्रतिविधत्ते । यद्ययमि (1628) त्याद्यस्यैव विभागः । अप्रतिज्ञानाच्चेति स एव । उत्तरञ्चाश्रयाभावे परपक्षोपक्षेपाभावे सत्ययुक्तमिति युक्तमप्रत्युच्चारणे⁸ निग्रहस्थानिमत्येतावान् परकीयो ग्रन्थः । अत्राचार्यो दूषणम्बक्तुमारभते । यदि नाम वादीस्वसाधनार्थस्य विवरणव्याजेन प्रसङ्गादपरापरं घोषये⁹त्। यथोदा- 71b हृतम्प्राक्तत्र करणभुवनानि बुद्धिसत्कारणपूर्व्वकाणीति प्रतिज्ञाशरीरादिव्याख्यान-च्छद्मना सकलं वैशेषिकतन्त्रं घोषयेदिति (16210)। तथा जिज्ञासितम¹र्थमात्र-मुक्त्वा कथां विस्तारयेद्यदि नाम वादीति वर्तते । किङकृत्वा विस्तारयेदित्याह । प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणपरम्परयाऽपरान् सिध्यनुपयोगिनोर्थानुपक्षिप्य (16b10)।² यथा निर्दाशतं पूर्व्वन्नित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यः शब्द इति विवादे जैमिनीयः प्रमाणयति । द्वादशलक्षणेत्यादिना । व्याचव्टे च द्वादशलक्षणानि । यथा वाऽक्षपादा ए[°]वङकूर्वन्ति । किमभी सर्वे संस्काराः क्षणिका नो वेति विवादे रूपत्वादिसामान्याश्रय (त्वा) त्तदा-श्रयास्तद्विषयाञ्च प्रत्यक्षादयः प्रत्ययाः स्वात्मलाभानन्त रप्रध्वंसिनो न भवन्ति। समानानामसमानजातीयद्रव्यसंयोगविभागजनितशब्दकार्यशब्दाभिषेयत्वात्प्रागभा -वादिवदिति । ननु च प्रतिज्ञादीिष्वत्यत्रादिशब्देन कि गृहचते । न तावद्धेतूदाहरणे तन्मात्रमुक्त्वेति वचनात्। न चापरः किःचत्प्रस्तुतोऽत्रेति (।) नैष दोषो यतो हेत्वादिमात्रमप्युक्त्वेति द्रष्ट⁶व्यं । तेन हेत्वादीनामेवादिग्रहणेन आक्षेप इति केचित् । अपरे पुनराहरस्थानमेवेदमाशङ्कितं । क्त्वाप्रत्ययनिर्देशेत्र । यस्मादयमत्रार्थी यत्र प्रतिवा विना जिज्ञासितमर्थमात्रमन्यविशेषणरहितमक्षणिकत्वादिकं तदुक्त्वा वाद्य-

त्। तम सर्वे यदा नानुवक्तुं शक्तुयात् कस्तस्य विवादाश्रयाथमत्रोत्तरवचने सामर्थ्यविघातो येन वादिवचनानुभाषणात्रिग्रहस्थानमुच्यते। तस्माम 16b सर्वा वादिकथामननुभाषमाणो¹¹ नोत्तरेऽसमर्थः।

यद्वचननान्तरीयका जिज्ञासितार्थसिद्धिर्यथापच्चधर्मता व्याप्ति-प्रसाधनमात्रं। न तत्रापि प्रसङ्गान्तरोपचेपस्तद्वश्यं साधनाङ्गविषयत्त्वा-द् दूषणमेवोपद्श्येत एव। न तत्रापि न सर्व प्रागनुक्रमेणोचार्यितव्यं। पश्चाद् दूषणं वाच्यं। विरुद्धोचारणप्रसङ्गात्। दूपणविषयोपदर्शनार्थेऽनु-भाषणे वादिवचनानुक्रमघोषणं व्यर्थमिति न कार्यमेवदूपयता १ स्याद्यं दोष इति नान्तरीयत्त्वात्। प्रतिदोषवचनं विषयोपदर्शनं क्रियत एव (।) नहि सर्वविषयोपदर्शनं कृत्वा युगपदोषः शक्यतेऽभिधातुं, प्रत्यर्थ

हमेतत्साधयामीत्युत्तरकालप्रमाणमारचयन्प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणप⁸रम्परयापरान -र्थानुपक्षिप्य कथाम्बिस्तारयेदिति । तच्चे (16211)ति प्रतिज्ञादिविशेषणपरम्परया यदप्रस्तुतमेव नाटकाख्यायिकाघोषणकल्पं वादिनोद्ग्रा हितं । तदा कस्तस्य विवा-दाश्रयश्चासावर्थमात्रश्चाक्षणिकत्वादिकन्तस्योत्तरवचने सामर्थ्यविघातो नैवेत्यर्थः। तस्मान्न वादिकथामननुभाषमाणः प्रति¹वाद्युत्तरवाद्येन (?) समर्थः । किन्तु यद्वचनना-न्तरीयिका जिज्ञासितार्थेसिद्धिस्तदवश्यमुपदश्यंत एवेति सम्बन्धः। कस्मात्सा-धनाङगविषयत्वाद् दूषणस्य । परो भनीते हि साधने दूषणम्प्रवर्तत इति सम्बन्धः किन्नान्तरीयिका पूर्नीजज्ञासितार्थसिद्धिरित्याह । यथा पक्षधर्मता व्याप्तिप्रसाधन-मात्रमि(16b1)ति व्याप्तिः प्रसा³ध्यतेनेनेति व्याप्तिप्रसाधनं बाधकप्रमाणोप-दर्शनं किमियमित्यपि साधनप्रयोगेऽर्थान्तरोपक्षेपः कर्तव्यो नेत्याह । न । तत्रापि प्रसङ्गान्तरो पक्षेप (16b1) इति नैरर्थक्यादिति मतिः(।)तावत् मात्रमुपदर्श्यते कि प्रागनुक्रमेण । पश्चासु दूष्यते नेत्याह । तत्रापि दूषणविषयोपदर्शनार्थेऽनु-भा⁵षणे न सर्व्वं यावदुपन्यस्तं वादिना तद्दूषणाभिधानात् । प्रागनुक्रमेणो-च्चारियतव्यं । कस्मात् त्रिरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गात् । द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गमेव प्रति-पादियतुमादिप्रस्थानमाचरित । दूषणेत्या (16b2)दिना । यदि वचनानुक्रमघोषणं न करोति निविषयमिदानीं दूषणम्प्रसक्तमित्याह । नान्तरीय⁷कत्वा (व्16b3) दूषयता विषयोपदर्शनं क्रियत एव । कथम्प्रतिदोषवचनं दोषवचनं दोषवचनम्प्रति । यो यो दोषो भण्यते तस्य तस्य विषयः कथ्यत इत्य⁸र्थः । इदमेवाह (।)अस्य वाद्युक्त-स्यायन्वोष इति । किम्पुनः कारणं सर्व्वप्रत्युच्चार्ययुगपद्दूषणन्नोच्यत इति चेदाह । 72b नहीं (16b3) त्यादि । कुतः प्रत्यर्थं दो धमेदात् । विषयवद् भिद्यते दोष इति दोषभेदात् । तस्माद्यं पदार्थं दूषयति ३ स एव तद्दूषग्विषयस्तदा प्रदर्शनीयो नापरस्तु दूषग्रेऽपरोपदर्शनस्यासम्भवात् । तस्मिन्दूषिते पुनरन्योर्थोऽपरदोषविषय इत्ययमनुभाषग्रे दूषग्रे च न्यायः । सक्त्र-स्मर्वानुभाषग्रेपि दोषवचनकाले पुनर्विषयप्रदर्शनीय एवाप्रदर्शिते दोषस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्। तथा च द्विरनुभाषग्रं कृतं स्यात् । तत्र प्रथमं सर्वानुक्रमानुभा षण् निष्प्रयोजनं, दूषग्वादिना दूषग्रे वक्तव्ये यन्न तत्रोपयुज्यते तस्याभिधानमदोषोद्भावनं द्विषक्तिरचेति । सक्त्रत्सर्वानुभाषग्रं पराजयाधिकरग्रं वाच्यं । तिष्यास्त्विति चेत् । स्यादेतदुक्तमेतद्र्थान्तरं निमहस्थानमिति तत्र साधने यतः कुतिश्चत्रसङ्गादिना नान्तरोय-काभिधानं वादिनोऽर्थोन्तरगमनमेवेति । स निमहाद्देः। न कश्चित्तत्क-थितिकयमाग्रप्रसङ्गो न प्रसञ्चते । नापि तत्तस्यानुभाषग्रीयं, न चेद्मप्य-समाभिरनुङ्गायते सर्वे प्राक् सक्चद्वक्तव्यं पश्चाद्दृषग्रामिति । किन्तु दूषयता-

यावत् । एवमारचितादिप्रस्थानो द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गम्प्रदर्शयति सकृदेवाप्रघुष्टो न । सर्व्वानुभाषणेस्य प्रदक्षिते वि¹षयदोषस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । केवलमिदं निःप्रयोजनपराजयाधिकरणं चेत्याह। दूषणवादिना दूषणे वक्तव्ये (16b6) सति यत्र सर्व्वानुक्रमभाषणं तत्र² परपक्षक्षोभेनोपयुज्यते तस्याभिधानमिदन्द्विरुक्तपदो-द्भावनञ्चेत्येवं व्यत्याशेन (? सेन) पदविन्यासः कार्य इति तस्मात्सर्व्वानुक्रम-भाषणम्पराजया³धिकरणं वाच्यं अत्रेदानीमाक्षपादः सर्व्वमिदं दूषणमनभ्युपगमेनैव पूर्व्वपक्षस्यास्माभिः प्रतिव्यूदमिति मन्यमानोऽभ्यनुजानाति । तथास्त्व (16b7) ति । स्यादेतदित्येतदेव व्याचष्टे । यतः कुतश्चिदि (16b7)ति साधनार्थ-विवरणस्य व्याजेन प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणपरम्परोपक्षेपेण चाप्रसङ्गात् अनं -तरीयकाभिधानं (16b 7) रूपसिद्धिनामादिव्याख्यानकल्पत्त्वाद्वादिनोऽर्थान्तर-गमनमेवेति स तेन निग्रहार्हः। प्रासङ्गिकं ब्रुवाणः किमिति निगृ⁶हचत इति चेदाह । निह कश्चित् क्वचित् क्रियमाणप्रसङ्गो न प्रयुज्यते। यथोक्तम्प्राक् नैरात्म्यवादिनः। तत्साधने नृत्यगीतादेरपि प्रसङ्ग इति। नापि तद्यद्वादि⁷ना प्रसङ्गत्वेन आहितं । तस्य प्रतिवादिनो ऽनुभाषणीयं (16b8) । अनुपयुज्यमाण[?न]त्वन्नैवानुभाषणमहंतीत्यर्थः । तदेतेन यत्पूर्वमुक्तं यदि नाम वादी स्वसाधनार्थविवरणव्याजेने (15b10) त्यादि तदभ्यनुज्ञातं । संप्रति यदुक्तं तत्रापि न सर्व्वं क्रमेणोच्चारयितव्यं। पश्चाद् दूषणम्वाच्यं द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गादिति तदन्°जानाति । न चेदमप्यस्माभिरित्या(16b8)विना ।

ऽवश्यं विषया वर्शनीयोऽन्यथा दृषणावृत्तेरिति ।

एवन्तर्ह् नाऽननुभाषणं पृथग् निम्नहस्थानं वाच्यं। (अ)प्रतिभया ग-तत्त्वात् । उत्तरस्य हि र (१ अ-) प्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिना (न्या० ५।२।१८) (अ)प्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा, न चोत्तरिवययमप्रदर्शयन्तुत्तरं प्रविपत्तं समर्थः। न द्यनात्तिप्रानुत्तरप्रतिपत्तिकमननुभाषणं, तेनाननुभाषणस्य व्यापिकाया-मप्रतिभायां विहितं निम्नहस्थानत्त्वमननुभाषणं न-मेवाग्(१)विधिविहित-मिव सा 1 ०स्नादिमत्त्वं वाहुत्येपि तस्माद्यतिभैव निम्नहाधिकरणस्त्वेन

आचार्य आह । यदि भवद्भिरप्ये [?पी]दमेवेष्टमेवन्तर्हि नाननुभाषणम्पृथ-ग्वाच्यं (16b9)। कस्मात् प्रतिभयागत्वात् । गतत्त्वमेव प्र¹तिपादयति। उत्तरस्य ह्यप्रतिपत्तेरप्रतिभा (न्या० सू० ५।२।१८)। ततः कथडगतिमत्याह। न चोत्तरविषयमप्रदर्शयन् प्रतिबाह्तरं प्रतिपत्तं ज्ञातुविभधातं वा समर्थः।² किमिति न शक्त इत्याह। न हीत्यादि। चोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरुत्तरा प्रतिपत्तिरि-त्यर्थः। सा नाक्षिप्ता येनाननुभाषणेन तत्तया। प्रतिषेयद्वयाद्विव्यवसीयः आक्षि-प्तोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिकमेवेति । एतद्कतम्भवति । यो हि नामोत्तरम्प्रतिपव्यतेऽतोवश्यं तद्विषयमप्यवेत्यस्येदं दूषणीमिति परिज्ञानात् परिज्ञातिविषयञ्च कथं सचेतनो न तमनुभावते । तस्माद्यत्राननुभाषणन्तत्राप्रतिभयाभाव्यनिति सा तस्य व्यापिका तरूरिवलविरस्य तस्याञ्च विहितं निग्रहस्थानत्वं व्याप्येऽनन्भायणे तदा क्षिपतीत्येतिमगमनव्याजेनाह । तेनेत्यादि । अत्रैव बृष्टान्तं बृते गव्यपरामृष्ट⁰ तद्भेदायां सामान्यभूतायाम्बिहितमिव सा (?सा)स्नादिमत्त्वत्तद्वचाप्तबाहुलेयेऽपि-लब्धमिति वर्तते। प्रयोगः पुनर्यदेकविधानसामर्थ्यादनक्तमपि लभ्याते। ननु-भूयः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारिणा विधातव्यं । तद्यथा गोजातौ शा (?सा) स्नादिमत्वविधानसाम-र्थ्यात् प्रतिलब्धं तहंचेषु शा(?सा)स्नादिमत्वं। अप्रतिभानिग्रहस्थान त्विधान-सामर्थ्यात् प्रतिबद्धश्चाननुभाषणनिग्रहस्थानत्विमिति व्यापकविवद्धोपलव्यः (।) नन् च विषयं विषयक्च प्रपञ्चोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यमानोप्यति^०भयकम्पादिभिर्व्याकुलीकृत-चेताः प्रतिवादीनानुभाषते स विषयोऽनन्भाषणस्याप्रतिभयानालीढस्तत्कथं सा तस्य व्यापिका यतोऽयं हेतुः सिद्धो भविष्यति । नैय सम्भवात् । निह विषयं विषयविषय-ञ्चोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यमानः कुतिश्चिद्विभेति वेपते वा तदज्ञानकृतत्वाद् भयवेपथुस्वेदा-दीनां। अय तथाभूतोऽपि भव्यादिभिराकुलीक्रियते स तहर्यादावेव तथाभूतो वाद-मिप कर्तुन्नैव धावित । अपि च । यदि परं बाला एवैवं भूता भवन्ति । न च बाल-व्यवहारानिधकृत्य³ न्यायशास्त्राणि प्रणीयन्ते । यद्वैवमप्यप्रतिभायामन्तर्भावी

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वा नाननुभाषणं। कश्चायं समयनियमिक्वरिभिहितस्याननुभाषणिमि ति। 172
यदि तावत्परप्रत्यायनार्था प्रवृत्तिः किन्त्रिरिभधोयेत¹। तथा तथा
स प्राह्णी (यो) यथास्य प्रतिपत्तिभेवति। श्रथ परोपता(प)नार्थी तदापि
किं त्रिभिर्मिधीयते। सान्तिणां करणें निवेद्य प्रतिवादी कष्टाप्रतीतद्रुतसंन्तिप्रतिपत्तिवमुद्धस्तूष्णीम्भवति।
निह्न परोपतापनक्रमे कश्चिन्न्यायो येन कष्टाप्रतीतप्रयोगद्रुतोश्चारिता
निवार्यन्ते त्रिभिरिभधानं वा विधीयते। न च परोपतापाय सन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते शास्त्राणि वा प्रणीयन्ते इत्यदो वक्तव्यं तस्मात्तावद्वक्तव्यं
यावदनेन (न) गृहीतं न त्रिभिरेव। श्रप्रहणसामध्यं प्रागेव वा परिन्छिन्नसामध्येन परिहर्त्तव्यः पुनरनुप्रति वोध्येति [१ध्य इति]।।

नैव व्याहन्यते । यस्माद्विविधोत्तरा प्रतिपत्तिरुत्तराज्ञानरूपोत्तरानभिधानरूपा च। तस्माद्यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । अथ परोपतापनार्था तथापि किन्त्रिरभिधीयते । किन्तीह कार्य्यगित्याह। साक्षिणामुत्कोचोपसङ्कमं कर्णे निवेद्या⁵यमत्रार्थो मया विव-क्षित इत्युत्तरकालं प्रतिवाद्यनाथो वराकः कष्टाऽप्रतीतद्वृतसंक्षिप्तादिभिः शब्दैरिति शेषः। उपद्रोतव्यः। कस्माद्दु°र्भणाः। अप्रतीताः सिंहलभाषादिवदसं केतिकाः । द्रुताः शीघ्मुच्चारिताः । संक्षिप्ता सूत्रवाण्टादिवद्वर्त्त्लीकृतार्थाः । आदि-ग्रहणेन गोपिता⁷र्थानाङग्रहणं। यथा। सत्वादुर्वायुस्ते विश्यायोतायाञ्चारात्य-स्वन्तं पक्षे नोलंबिम्बज्ञायैःवेष्टातोयास्पृष्टेशः शमिति । यथा । संप्रति वादी उत्तरप्रतिपत्तौ विसृद(:) तुष्णीं भवति । पर्षत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां त्रिरिभहितम-विज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थं (न्या० सू० ५।२।९) मित्यत्र विलब्दकब्दादिशब्दप्रयोगस्य मुनि-नानिवारितत्वात् नैवमन्यायं कतुं लभ[®]त इति चेदाह। नहि परोपतापकम इत्यादि किञ्च न परोपतापनाय सन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते शास्त्राणि वा प्रणीयन्ते तैरित्युक्तं दुर्जन-विप्रतिपत्य¹धिकरणे सतां सा[?शा]स्त्राप्रवृतेरित्यत्र । यतञ्च परानुपतापियतुं न सन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते तस्मात्तावद् वक्तव्यं यावदनेन न गृहीतं न त्रिरेव वक्तव्यमित्यधि-कृतं । अथ² वादिना शतधापुनः पुन रिभधाने प्रतिवाद्यतिजङ्गताद् गृहीतुं न शक्नो-तीति निश्चितन्तदाऽग्रहणसामर्थ्यं कथञ्चिन्निश्चिते साधनप्रयोगात्प्रागेव³ परि-हर्तव्यो नानेन सहोद्ग्राहयामीति परिच्छिन[?च्छिन्न]मसामर्थं[?थ्यं]। ग्रहणेऽति-जाडचापरनामकप्रतिवादिसम्बन्धियेन वादिना स तथा। कथं तथा परिहरन्ना-शक्तः शंक्यत इत्याह । पराणन[?न्]साक्षिणः प्रबोध्य नायं शक्तो वाक्यार्थं बोद्धुं वस्तु त्वेवं व्यवस्थितमिति ॥४॥

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श्रविज्ञातमज्ञानं (न्याय ५।२।१७)। "विज्ञातं पर्पदा प्रतिवादिना यद्विज्ञातं तद्ज्ञानं नाम निम्रहस्थानमथं खल्वित्रज्ञाते न तस्य प्रतिपेधं श्र्या-दिति ।" एतद्य्यननुभाषण्यद्त्रेति तत्रेव गम्यस्याद्वाच्यं। यथाऽननुभाषण्ऽप्रदशितिवषयत्यादुत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरशक्येति (।) श्रनुत्त(र)-प्रतिपत्त्येव नित्रहस्थानत्वसुत्तरविषयप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्गः मन्तरेणानुभाषण्स्य

अविज्ञा तञ्चाज्ञान (न्या० सू० ५।२।१७) मिति भावे निष्ठाविधानात् साधनवाष्यार्थापरिज्ञानं निग्रहस्थानं। तत एव भाष्ये टीकाळुतो विवृण्वन्ति वादयार्थविषयस्य विज्ञानस्यानुत्प[®]त्तिरज्ञानिमति । अस्तु वा कर्मण्येव निष्ठाविधानं तथापि वारपार्थविषयज्ञानानुत्पत्या विशेषि तं वादिप्रयुक्तं वारपमेव प्रतिवादिनो निग्रहस्थान'मिति न किञ्चिद्वचाहत्यते । अन्ये पुनविवरणेथंग्रहणं पश्यन्तः सुत्रे-प्यर्थग्रहणं भ्यान्त्या पठन्ति । अविज्ञातार्थञ्चाज्ञानमिति सोऽन्येषां पाठः । विज्ञा-तार्थं साधनवार्थं परिषदा तस्य प्रतिवादिना यदिवज्ञातमनवबोधस्तदज्ञान-मित्येवं भावपक्षेऽक्षरिवन्यासः। कर्मपक्षे तु तस्येति नाध्याहर्तव्यमेकवा वित्यत्येव तु व्याख्यातं । निज्ञातं पर्पदेति किमर्थं पर्षदाप्यविज्ञाते वादिन एवाविज्ञातार्थ निप्रहस्थानं भवतीति ज्ञापनाय। निप्रहस्थानत्वे कारणमाह। अर्थे खल्व'विज्ञाते प्रतिवादी न तस्य प्रतिवेधं ब्रूयादिति । अपरे तूत्तरेण द्रूषणग्रन्थेन सहैतत् सम्बध्नन्ति तच्चायुक्तं भाष्यवार्तिकप्रन्थत्वादस्य। गम्यत्वमेव साध²यति यथाऽननुभाषणेऽनु-त्तरप्रतिपत्यंव निग्रहस्यानत्वं कथमुत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरित्याह । अप्रविशतिवषयत्वा-त्प्रतिवादिनोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरशक्येति^३ कृत्वाऽप्रवशितो विषयो येनेति विज्ञेयं विज्ञे-षणसमासो वा। तथाहि दूषणस्य विषयस्यापनार्थमनुभाषते तञ्च परित्यज्य यद्यदेव वा विनाऽनुद्ग्राहितमालजालमनुभाषते । तदानीमुत्तरविषयप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्ग-मन्तरेण तथाभूतस्यानुभाषणस्य वैयर्थ्यादशक्येतिवर्तते । अ⁵नुग्रहप्रतिपत्यैव निग्रह-स्थानत्विमिति वा। दार्ष्टीन्तिकमुपसंहरति। तथा ज्ञानेऽप्युतराप्रतिपत्यैव निग्रह-स्थानत्विमिति । यस्मादजानन् प्रति⁶वादिदूपणतद्विषयौ कथमुत्तरविषयञ्च बूयात्। उत्तरविषयो दूष्यः। क्वचित् पाठः। कथमुत्तरमृत्तरविषयञ्चोतरिमिति। अत्रैवं यदसम्ब⁷न्थः। अजानस्नुत्तरविषयञ्च कथमुत्तरम्बूयादिति। तस्माद्विषया-ज्ञानमुतराज्ञानञ्च निग्रहस्थानमप्रतिभयैव गम्यत्वात्। अवाच्यमिति वर्तते किं कारणमन्यथैवमनिष्प्रमाणे सत्यप्रतिभाषा निर्विषयत्वात् । कथं निर्विषयत्विमत्याह ।

^९अविज्ञानं चाज्ञानम्—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

वैयर्थ्यात् । तथाऽज्ञानेप्युत्तराप्रतिपत्त्येव निमहस्थानत्वमजानानः कथमुत्तरमुत्तरविषयख्च त्रूयादिति । विषयाज्ञानमुत्तराज्ञानस्त्र निप्रहस्था -नं मन्येथा अतिप्रतिभासानिविषयत्त्वात्। अनवधारितार्थो हि नानुभाषते(।) अननुभाषमाणो विषयमुपप्र(द)श्योत्तरं प्रतिपत्तं न शक्नुयादित्युत्तरं न प्रतिपद्येत । ज्ञातोत्तरतद्विषयस्योत्त⁸राप्रतिपत्तेरसम्भवात । उभयमेत-दुत्तराप्रतिपत्तेः कारणमिति तद्भावे प्रतिपत्तिर्भवत्येवेति तयोः पृथग्व-चनेऽप्रतिभायाः को विषय इति वक्तव्यं निर्विषयस्वाद्वाच्यस्वात् च 17b स्यात् । नोत्तरज्ञानमज्ञानं किन्तर्हि विषयज्ञानं ज्ञाते हि विषये उत्तरा-ज्ञानात्। तस्र प्रतिपद्येतेति।

अनवधारितार्थो हीत्यादि । अनवधारि⁹तोर्थपूर्वपक्षस्योत्तरस्य च येन प्रतिवादिना 752 स नान् भाषेत् । अनन् भाष्यमाणश्चासौ विषयमप्रदश्योत्तरं प्रतिपत्तन्न शक्नुयादित्यत उतरन्न प्रतिपद्येत । न जानीयान्नाभिदध्याद्वा । कस्माद्रत्तरविषययोरज्ञाने सत्यत्तरा-प्रतिपत्तिरित्यत आह ज्ञानोत्तरतद्विषयस्योत्तराप्रतिपत्तेरसंभवादिति। उत्त²रतद्विषयो येनेति वृत्तः। तस्मादुभयमेतदुत्तराज्ञानं। विषयाज्ञानञ्च प्रति-पत्तेरप्रतिभापरपर्य्यायायाः कारणं। ननु चोत्तराज्ञानमेवाप्रतिभा त³त्कथं सैवा-त्मनः कारणत्वेनोपिद्ययते । नोत्तरानिभधानलक्षणाया अप्रतिभासाया विवक्षित-त्वात् । तदभाव इति तयोरुत्तरिवषयाज्ञानयोरभा वे सित प्रतिपत्तिरिभधान-मुत्तरस्य भवत्येव । इति तस्मात्तयोर्विषयाज्ञानोत्तरज्ञानयोरज्ञानसंज्ञितेन निग्रह-स्थानेनाप्रतिभा निग्रहस्थाना⁵त् पृथक्वचने सत्यप्रतिभायाः को विषय इति वक्तव्यं। न चेद्विषयो भण्यते। तदा निर्विषयत्वादवाच्यैव स्यादप्रतिभा। तयोर-ज्ञानानुभाषणयो⁶ः पृथग्वचन इत्यन्ये व्याचक्षते । अज्ञानाप्रतिभयोविषयभेदव्यव-स्थापनाय परः प्राह । नोत्तरज्ञानमज्ञानमुच्यते । यतोऽप्रतिभा निर्विषयत्वादवा⁷-च्यम्भवेत् । किन्तहर्चज्ञानमित्याह । विषयाज्ञानं । एवमपि कथमप्रतिभा विषय-वती भवतीत्याह । ज्ञाते विषये सत्युत्तरकालमुत्तराज्ञानात् । प्रतिवादी त⁸दुतरन्न प्रतिपद्येत न ब्रुयात् । अतोऽस्ति विषयोऽप्रतिभायाः । अज्ञानाकान्तः । एवमप्य-वाच्य⁹त्वान्नमुच्यस इत्याह । एवन्तर्हीति । अज्ञानेनानुभाषणस्याक्षेपमेव साधयति । निह विषयं सम्यक् प्रतिपद्यमानः कश्चित् सचेतनो नानुभाषेतेति नानुभाषणमः-ज्ञानात्पृथग्वाच्यं । अपिचैवमप्रतिभाष्यननुभाषणवदज्ञानात्पृथग्नवाच्येत्याह । उत्त-राज्ञानस्य चाक्षेपादिति । इदं व्याचघ्टे विषयेत्यादिना । ज्ञाते विषये इत्यादि परः ।

^१ त्या० भा० पु० २६२ ।

म्ब्रस्ति विषयोऽप्रतिभाया इति चेत् । एवन्तह्यननुभाषणं निविषयमज्ञानेनाचेपा न हि विषयं सम्यक् प्रतिपद्यमानः करिचन्ना-नुभाषेतेति नाननुभाषणां पृथम्बाच्यमुत्तराज्ञानस्य चात्तेपान् । विषयाज्ञाने-नोत्तराज्ञानमप्याज्ञिप्तमेव । न हि विषयमज्ञानश्रुत्तरञ्जा²नातीति नैवा-प्रतिभाया विषयोस्ति । ज्ञातेपि विषयं पुनरुत्तराज्ञानमप्रतिभाया विषय इति चेत्। एवन्तर्हि विषयोत्तराज्ञानयोरिप प्रभेदान्निष्यहस्थानान्तरालवा च्यानि । यथाऽज्ञान^३स्य विषयो ज्ञाननुत्तराज्ञानमिति प्रभेदाद्सत्यपि गुणातिश्ये निम्नहस्थानान्तरञ्यवस्था क्रियते । तथाऽज्ञानयोरपि सर्वा क्रमर्द्धा ?)ज्ञानिमत्यादिप्रभेदान्त्रियहस्था नान्तराणि किन्नोच्यन्ते । न दोपो चोभयस्याप्यज्ञानस्य संप्रहवचने — ग्गस्त संब्रहवचनं न्याय्यं । तस्मादननुभाषणाज्ञानयोरप्रतिभाविषयत्त्वान्न पृध्यन्वचनं। ऋषि च न पूर्वोत्तरपत्त्वादिनो हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभाभ्यामन्यक्रि-ब्रहस्थानं न्याय (? य्य) मस्ति । तदुभयवचनेनैव सर्वमुक्तमिति । तदु-भयाचित्रेषु प्रभेदेषु गुण्णातिशयमन्तरेण वचनादेऽतिप्रसङ्ग ।न्)व्यर्थः प्रपद्ध इति ॥

इदमुक्तम्भवति द्विधोत्तराज्ञानविषयाज्ञानसहचरञ्च विषयज्ञानसहचरञ्च। तत्रा-द्यस्य विषयाज्ञाने नाक्षेपेऽप्युत्तरमनाक्षिप्तमेवः ततो द्वितीयापेक्षयाऽप्रतिभायाः पृथगुपादानमिति । अनवस्थैव निग्रहस्थानानां प्रसज्यत इत्याह । एवन्तर्ही-त्यादि। यथेत्याद्यस्यैव वि'भागः। तथा ज्ञानयोरपीति विषयोत्तराज्ञानयोरपि। सर्व्वस्योत्तरस्य विषयस्य चाज्ञानं । आदिप्रहणेन द्वित्रिचतुर्भागाद्यवरोधः । वि^ऽष-योत्तराज्ञानयोः सङ्ग्रहवचने दोष इति चेदाह। न चेति। यथा न दोषस्तथागुणोपि नास्तीति चेदाह। गुणश्च लाघवसंज्ञः स्यादिति सं ग्रहवचनं न्याय्यं। अप्रतिभा-विषयत्वान्न पृथग्वचनं । अप्रतिभावचनेनैवानयोः सङ्ग्रह इत्यर्थः । न केवलमन-योरेवापृथग्वचनं । न्याय्यमपि त्वन्ये वामपीत्याह । अपि चेत्यादि । तदुभयवच-नेनैवेति । हेत्वाभासाऽप्रतिभयोरेव वचनेन सर्वप्रतिज्ञाहान्यनन्भाषणाद्युक्तं । नहि कश्चिद्धचन्यस्साधनवादी^३ प्रतिपक्षधर्ममन्युनुजानाति प्रतिज्ञाम्वा प्रतिज्ञासाध-नायोपादत्त इत्यादि वाच्यं । तदा न कञ्च (द्) दूवणं व्यक्तमेव यन्नानुभाषते । 76a कथां विक्षिपति । परम⁹तञ्चानुजानातीदि (?ति) वक्तव्यं । तदुभयाक्षेपेपि प्रपञ्चो गुणवानतस्तदवचनादरोमुनेरिति चेदाह । तदुभयाक्षिप्तेषु प्रभेदेषु गुणातिशयम¹-न्तरेण । अनुपलभ्यमानत्वाद् गुणस्य प्रपञ्चवचनादरेऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । कक्षपिट्टिता-

उत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा (न्या०५।२।१८)। परपत्तप्रतिषेधे उत्तरं यदा न प्रतिपद्येत तदा निगृही तो वक्तव्यः साधनवचनान्तरम्प्रतिविषय-मुत्तरे व्यर्थ, तदज्ञानकमघोषणश्लोकपाठादिना कालङ्गमयन् कर्त्तव्याप्रति-पत्त्या निम्रहाई इति न्याय्यं निम्रहस्थानमिति ।।

कार्यव्यासङ्गात्कथाविच्छेदो वित्तेपः (न्या० ५।२।१९)। यत्किश्चि-त्कर्त्तव्यं व्यासज्य कथां विच्छिनति । इदं मे करगीयं परिहीयते । श्रस्मि-न्नवसिते पश्चात्करिष्यामि । प्रतिश्याय क श्लात्मञ्ज (?) चिर्णोत्येवमादिना 18a कथां विच्छिनति। स विज्ञेपो नाम निप्रहस्थानमेकमेकतरनिप्रहान्तायां कथायां स्वयमेव कथान्तं प्रतिपद्यत इति । इदमपि यदि पूर्वपत्तवा दी कुर्यात् । व्याजोपत्तेपमात्रेण न पुनमूतस्य तथाविधकथोपरोधिनः कार्य-

दीनामभिधानप्रसङ्गात्। अतो व्यर्थः प्रपञ्चो महामुनिनािकयत²॥०॥

परपक्षप्रतिषेधे कर्तव्ये उत्तरं दूषणं यदा न प्रतिपद्यते न वेत्ति नाभिदधाति तदा निगृहीतो वेदितव्य इतीयान् परग्रन्थः। साध्वेतन्निग्रहस्थानं। अतएवास्मा-भिरपीदमदोषोद्भावनमित्यत्रोक्तभित्येतत् मत्वाऽभ्यनुजानाति । साधनेत्यादि । साधन वचनानन्तरं प्रतिवादिना दूषणस्वक्तव्यं। स य दा सर्व्वं तदकृत्वा सर्व्वा-नुक्रमानुभाषणेन इलोकपाठेन सभासम्बर्ण्यनेनान्येन कालन्नयति तदासौ व्यर्थं निष्प्रयोजनं कालङगमयन्कर्त्तव्यस्य दूषणाभि⁵धानस्य प्रतिपत्त्याऽननुष्ठानेन निगृ-हचते। व्यर्थस्येदं क्रियायाः कालस्य विशेषणं ॥०॥

कार्यव्यासङ्गः कर्णीयोपन्यासः कथाविच्छेदः क धानिवृत्तिः। यथा जीर्ण-कला मे बाधते। सम्प्रति वक्तुं न शक्नोमि पश्चात् कथयिष्यामीति एवमादिना प्रकारेण कथामुद्ग्राहणे काचिच्छिनत्तिः। निग्रहस्थाने कारणमाह। एकतरस्य वादिनः प्रतिवादिनो वाऽसाधनाङ्गवचनेनादोषोद्भावनेन च निगृहणन्ती निग्रह-पर्यवसाना कथा। तस्याञ्च तथाभूतायां प्रस्तुता⁸यां स स्वयमेव कथांतं कथा पर्यवसानं प्रतिपद्यत इति निग्रहस्थानमेतत्। अत्राचार्योब्रुत(।)इदमपि कार्यव्यास-ञ्जनं यदि तावत् पूर्वपक्षवादी कुर्यात्⁹ साधनाभिधानशक्तिविकलत्वाद् व्याजो-पक्षेपमात्रेण येन केनचिच्छलेनेत्यर्थः। न पुनर्भृतस्य तथाविधकथोपरोधिनः कार्यस्य भावे सति कुर्यादिति वर्त्तते । तथा वि¹घामुद्ग्राहणिकारूपाङकथामुपरोद्धुं शीलं यस्य कार्यस्याजीर्णकला कुक्षिशुलगेहु (?) दाहाद्यैस्तत्तथा। यदि सद्भावे-नैव तस्य तस्याम्वेलायां कुक्षिगलशूलगेहु(?)दा²हादयो भवन्ति तथा सित नैव निग्रहस्थानिमत्यर्थः। यदा पुनर्व्याजमात्रेणैव करोति तदा तस्य पुर्व्वपक्षवादिनः

स्य भावे तस्य स्वसाधनासामध्येपरिच्छेदादेव विज्ञेपः स्यात् । तथा चेद्म-र्थान्तरगमन एवान्तर्भवेत्। असमर्थसाधनाभिधानात्। हेत्वाभासेषु वा प्रकृतसाधनासम्बद्धप्रतिपत्तेश्च निर्धकापार्थकाभ्याञ्च न भिद्यते । श्रति-प्रसङ्गरचैवं प्रकाराणामस^३म्बद्धसाधनवाक्यम्प्रतिपत्तिप्रभेदानां निम्रहस्थानव्यवस्थापने प्रोक्तः। अथोत्तरवाद्येवं विचिपेत्तस्यापि साध-नानन्तरमुत्तरे प्रतिपत्तव्ये तद्प्रति पत्या विन्तेपप्रतिपत्तिः प्रतिभाया-मर्थान्तरे वान्तर्भवति ।

ननु नावश्यं साधनदूषणाभ्यामेव सर्वस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्येन सर्वी वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्ने सम्यक् प्रति पत्तेईत्वाभासेथें प्रतिभायां वान्तर्भा-वात्। भवति हि श्रनिवद्धेनापि कथाप्रपञ्चेन विवाद इति। न (।) श्रसम्भवात एकत्र पूर्वकरणे विरुद्धाभ्यपगमयोविवादः स्यात् 16

स्वसाधनासामर्थ्यपरिच्छेदादेव विक्षेपः स्यात्ततः किमित्याह । तथा चेदं विक्षेप-सञ्जितन्निग्रहस्थानमर्थान्तर एवान्तर्भवेत्। रूपसिद्धिनामादिव्याख्यानसमान-स्वात करणीयोपन्यास¹स्य । हेत्वाभासेष्वेवान्तर्भवेदित्यिधकृतं । कस्मादसमर्थञ्च तत्साघनञ्च तस्याभिधानात्। किञ्चेदं निरर्थकापार्थकाभ्यां सकाशान्न भिद्यते। किंकारणं प्रकृतञ्च तत्साधनञ्च तेनासम्बद्धा च सा प्रतिपत्तिश्च ततः साधन-वाक्येन सहास्य दशदाडिमादिवचनस्येव जबगडादिवर्ण्यत्रमस्येव च सम्बद्धानुप-लम्भादित्यर्थः। किञ्चिन्मात्रभेदािन्निमत्तलेशेन पृथगुक्तिमिति चेदाह। अति प्रसङ्गश्चेत्यादि । असम्बद्धासाधनवाक्येन प्रतिपत्तिर्येषां प्रतिभेदानान्तेऽसम्बद्ध-साथनवाक्यप्रतिपत्तयः। ते च ते प्रभेदाश्च तेषामिति कार्यं एवन्तावत् पूर्वपक्षवादि-सम्बन्धेन विक्षेपस्य पृथगनभिधान⁸मुक्तं।। अधुना प्रतिवादिसम्बन्धेनाप्याह। अथोत्तरपक्षवाद्येवं बलासकलात्मकण्ठं क्षिणोतीत्यादिना प्रक्रमेण कथां विक्षिपेत् 772 तदानीन्तस्याप्यु[®]त्तरपक्षवादिनः साधनानन्तरमुत्तरे प्रतिपत्तव्ये सति तदप्रतिपत्त्या तस्योत्तरस्यानभिधानेन विक्षेपप्रतिपत्तिर्यासाऽप्रतिभायामर्थान्तरे वान्तर्भवती¹ित परस्तु यथोक्तमन्तर्भावमसहमानश्चोदयति ।

ननु नावश्यमिति तदेव द्रव्यति (।) भवति हचनिबद्धेनापि साधनवाक्येनास-म्बद्धे नापि कथाप्रवन्धेन² परप्रतिभाहरणायान्तशो जननीव्यभिचारचोदनेनापि विवाद इति । आचार्य आह । नासम्भवादेवंविधस्य विवादस्य । यस्मादेकत्र शब्दादावधिकर⁸णे नित्यत्वानित्यत्वादिप्रतिज्ञानाविरुद्धावभ्युपगमौ ययोर्वादिप्रति वादिनोस्तयोर्विवादः स्यात्। कुत एतदित्याह। अविरुद्धावभ्युपग'मौ ययोस्तौ

श्रविरुद्धाभ्यपगमयोरनभ्यपगमयोर्वा विरोधाभावात । तत्रावश्यमेकस्य प्राग्वचनप्रवृत्तिर्युगपत्प्रवृत्ती परस्परवचनप्रहणावधारिणोन्तराणाम-सम्भ⁷वेन प्रवृत्तिवैफल्यात् । स्वस्थात्मनामप्रवृत्तेः (1) तेन च स्वोपगमो-पन्यासेऽवश्यं साधनं वक्तव्यमन्यथा परेषामप्रतिपत्तेः। अपरेगा च तत्सत्यपि दृषणं उभयो

रसम्यक्षतिपत्तौ हेत्वाभासप्रतिभयोः प्रसङ्ग इति । सर्वो न्यायप्रवृत्तः पूर्वोत्तरपत्तोपन्यासेऽयं नातिपतित । एतेनैव वितरुडा प्रत्युक्ताऽभ्युपगमाभावे विवादाभावात् । यदा तर्ह्यभ्युपगम्य ^{18b} वादं विफलतया न किञ्चिद्धिक, अन्यद्वा यत्किञ्चित्प्रलपति तदा कथं

तथा न विद्येते विरुद्धाविरुद्धयोरभ्युपगमौ ययोः पुरुषयोस्तावभ्युपगमौ। तयो-र्विवादाभावात् । तत्रैतस्मिन्व्यवस्थिते न्याय⁵निर्घारणे वा तत्र शब्दः । एकस्य वादिनः प्रतिवादिनोवश्यं प्राग्वचनप्रवृत्तिः । यौगपद्येन किन्न बृत इत्याह । युगपत्प्रवृत्तौ स्वस्थात्मना⁶मप्रवृत्तेरिति सम्बन्धः। एतदेव कुत इत्याह । परस्पर वचन श्रवणावधारणोत्तराणामसम्भवेन करणभूतेन प्रवृत्ति-वैफल्यात्। यदि हि परस्परवच'नस्यासङ्करेण श्रवणम्भवेत्ततस्तदर्थमवधार-यत्युत्तरञ्च । युगपत्प्रवृत्तौ च दिगम्बरपाठकलकल इव सर्व्वमेतन्न संभवति तस्मा-दवश्यभेकस्य प्राग्वचन प्रवृत्तिः। अतस्तेन च स्वस्थात्मना पूर्व्वपक्षवादिनाऽनित्यं शब्दं साधयामीत्यादिना स्वोपगमोपन्यासे कृते सत्यवश्यं साधनं वस्तव्यं। अन्यथेति हेत्वनभिधा $^{
m e}$ ने परेसां[?षां] साक्षिप्रभृतीनामप्रतिपत्तेः। अपरेण चेत्युत्तरपक्ष- $77^{
m b}$ वादिना तत्सम्बन्धिवादिप्रोक्तसाधनसम्बन्धि दूषणं वक्तव्यमिति वर्त्तते (।) तस्माबुभयोर्वादिप्र¹(ति)वादिनोरसम्यक् प्रवृत्तौ सत्यां हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभयोः संग्रह इति सर्व्वो न्यायप्रवृत्तः पूर्व्वोत्तरपक्षोपन्यासो द्वयं हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभाञ्च नातिपत्ति।

ननु च यदि न्यायः प्रवृत्तः कथन्तत्रास्य द्वयस्याधिकारः। कथञ्चेकत्र र्धामणि विरुद्धावुपन्यासौ न्यायप्रवृत्ताववश्यं हि तत्रैकेनोपन्यासेन न्यायं प्रवृत्तेन भाव्यं । अन्य³था धर्मीद्वचात्मको भवेत् । नाभित्रायापरिज्ञानात् । नेदम्भवता न्यायप्रवृत्तत्वमाचार्येण विवक्षितं पर्यज्ञायि । न्यायप्रवृत्तौ(?) हि पूर्व्वोत्तरपक्षोप⁴-न्यासस्य युगपत्प्रवृत्यभावेन जननी व्यभिचारवेदनाद्यभावेन चाभिप्रेतं। एतेनैकत्र हचिधकरणे विरुद्धाभ्युपगमयोर्विवादः स्यादित्यादि⁵ना वितण्डा प्रत्युक्ता। **कथं** प्रत्युक्तेत्याह । अभ्युपगमाभावे विवादाभावात् । इदमुक्तम्भवति । स्वपक्षस्थापना हीनो वाक्यसमूहो वितण्डेत्युच्य^हते (न्या० सू० १।२।३)। यदि चवैतण्डिकस्य

हेत्वाभासान्तर्भावः । श्रसमर्थितसाधनाभिधान एवमुक्तमनभिधा-नान्याभिधान ग्योरिप पराजय एवेत्युक्तमभ्युपगम्य वार्मसाधनाङ्ग-वचनात् । एतेनाधिकस्य पुनरुक्तस्य च प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य च निमह-स्थानत्वं व्याख्यातं तदिप हि प्रतिपादितार्थविपर्यय श्त्वात्साधनसामध्ये-

स्वपक्षो नास्ति विवादस्तींह कथिमिति वक्तव्यं। परपक्षप्रतिषेधार्थम्वैतण्डिकः प्रवर्त्तत इति चेत् । परपक्षप्रतिषेध एव तहर्यस्य स्वपक्षस्थापनेति वितण्डालक्षणं विशीर्यते । तथा हि यो येनाभ्युपगतः स तस्य स्वपक्षः । परपक्षप्रतिषेधश्च तेनाभ्यप-गतः स्वपक्षतां नातिवर्तत इति । यदा तहर्चुपगम्य वादं प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण विफलतया परिषच्छारद्येन व्याकुलीकृतत्त्वादित्यर्थः। न किञ्चित् साधनं तदायासं वा विकतः। अन्यद्वा किञ्चित् प्रलप⁹ति । साधनतदाभासव्यतिरिक्तं काको विरूपं विरौति नूनमयं मे गेहे विषदं सूचयित तदलमनेन विवादेन । यामि तावद् गेहे किन्तु मे पितु-र्मरणमन्यद्वा वर्त्तत इत्या¹िव । तथा कथं हेत्वाभासान्तर्भावः । साधनाभावाद्वेत्वा-भासासम्भवं मन्यते । उराराप्रतिपत्तिरपि नास्त्येव पूर्व्वपक्षवादित्वादित्यभिप्रायः। तदनेन द्वयन्नातिपतती वैत्येतद्विघटयिनुमिच्छति परः। आचार्य आह। असमिथित-साघनाभिधान एवमुक्तं द्वयं नातिपततीति प्रोक्तसाधन एतदुक्तमिति यावत्। अप्रोक्ते तु कथं प्रतिपत्त³व्यिमत्याह । अनिभधानान्यभिधानयोरिप सतोः पराजयः एवेत्युक्तं प्रकरणावतार एव। तदेव स्मरयति। अभ्युपगम्यवादमसाधनाङगवच-नादिति। तथाहि तत्र व्याख्यातं। साधनाङगस्यानुच्चारणं। साधनाङगाद्वा य-दन्यस्याभिधानं तत्सर्व्वमसाधनाङगवचनमिति। एतेनेत्यन्याभिधानेन पराजय-वचने नाधिकस्य पुनरुक्तस्य च प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य च निप्रहस्थानत्वं व्याख्यातं । कथमित्याह । तदिप हीत्यादि । अनेनैतदाह । यद्युवितयुक्तमक्षपादेन किञ्चि निः प्रहस्थानमुक्तन्तदस्माभिरसाधनाङगवचनपदेनैव संगृहीतमिति यद्येवं देवंचनस्य चेति किमर्थयुक्तन्नहि प्रतिज्ञोपनयनिगमनानां वचनन्नि ग्रहस्थानमक्ष-पादेनोक्तं। प्रत्युत तदवचनमेव निग्रहस्थानतया। यदिष्टं हीनमन्यतमेनाप्यव-यवेन न्यून (न्या० सू० ५।२।१२) मिति । एवं तींह दृष्टान्तार्थमेतद्यथा तस्याप्रतीत⁸ प्रत्यायनशक्तिविकलत्वादसाधनाङगवचनपदेनाभिधानं । तथाधिकपूनर्वचनयो-78b रपीति। तत एव च द्वितीयश्चकार इव शब्दार्थे वर्त्तते। अन्यथा पुनरु क्तस्य चेत्ययं बोध्यर्थः स्यात्। केचित्तूत्तरञ्चकारन्न पठित्त। तैः पुनरुक्तव्याख्यानमेव प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य चेत्येतद् व्याख्येयं। एवमपि न युक्तमक्षपादेनैवम्विधस्य पून¹ रुक्त-स्यानिष्टत्वान्नास्ति दोषः। पूर्व्वतुल्यधर्मतयाऽस्यापि पुनरुक्तेऽन्तर्भावितत्वात्।।०।।

विधानमप्रतीतप्रत्ययतया न लच्चणात् साधनस्यासाधनाङ्गवचनमिति निम्रहस्थानमिति।

स्वपत्तदोषाभ्यपगमात्परपत्ते तं दोषं । प्रसज्जाय (त्या० ५।२।२०) (।) यः परेण चोदितं दोषमनुद्धृत्य भवतोष्ययं दोष इति व्रवीति यथा भवांश्रीरः पुरुषत्वादिति उक्ते स तं प्रति व्याद्भ-वानपीति । स स्वपत्ते दोषाभ्युपगमात्पर पत्ते तं दोषं प्रसञ्जयन् परमत-मनुजानातीति मतानुज्ञा नियहस्थानमिति (।) अत्रापि यदि पुरुषत्वाच्चौरो भवानिप स्यान्न च भवता नैविमष्टस्तस्मान्नायं चौर्यहे तुरिति यद्ययमिन-प्राय: । तदा न क दोपोनिभमते तदात्मिन चौरत्वेन हेतुदर्शने दृषणात ।

स्वपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमात् परपक्षदोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा (न्या० सू० ५।२।२०) (18b3) दोषपरि²हारे वक्तव्ये दोषस्यापरिज्ञानात् परमतमनुजानात्यतो नि-गृहचते। तदाह परेण वादिना चोदितं पर्यनुयुक्तं दोषमनुवृत्या परिहृत्य भवतोप्ययं दोष इति बंबीति। यथा भवांश्चीरः पुरुषत्वा (16b4) च्छवरादि (वदि)त्युक्ते वादिना स प्रतिवादी तं वादिनं प्रतिबूयात् । भवानिष चौर इति सोषि शब्दप्रयोगादात्मनश्चौर¹त्वमभ्युपगम्य परपक्षे तन्दोषमासञ्जयन्नापादयत्यपरेण वादिना यन्मतं प्रतिवादिनश्चौरत्त्वं तदनुजानाति । तथा हि ते न मुक्त संस[?श] यन्तावदात्मन⁵इचौरत्त्वं प्रतिपत्तुमन्यथा नापि तमभिदध्यात्। वादिनि तु तदस्तिनास्तीति चिन्त्यमतो मतानुज्ञा निग्रहस्थानं। इदमाचार्यो निराकरोति। अत्रापि (18b5) यद्ययमभिप्राय उत्तरवादिनः पुरुषत्वाच्चौरो भवानिष स्यादह-मिव। न च भवतात्मैवं चौरत्वेनेष्टस्तन्नायं पुरुषत्वादिति चौर्ये साध्ये हेतुरचौ-रेपि भव⁷ति विपक्षभूते वृत्तेरनैकान्तिकदोषदुघ्टत्वादिति । तदिस्मन्प्रतिवादिनोऽभि-प्राये न किश्चत्तस्य दोषो मतानुज्ञालक्षणोऽन्यो वा । कस्मादनभिमते चौरत्त्वे न रू³पेण तस्य वादिन आत्मिन विपक्षभूते हेतोः सत्वप्रदर्शनेन प्रकारेण दूषणात्। विदग्धभङगाव्यभिचारोद्भावनादिति यावत् । औद्योतकरं* चोद्यमाशङकते^० 79a प्रसङ्गमन्तरेण भवानपि स्यादित्येवमाञ्जसेनैव मृजुनैव ऋमेण किञ्न व्यभिचारितो हेतुस्त्वय्यपि अचौरे वर्त्तते पुरुषत्वमतोऽनैकान्तिकत्वमिति । तस्माद्यत¹ एवासावकौटिल्ये कर्तव्ये कौटिल्यमाचरित तत एव निगृहचत इति।

^१ निग्रहस्थानप्राप्तस्यानिग्रहः—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

^{*}न्यायवात्तिके ५।२।२१ (पृष्ठ ५५९)

प्रसङ्गमन्तरेगा—मेनैव किन्न व्यभिचारित इति चेत्। य⁶ त्किश्चिदेतत्। सन्ति होवंप्रकारा अपि व्यवहारा लोक इति । अथ तदुपत्तेपमभ्यूपगच्छ-त्येतद्व्यत्तराप्रतिपत्तौ न तत्साधने नियहो नापरत्र स्वदोषोप त्रेपात्तत्सा-धननिर्दोषतायां हि तद्भ्युपगम एवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरिति तावतेव पूर्वमाप-श्ननिम्रहस्य परदोषोपचेपस्यानपेच्चणीयत्वादिति ॥

^९निग्रह्माप्तस्यानिग्रह⁸(:) पर्यनुयोच्योपेत्तर्गं (न्या० ५।२।२१) (।) पर्यनुयोज्यानामनिमहोपपत्या चोद्नीयः तस्योपेन्यां निमह्याप्तौ सत्यननु-योग:। एतच्च कस्य पराजय इत्यनुयुक्तया पर्षदा वक्तव्यं न⁹ खलु निय-

आचार्य आह। यत्किञ्चिदेतद(18b6) ौद्योतकरं वची यस्मात् सन्ति हथेवं प्रकारा वैदग्ध्यप्रवर्तिता व्य²वहारा लोके। तथा हि मातरो भावत्क्यो बन्धक्यः स्त्रीत्वादितरबन्धकीवदित्युक्ताः पशुपालादयोपि जडलनङगमादिजनसाधारणं वैदग्ध्यमन्सरं तः प्रत्यवितष्ठन्ते । तावकीनापि माता तथा स्यादिति न च तेऽनेन प्रकारेण स्वस्याः स्वस्या मातुर्वन्यकीत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । अपि तु भक्तया हेतुव्यभि वार-चोदनया परं प्रतिवदन्ति । तस्मादेवं बालहालिकादिलोकप्रकटमपि व्यवहारालोक-मपसारयता यदि परमुद्योतकरत्वमेवोद्योत⁵करेण उद्योतितमात्मनः । अथोच्यते नैवासौ भंग्या व्यभिचारमादर्शयत्यपि तु तस्य साधनस्य सम्यक्त्वमभ्युपगम्यैव तेन दोषेण परमिष कलङकयतीत्यत आह। अथ तदुपक्षेप (:) पुरुषत्वाद् भवांरचौर इत्ये-नमभ्युपगच्छत्येव तदाप्यसौ तत्साधन उत्तराप्रतिपत्यैव निग्रहाहीं नापरत्र' वादिनि-स्वदोषस्य चौरत्वस्योपक्षेपात् । निग्रहार्ह् इति वर्त्तते । इदमेवोपोद्बलयति। तत्साधननिर्दोषतायां(18b8) हर्चगीकृतायामिति शेवः। तस्योपक्षेप⁸त्याभ्युपगम एव यः स एवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरिति तावतैवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिमात्रेणैवापरत्र दोषप्रसञ्ज. 79b नात्। पूर्वसाधननिग्रहस्य सतः प्रतिवादि°नः आपन्नः प्राप्तो निग्रहो येन तस्येति चेति विग्रहः। परदोषोपक्षेपस्य मतानुज्ञालक्षणस्यानपेक्षणीयत्वात्पराजितपराजया-भावादिति भावः॥०॥

निग्र¹हप्राप्तस्यानिग्रहः पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं (18b9) पर्यनुयोज्यो नाम निग्रह-प्राप्तस्यो(पे)क्षणित्रग्रहप्राप्तोसीत्यनभिधानं । क(:) पुनिरदं पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं नियहस्थानं² चोदयति । न तावत् पर्यनुयोज्य इति युक्तं । असम्भवात् । न हचस्ति सम्भवो यत् परदोषप्रतिपादनार्थमात्मनो दोषवत्वमसावभ्युपेति । निप्रहप्राप्तः सन्न

^९परपक्षे दोषप्रसंगो—इति न्या० भा० पाठः।

ह्याप्तः खकौपीनं विवृग्रुयादिति । श्रत्रापि यदि साधनवादिनं निमह्याप्त-मुत्तरवादी न पर्यनुयुंक्ते, अप्रतिभैवास्योत्तराप्रतिपत्तेरिति न पर्यनुयोग्यो-पे^{1 ०}च्चगां पृथिमित्रहस्थानं न्यायचिन्तायां पुनर्नद्वयोरेकस्यापि अत्र जयपराजयौ । साधनाभासेनार्थाप्रतिभासनात् भूतदोषाभिधानाच्च। श्रथ कञ्चिद्दोषमुद्भावयति कञ्चित्र तदा¹ निप्रहमर्हति । उत्तरप्रतिपत्ते:। श्चर्हत्येव सतो दोषस्यानुद्भावनादिति चेत्। न। सत इति क्रत्वा सर्वे दोषा श्रवश्यवक्कव्या श्रवचनेन वा निम्नहः। एकेनापि तत्साधन-विघातादे ²कसाधनवचनवत् । यथैकस्यार्थस्यानेकसाधनसद्भावे

^३हमनेनोपेक्षितो निग्रहस्थानस्यापरिज्ञानात् । तस्मादयन्दोषवानिति नाप्युपेक्ष इति युक्तं । यस्मादसौँ न जानात्येवायं निग्रहप्राप्त इति । तथा हचपरिज्ञानादेवासौ नानु-यंवते निग्रहं प्राप्तोसीति । परिज्ञाने वा कथमुपेक्षेत । उपेक्षणे वा समिचत्तः कथमेवं प्रकटयेदयं मयोपेक्षितः स दोषस्ततो मम पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं निप्रहस्थानमिति। न चान्यस्तृतीयः कश्चिविहानुषद्भगी तत्केनेदं चोदनीयमित्येतत् सर्व्वमाशद्भक्य पक्षिल⁶ स्वामी बृते। एतच्च पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं वक्तव्यञ्चोदनीयङकस्य पराजय इत्येवं वादिप्रतिवादिभ्यां प्रगुणा तदन्यैर्वा पर्यनुयुक्तया पृष्टया सत्या परिषदा' प्राहिनकैर्वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः । च शब्दोऽवधारणार्थः । एतदेव (? एवमेव) अन्यानि निप्रह-स्थानानि वादिप्र(ति)वादिभ्यामेवोद्भाव्यन्ते। एतत्युनः प्राह्निकरेव। किं पुनः कार-⁸णं ताभ्यामेव नोच्यत इत्याह । न खलु निग्रहप्राप्तः स्वकौपीनं स्वदोषं विवृण्यात् 802. (18b10)प्रकाशयेत्। अत्रापीत्याद्याचार्यः। यदि तु न्यायश्चिन्त्यते तदानैकस्यापि जयपराजयौ न्याय्यौ। कथं वादिनो जय इत्याह साधनाभासेन जिज्ञासितस्यार्थस्या-प्रतिपादनात् । अत एव न प्रतिवादिनोपि पराजयो वादिविवक्षि²तार्थसिद्धचपेक्षया प्रतिवादिनः पराजयव्यवस्थापनात् । प्रतिवादिनस्तर्हि कि जय इत्याह (।) भूते दोषानभिधानाच्च (1921) । अतएव च न वादिनः पराजयस्त वृद्वषणापेक्षया तद्व्यवस्थितेः । अथोत्तरपक्षवाद्यनेकदोषसद्भावेषि वादिप्रोक्तस्य साधनस्य कञ्चिद्दोषमृद्भावयति कञ्चित्र । न तदासौ निग्रहमहिति । किङकारणमुत्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तेरभिधानादित्यर्थः । पर आह । अर्हत्येव निग्रहं सर्व्वेषान्दोषाणामनु-द्भावनात्। आचार्य आह। न खलु⁵ भोः सन्त इति कृत्वा सर्व्वे दोषा अवस्यं वक्तव्याः प्रतिवादिना । अवचने वा दोषान्तरस्य निप्रहो भवति नेति वर्त्तते । कस्मात् सर्व्वे दोषा नोद्भाव्यं त इत्याह । एकेनापि (1922) दोषेणासिद्ध-त्वादिनोद्भावितेन न तस्य वादिप्रयुक्तस्य साधनस्य विघातात् । साध्यसिद्धि प्रत्यसमर्थत्वप्रतिपादनादित्यर्थः । भाव⁷साधनो वा साधनशब्दः । अत्रैव दृष्टान्त-

प्येकेनैव साधनेन तन्निष्ठेन सत्त्वोपादानमिति। न दोषमुद्भाव(य)-न्नेवापरस्यानुद्भावनान्निमहार्हः। स्रथ पूर्वप³त्त्वादी उत्तरपत्त्वादिनं निमह्मामं न निगृह्णाति तदा तयोन्योयेनैकस्यापि पूर्ववज्ञयपराजयौ दोषा-भासं ब्रुवाणमुत्तरवादिनं स्वसाधनादनुत्सारयस्न सम⁴र्थितसाधना-क्रन्त्वास्न जयो वादिनः। सर्वदोषासम्भवप्रदर्शनेन साधनाङ्गासमर्थ-नात्। नाप्युत्तरवादिनो उभयदोषाप्रतिपादनात्। तस्मादेवमपि न पर्यनुयोगोष्पेत्तर्णं नाम पराजयाधिकरणमिति।।।।

ग्रस्थाने १ निमहस्थानानुयोगो निरनुयोज्यानुयोग: (न्या०५।२।२२)। निमहस्थानलज्ञणस्य मिथ्याव्यवसा(या)दनिमहस्थाने निगृहीतोसी ६ति

माह । एकसाधनवचनविति (1923) । यथेत्याद्यस्यैव विभागः । एकस्यार्थस्य क्षणिकत्वादेः प्रतिपादनायानेकस्य साधनस्य सत्वकार्यत्वप्रयत्नोत्थत्वादेः सद्भावेषि सत्येकेनैव सत्वादीनामन्यतमेनोपात्तेन तस्य क्षणिकत्वादेर्थस्य सिर्द्धोनश्चयान्न । स्वयंकोनीय सोषेण तत्साधनविद्यातान्न सव्वोपादान- मितीदन्दृष्टान्तेन साम्यं । इति तस्मान्नोत्तरपक्षवादी पूर्व्वमेकं दोषमुद्भावयन्नेवापर¹- स्य दोषान्तरस्यानुद्भावनान्निग्रहाहंः । पूर्व्वदिति साधनाभासेनाप्रतिपादनात् । भूतदोषानभिधानाच्च ।

ननु च कथन्न वादिनो जयो यावता न तेन साध²नाभासः प्रयुक्तः। प्रतिवादी त्वसन्तं दोषमुद्भावयतीत्यत आह । दोषाभासं बुवाणमुत्तरपक्षवादिनं (1824) स्वसाधनात्सकाशादनुसारयतोऽनिवर्त्तयतस्त³दुक्तदूषणाभासत्वेनाप्रतिपादयत इति यावत्। वादिनो न जयः कस्मादसमन्वितसाधनाङ्गत्वात्। असमन्वितसाधनाङ्गं येन तस्य भावस्त⁴त्वं। एतदेव कुत इत्याह(।)सर्व्वदोषाभावप्रदर्शनेन साधनाङ्गसमर्थनात् (1925)। इत्त्यम्भूतलक्षणे करणे वा तृतीया (पाणिनि२।३।२९)। असम्बित्त्वात् साधना⁵भास एव तेन प्रयुक्त इति संक्षेपार्थः। नाप्युत्तरपक्षवादिनो जय इति वर्त्तते। तस्मादेवमपीति यदि पूर्वपक्षवाद्युत्तरपक्षवादिनं न निग्रहप्राप्तं निगृहणाति न केवलमुत्तरवादिसम्बन्धेनेत्यिष शब्दः ॥ ०॥

निरनुयोज्यस्यानुयोगः (1926) । अनिग्रहप्राप्ते निगृहीतोसीत्यभिधानं । किं⁷ पुनरेनं बूत इत्याह (।) निग्रहस्थानलक्षणस्य मिथ्याव्यवसायाद्य (1926)थोक्तस्य निग्रहस्थानलक्षणस्य सम्यगपरिज्ञानादित्यर्थः। एवञ्चाप्रतिपत्तितो निगृ⁸हचते ।

⁹अनिग्रहस्थाने—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

परं ज्ञवित्र नुयोज्यानुयोगाश्चिगृहीतो वक्तव्यः। श्रत्रापि यदि तस्साधनवादि-नमभूतैस्तदोषेरुत्तरवाद्यभियुञ्जोत । सोऽस्थाने निर्देषि निमहस्थानस्य नियो को द्वावयिता न भवति । तथा भूतदोष(ो)द्वावनालक्ष्ण-स्योत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तेरितरेणोत्तरासासत्त्वे प्रतिपादितेऽप्रतिभयेव निग्रहीत इति नेदमतो निमहस्थानान्तरं । श्रथो^९त्तरवादिनं साधनदोषसुद्भावयन्त-मपरो दोषाभासवचनेनाभियुञ्जीत तस्य तेन भूतदोषत्त्वे प्रतिपादिते साधनाभासवचनेनैव निगृहीत इति। एवम⁹पि नेदं हेत्वाभासेभ्यो 19b भिद्यते । अवश्यं हि विषयान्तरव्याप्त्यर्थे हेत्वाभासा निग्रहस्थानत्वेन वक्तव्यास्तदुक्तावपरोक्तिरनर्थकेति॥

सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्यानियमात् कथाप्रस¹ङ्कोऽपत्तिाद्धन्तः (न्या० ५।२।

अत्रापीत्याद्याचार्यः। यदि तस्य साधनस्य वादिनमभूतैरलीकैदेंषैः सव्यभिचारा-दिबोषदुष्टं त्वया साधनं प्रयुक्तं ततो निगृहीतोक्षीत्येवम°भियुञ्जीत । तदा सोऽस्था-नेऽस्य व्याख्यानं निर्दोषनिग्रहस्थानस्य अस्य विभागादेवास्येति। अभियोक्तेत्यस्य विवतिरुद्भावियतेति। तथा चालीकदोष'स्याभिधायित्वे सति दोषोद्भावलक्षण-स्योत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तेरभिधानादप्रतिभयैव करणभूतयोत्तरवादी निगृहोत इति कृत्वा नेदन्निरनुयो²ज्यानुयोगाभिधानन्निप्रहस्थानमतोऽप्रतिभानिप्रहस्थानात्सकाज्ञान्न नि-ग्रहस्थानान्तरं। कदा चायमप्रतिभया निगृहचत इत्याह (1) इतरेण (1928) वादि³ना तद्क्तस्योत्तराभासत्वे प्रतिपादिते अन्यथा न द्वयोरेकस्यापि पूर्ववज्जयपरा-जयावित्याकृतं । एवं प्रतिवादिसम्बन्धेनास्यापृथग्वच नं प्रतिपाद्य बादिसम्बन्धेना-प्याह (।) अथोत्तरवादिनं भूतं सत्यं साधनदोषं सन्यभिचा(रा)दिकमुद्भावयन्त-मपर इति पूर्वपक्षवादी दोषाभा⁵सवचतेनाभियञ्जीत । जात्यसरमनैकान्तिकाद्या-भासं त्वया प्रयुक्तं । तस्मान्निग् (हो)तोसीत्येवं यद्यभियुञ्जीतेत्यर्थः । तदा तस्योद्-भावितस्य दो वस्य व्यभियारादेस्तेनोत्तरवादिना भूतदोषत्वे प्रतिपादिते जात्यु-(त्त)रवत्वे परिहृत इति यावत्। साधनाभासवचनेनैव वादो निगृहचते इति ॥ तस्मादेवमपि प्र'तिवादिलम्बन्धेनापि नेदं हेत्वाभासेभ्यो भिद्यत इति पृथग्वाच्यं। अस्यैवोपोद्वलनमवद्यं हि द्वाजिंदातिनिग्रहस्थानवादिना हेत्वाभासाः पृथग् निग्रह-स्था⁸नत्वेन वक्तव्याः। किमर्थमित्याह । विषयान्तरप्राप्त्यर्थं (19b1) निरनुयो-ज्यानुयोगादिभिर्न्निग्रहस्थानैरनाऋान्तसङ्ग्रहमपीति अन्यथा द्वाविद्यतित्वं निग्र-हस्था⁹नानासभ्यूपगमिन्वरुद्धचत इत्यभित्रायः। तथा च तदुक्तौ तेषां हेत्वाभासानां 81b निग्रहस्थानेनोक्तौ सत्यामपरोक्तिः । अपरस्य निरनुयोज्यानुयोगस्योक्तिनिर(ि) र्थका हेत्वाभासवचनेनैव संगृहीतत्वात् ॥०॥

२३)। कस्यचिद्र्थस्य तथाभावं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रतिज्ञातार्थविपर्ययात्कथाप्रसङ्गं कुर्वतो ऽपिसद्धान्तो विज्ञेयः। यथा न सतो विनाशो नासदुत्पचत इति सिद्धान्तम²भ्युपेत्त्य पत्तमवस्थापयित । एकान्त(।) प्रकृतिव्येकाव्य-किवकाराणामनुपद्रश्नीत्। मृद्र्थपानां[१न] शरावादीनां दृष्ट्रमेकप्रकृति-कत्त्वं तथा चायं व्यक्तभेदः। सुखदुः खमोहसम³न्वितो गृह्यते तत्सुखादि-भिरेकप्रकृतिरिति । स एवमुक्तवान् पर्यनुयुज्यते । श्रथ प्रकृतिर्विकार इति कथं लत्त्वितव्यं (।) यस्यावस्थितस्य धम्मान्तरिनवृत्तौ धम्मान्तरं प्रवर्तते

सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्यानियमात् कथाप्रसङ्गोऽपसिद्धान्त इति (19b1) सूत्रं सिद्धान्तमभ्यपेत्य पक्षपरिग्रहं कृत्वाऽनियमात् पूर्वप्रकृतार्थोपरोधेन शास्त्रव्यवस्था-मनादृत्येति यावत् । कथाप्रसङ्गोऽर्थान्तरोपवर्णनं । कस्यचिदर्थस्येति धर्मिणो धर्मा-न्तरं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रतिज्ञातार्थं विपर्ययो विरोधः । इदं उदाहरणेन स्पष्टयति । यथा न सतो वस्तुनो विनाशो (19b2) निरन्वयः केवलं तिरोभावमात्रं भवति नासत् खरविषाणनुल्यम् 'त्यद्यते । किन्तहर्चाविर्भावतः । सदेवोत्पद्यत इत्येवं कापिलः सिद्धा-न्तव्यवस्थामादश्यं पक्षद्धकरोति । एका प्रकृतिव्यंक्तस्याव्यक्तलक्षणा । व्यक्तस्येति म⁵हदादेः। अत्र हेतुमाह विकाराणां शब्दादीनामन्वयदर्शनात्। मृदन्वयानामि-त्यादिदृष्टान्तः। तथा चायमित्युपनयनः [?पनयः]। सुखदुःखमोहसमन्वित (19b3) इति भुखादिमयत्वं दर्शयति । दश्तितञ्च मुखादिमयत्वं व्यक्तस्य पूर्वं यथासांख्येना-भिमतं। तत्तस्मात् सुलादिभिरेकप्रकृतिरित्ययं व्यक्तभेदः। इति निगमनं सुलादि-भिरितीत्त्र्यंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया। सुलादिप्रकारा सुलादिलक्षणा। एका प्रकृतिरस्ये-त्यर्थः। अन्ये पठन्ति । एका प्रकृतिर्व्यक्ता व्यक्तविकाराणामन्वयद[®]र्शनादिति । एवञ्च व्याचक्षते। एका प्रकृतिरभिन्ना सर्व्वात्मस्वभावा व्यक्ताव्यक्तविकारा-णामन्वयदर्शनात्। ये व्यक्ता विकारा महदादयो ये चाव्यक्ताः प्रधानात्मनि व्यव-स्थितास्तेषा मण्यन्वयदर्शनादिति । अपरे तु पठन्ति । एका प्रकृतिरव्यक्ता । व्यक्त-विकाराणामिति व्यक्तरूपाणां विकाराणामिति चाहुः। प्रकृतार्थविपर्य(ये)णेयं यथा प्रवृत्तेति प्रदर्शनाऽ²र्थमाह (।) स कापिल एवमुक्तवान्पर्यनुयुज्यते (19b4)। अथ प्रकृतिविकार इत्येतदुभयङ्कथं लक्षयितव्यं। प्रतिपत्तव्यमिति। स एवमनुयुक्तः प्राह । यस्यावस्थितस्य धर्मान्तरिन³वृत्तौ धर्मान्तरम्प्रवर्त्तते सा प्रकृतिरवस्थितरूपा। यत्तत्प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिसद्धर्मान्तरं स विकार इति लक्षयितव्यं। परमुक्तवान् साङ्ख्यः प्रकृतार्थपरित्यागदो वेणोपपाद्यते । सोयम्वादी प्रकृतार्थ-विपर्ययादिनयमात् कथाम्प्रसञ्जयति । पूर्व्यप्रकृतं परित्यजतीत्यर्थः । कथिमत्याह

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सा प्रकृतिः । यत्तद्धम्मान्तरं स विकार इति सेयं प्रकृतार्थविपर्यया-द्नियमात् कथां प्रसज्जयित । प्रतिज्ञातस्त्रानेन नासदाविभविति । सित्तरोभवतीति सदसदतोश्च तिरोभावाविभावावन्तरेण न कस्यचित्प्र-कृत्त्युपरमः प्रवृत्तिवेत्येवं प्रत्यवस्थिते यदि सत श्चात्महानमसत-श्चात्मलाभि मभ्युपेत्यपसिद्धान्तो भवति । श्रथ नाभ्युपेति पत्तोऽस्य न सिध्यतीति । इहापि न कश्चिद्नियमात्कथाप्रसङ्गः । यत्तेनोपगतन्नास-दुत्पद्यते न सद्धिनश्यतीति तस्य समर्थि नापदमुक्तमेकप्रकृतिकिमदं व्यक्तमनुपदर्शनादिति । तत्रैका प्रकृतिः सुखदुःखमोहस्तद्विभक्तयो-

ननु च विद्यमानमेव धर्मान्तरमाविर्भाव्यते । ग्रहणविषयभा वमापाद्यते । 82b न विद्यमानस्य क्रियास्त्युपादानमिति उपलब्धिर्वा विद्यमानत्वात् । न कारक-जन्यत्विमत्येवं प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिषिद्धः साङ्ग्ल्यः । क्विचत् सप्तम्यापद्यते । तत्र प्रत्यावस्थितं प्रतिवादिनि सतीति व्याख्येयं । यदि स कापिलः सतो धर्मस्यात्महानमसत्तरुचात्मलाभमभ्युपैति तदानीमपसिद्धान्तो भवति । अभ्युपगमविष्द्धस्य प्रतिज्ञा नादपसिद्धान्तसंज्ञकं निग्रहस्थानमस्य भवतीत्यर्थः । अथ सत आत्महानमसत्तरुचात्मलाभन्नाभ्युपैति । एवमप्येकप्रकृतिविकाराणामिति योयं पक्षः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञातः सोस्य न सिध्यति प्रकृतिविकारलक्षणस्यानवस्थितत्वात् । तथा हि तयोलंक्षणं यस्यावस्थितस्येत्यादिनोक्तं । तस्य चायोगः । सदसतोरुचे (19b6) त्यादिना प्रतिपा(ि)दत इत्येताचा नपरप्रन्थः । अत्र सम्प्रत्याचार्यः प्रतिविधत्ते । इतोपि प्रतिविद्यसह इति शेषः । न किष्चदिनयमात् सिद्धान्तनीतिविरोधात् साङ्ग्यस्य प्रसङ्गः । तस्माद्यनेनोपग तं नासदुत्पद्यते न स(त्)तिरोभवतीति तस्य समर्थनायेदमुक्तं । किमुक्तमित्याह (।) एकप्रकृतिकिमदं व्यक्तमन्वय-दर्शनादिति (19b8)। तत्रकेत्येतदेव विभजति । तदिविष्भक्तयोनिकमित्रं

⁽¹⁾ प्रतिज्ञातं खल्वनेनेति (19b5) पूर्वोक्तं स्मरं यिति । यद्येवङको दोष इत्याह । सदसतोरित्यादि । सतिस्तरोभावमेकान्तेन विनाशमन्तरेण न कस्यविद्धमंस्य प्रवृत्युपरमः सिध्यति । केन चिद्धिरूपे णावस्थाने सित स तिरोहितोऽङगस्तस्या-विस्थितस्यात्मभूतः परभूतो वा भवेत् । आत्मभूतत्वे तिरोहितादव्यतिरेकात् तिरोहितवदविस्थितस्याप्यनवस्थानं अवस्थितवच्च तदव्यतिरेकतिस्तरोहितस्या-प्यवस्थानमासं [?शं]क्यते । परभूतत्वेपि कथमनन्वयो न विनाशो न हचन्यस्या-वस्थानेऽन्यदवितिष्ठते । अन्यो वान्यस्यान्वयद्यत्तेतन्यस्याऽ पि घटान्वयप्रसङगात् । तथा नासत आविर्भावमृत्पादमन्तरेण कस्यचिद्धमंस्य प्रवृत्तिर्वा सिध्यति ।

निकिमिदं व्यक्तं तद्व्यदर्शनात्। व्यक्तस्य तस्वभावताऽभेदोप विध्-दिति। सुखादोनासुत्पत्तिविनाशाभ्युपगमाभावात् सर्वस्य तदात्स-कस्य नोत्पत्तिविनाशाविति सिद्धं भवति। अत्र तदुक्तस्य हेतोदीपमनुभाव्य विकारमञ्जतित्वत्यां १ पृच्छन् स्वयमयं पृकता (१) सत्त्वेनानियमात् कथां प्रवर्त्त्यति। तत्रोदं स्याद्धाच्यं व्यक्तं नाम प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधम्भेकं न तथा सुखाद्यः। व्यक्तस्य सुखादन्वये सुखादिस्वभावता प्रवृत्तिनि । वृत्तिधम्भेतालच्चणमवहोय(ते) इति । न तद्धितसुखादिस्वभावता-व्यक्तत्वच्णविरोधादिति। सुखाद्यन्वयदर्शनादित्यसिद्धो हेतुरिति। एवं हि

व्यक्तं । ते सुद्धादयोऽदिभक्ताः अपृथाभूता योनिः स्थानमिवकरणं यस्य व्यक्तस्य तत्तद्रविभक्तयोनिकं किङ्कारणं तदन्वयदर्शनात् । तै(:) सुस्काविभि-⁷रन्ययदर्शनात् तादाल्म्योपलम्भात् । ततः कि सिद्धमित्याह व्यक्तस्य तत्स्व-भावता मुखादिस्यभावता। तत्र स्वभावतेव कथितिविचतेत्याह। अभेदोपलब्धे (19b8)रिति । सुखादिभिः शब्दादीनामनानात्त्वदर्शनादिति यावतु । एवमपि कि सिद्धम्भवतीत्याह । सर्व्वस्य (19b9) शब्दादेविकारग्रामस्य सुखाद्या-त्मकस्य नोत्पत्तिविनाञाविति सम्भवति । कस्मावि⁹त्याह (।) सुखादीनामृत्पत्ति-विनाशाभावात । सुखाद्यव्यतिरेकात्तदात्मवच्छव्दादयोपि नित्याः सिद्धा भवन्ति । तथा च यत्पूर्व्वमभ्युयगतं न श(?स)तो दिनाशो नासदुत्पचल इति । तत्समिं वं भदति । अत्रैवं कापिलेन स्वोपगमे सर्माधते सति तद्दवतस्य तेन साङ्ख्येनोक्तस्य हेतोरन्वयदर्शनस्य दोषमसिद्धतादिकसनुद्भाव्य स एवमुक्तवान् पर्धनुसुज्यते। अथ प्र°कृतिर्निषकार इति कथं लक्षयितव्यमित्येवं विकारप्रकृत्योर्लक्षणं पुच्छन् स्वयमयमक्षपादः प्रकृतासम्बन्धेनानियमात् प्रकृतार्थोपरोधात् कथाम्प्रवर्त्तं यति । यस्मात् प्रकृतिविकारयोरिह लक्षणं न प्रकृतमेव तिकन्तदिभवाय पर्यनुयुज्यते तस्मादप्रस्तुतपर्यनुयोक्तृत्वादक्षपाद एव निग्रहार्ह इति भावः । किन्तहर्चत्रोतारसम्बद्ध वास्यमित्याह(।)तत्रान्वयदर्शनहेताविदं स्याव् वाच्यं (2021)। व्यक्तन्नान प्रवृत्ति-निवृत्तिधर्भकं न तथा व्यक्तवत् सुखादयः प्रवृत्तिनि⁵वृत्तिधर्मका इति लिङ्गवचन-परिणाभेन सम्बन्धः। तथा च व्यक्तस्य सुखाद्यन्ययेऽस्य व्याख्यानं सुखादिस्यभाव-तायां सत्यां प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधर्मतालक्ष°णं व्यक्तस्यावहीयते। तदव्यतिरेकेण तेषा-मिंप सदावस्थानात्। इति तस्माश्च तद्रहितसुखादिस्वभावता व्यक्तस्य। ताज्या-म्प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिभ्यां रहितास्तथोक्तास्ते च सुं'खादयश्च। ते स्वभावो यस्य तस्य भावस्तद्रहितसुखादिस्वभावता। कस्मादित्याह (।) व्यक्तलक्षणिवरोधादि(2022)-

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तस्य साधनदोषोद्भावनेन पत्नो दृ वितो भवति । सोऽनुपसंहृत्य सायनदोषकथां प्रतारयन् स्वदोषं परत्रोपित्तपति। श्रयमेव दोषोऽनेन प्रकारेगोच्यत इति चेत्। एष नैमित् [? ति]कानां विषयो न लोकः शन्दैरप्रतिपादितमर्थे प्रतिपत्तुं समर्थ इति । स एवायं भण्डालेख्यवि-ि भण्डालेख्य नयायः । श्रत्रापि यथोक्तेन न्यायेन पूर्वकस्यासाधनाङ्ग-

ति व्यक्तस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधर्मकत्यं तस्य तद्विपरीतः। शुलादिभिः परत्पर-परिहारस्थितिलक्षणो विरोधः। तथा च साधनन्न सदावस्थितरूपसुद्धादिस्वनाव-मिवं ते व्यक्तं प्राप्नोति तद्विपरीतधर्मत्वात् । क्षेत्रज्ञवत् न च सुलाहिव्यक्तयोरेक- 83b स्वभावता। परस्परविरुद्धधर्माध्यासितत्वात्। सत्त्वरजस्तमसाभिव चैतन्यानाभिव वा। एवञ्च व्यक्तस्य सुखादिस्यभावतायोगे सुखाद्यन्वयदर्शन¹सिद्धो हेतुः। कस्मा-विवं सम्बद्धं दूपणिनत्याह । एवं हि तस्य साङ्ख्यस्य साधनदोषोद्भावनेन हेत्विह-द्धताचोदनेनैफप्रकृतीवं व्यक्तमित्ययं पक्षो दूषितो भवनि (2023)। स पुरेननैयायिकः साधने दोषमसिद्धताख्यमनुपसंहत्यापदर्य अप्रकृतप्रकृतिविकारलक्षणपर्यनुयोगेन कथां प्रतानयत्यिवमुञ्चं स्वदोषमन्यमात्कथा प्रसङ्गं परत्र साङ्क्ये तपस्विन्य-पक्षिपति । पर आहायमेवासिद्धताख्यो दोघोनेन प्रकारेण प्रकृतिविकारलक्षण-पर्वनुयोगद्वारेणास्माभिरप्युच्य⁴त इति । आचार्य आह । एष नैमित्तिकानां (2023) ज्योतिर्ज्ञानिवदां दिषयः। नायं त्वदुक्तस्य वाक्यस्यार्थं इति यावत् । यतो न लोकः शब्दैरप्रतिपादितमर्थं प्रति⁵पत्तुं समर्थः अर्थप्रकरणादिभिविनेत्यथ्याहारः । तस्गात् स एवायं (2024) प्रतिज्ञाविरोधप्रस्तावे निर्द्धिको भण्डालेख्यन्यायोत्राप्यपसिद्धान्तो न केवलं तत्रेत्यऽ°िप शब्दः । यथा हि भण्डाः प्राकृतान् विस्मापयन्तः शीघृमर्खचन्द्रा-कारायल्पीयसीं रेखामालिख्य भणन्ति पश्यत तालमात्रेण हस्ती विलिखितोस्माभि-रिति तत्र केचि त् मन्दमतयस्तथैव प्रतिपद्यन्ते । केचिद् दुर्विदरधियः पर्यनुयुञ्जते । ननु नोस्य कर्ण्णपाददन्तादयः प्रतीयन्ते तत्कथमयन्तद्विकलो हस्ती भवतीति। ते प् नराह⁸:। रात्यं न प्रतीयन्ते। अस्माभिस्तु समाप्तसकलकलः करेणुरयं लिखितः। तास्तस्य सकलाः कलाः सलिल इव मानत्वान्नोपलभ[?भय]न्ते कुम्भकदेशमात्र-न्त्विदमस्योप⁹लभ्यत इति तथाजातीयकमेतत् परस्यापि धाष्टर्घविज्नस्मितं। यदि 842 नाथ नायमर्थोस्माद् बाहचात् प्रतीयते तथाप्यतेन प्रकारेणोच्यत इति । अपि चोच्य-ताम'यसेवाथोंनेन प्रकारेण तथाप्यसिद्धस्य हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावात् तद्वचनेनैवा-भिधानिमति नापसिद्धान्तः पथगुपादेयो भवेदित्येसदुपसंहारव्याजेनाह । यथों नतेन न्यायेने (2024) त्यादि ॥०॥

स्यासिद्धस्य हेतोरभिधाना देव निष्रहो नापि नियमात्कथाष्रसङ्गादिति । इदमपि हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावास्त्र पृथग्वाच्यं ॥ त् ॥

हेत्वाभासारच यथोक्ताः (न्या० ५।२।२४) । हेत्वाभासारच निम्नह-स्थानानि किम्पुनलचाणान्तरयोगाद्धेत्वाभासा निम्नहस्थानभावमापद्यन्ते । यथा प्रमाणानि प्रमेयत्विमत्यत स्नाह । यथोक्तहत्वाभासलचाणेनैव निम्नहस्थानता च इति । स्रत्नापि यथोक्तस्वादिद (१) मेव किन्ते यथालचितप्रभे-

हेत्वाभासारच यथोक्ता इति सूत्रं। इदमाक्षेपपूर्वकं वात्स्यायनो व्याचव्दे। कि पुनरिति (2026) हेत्वाभासलक्षणाद्यदन्यल्लक्षणं तेन सम्बन्धा निग्रहस्थानत्वमा-पद्यन्ते । किमिवेत्याह । यथा प्रमाणानि प्रमेयत्त्वं लक्षणान्तरवसा [?वसा]दापद्यन्त (2026) इति वर्त्तते तानि हिप्रमिति क्रियाया(:) कारणत्वात्। प्रमा णानि प्रमाणा-न्तरेण तु यदा प्रमीयन्ते तदा कर्मत्वात् प्रमेयानि । तत एव पदार्थत्वात् प्राप्तः संशयः । अत्राह मुनिना यथोक्त इति । अस्यैव विवरणं । ⁵ यथोक्तहेत्वाभासलक्षणेनैव निग्रह-स्थानभाव इति। इदम्बतस्भवति। सव्यभिचारविरुद्धप्रकरणस (म)साध्यसमातीत-काला (न्या० सु० १।२।४) इति हेत्वाभासा इति प्र°भेदमुपऋम्य यत्प्रत्येकं लक्षणमुक्तं। अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचारः (न्या०सू० १।२।५) सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्य तद्विरोधाद्विरुद्धं (न्या॰ सू० १।२।६)। यस्मात् प्रकरणचिन्ता स निर्णयार्थमपदिष्टः प्रकरण⁷समः (न्या० सू० १।२।७) साध्याविशिष्टः साध्यत्वात् साध्यसमः (न्या० सू० १।२।८) कालात्ययापदिष्टः कालातीत (न्या॰ सू॰ १।२।९) इति तेनैव लक्षणेनैषान्निग्रह-स्थानत्त्वं न पुनस्तत लक्षणान्तरमपेक्ष्यत इति । अत्रापी⁸(2027)त्याचार्यः । कथिञ्चन्त्यमित्याह। किन्ते यथा भवद्भिर्लक्षितप्रभेदास्तथैव ते भवन्त्याहो स्विदन्यथेति (2027)। लक्षितः प्रभेदो येषामिति विग्रहः। तत्त्रिहि किन्त (द्) चिन्त्यत इत्याह[°] तत्तु चिन्त्यमानमिहातिप्रसज्यत इति न प्रतन्यते । इदमेवागूरितं । विदन्त्येव केचिदत्र हेत्वाभासा एव न युज्यंते केचित्तु हेत्वाभासा अपि न सङ्ग्रहीता इत्यस्मिश्च विचारे हेत्वाभास¹वार्त्तिकं सकलमवतारियतव्यमिति शास्त्रान्तरमेव अवदातमतयस्त्वस्मद्विहितहेत्वाभासलक्षणविपर्ययेण दूरान्तरत्वात्तद् वैसर्श (?)। तस्मादुपेक्षे व युज्यत इति। तथापि मन्दमतिविबोधनायापि शास्त्र-मुच्यत इति । कालातीतप्रकरणसमयोस्तावद्धेत्वाभासत्वं यथा नोपपद्यते तथा वर्ण्यते । तत्र कालात्ययापदि अटः कलातीतः तदिह (।) बृद्धनैयायिकानामपास्य मत-माचार्यदिङनागपादैर्भाषितत्वादिदानीन्तना वात्स्यायनादयोमुमेव स्थिपक्षमाहुः। तत्रैवस्त्रमः । कालात्ययेन युक्तो यस्यार्थेकदेशोऽपिदश्यमानस्य स कालात्ययापिदण्टः

कालातीत इत्युच्यते । निदर्शनं (।) नित्यः शब्दः संयोगव्यंग्यत्वाद्रुपवत् । प्रागृद्ध्वं च व्यक्तेरवस्थितं रूपं प्रदीपघटसंयोगेन व्यज्यते। तथा शब्दो व्यवस्थितो भेरीकर्णसंयोगेन दारुपर्णयोगेन वा व्यज्यते। तस्मात्संयोगव्यंग्यत्वान्नित्यः वाब्द इति । अयमहेतुः कालात्ययापदेशात् व्यंजकस्य संयोगस्य कालं न व्यंग्यस्य रूपस्य व्यक्तिरत्येति सति प्रदीपसंयोगे रूपस्य ग्रहणं भवति। न निवृत्तसंयोगे रूपङगु-हचते। निवृत्ते तु दारुपर्णसंयोगे दूरस्थेन शब्दः श्रुयते विभागकाले नेयं शब्दस्य व्यक्तिः संयोगकालमत्येतीति संयोगनिमित्ता भवति । कारणाभावाद्धि कार्या⁸भाव इति । नन्वयमनैकान्तिक एव । संयोगव्यंग्यत्वादिति । अनित्यमपि संयोगेन व्यज्य-मानं दृष्टं यथा घट इति। न । संयोग व्यंग्यत्वेनावस्थानस्य साध्यत्वाच्न बुमो नित्यः शब्द इति । अपि त्ववितष्ठते शब्द इत्ययं प्रतिज्ञार्थस्तदा च संयोगव्यंग्यत्वा-दित्ययं हेतुरनैकान्तिको न हचनवस्थितं किञ्चित्संयोगेनाभिव्यज्यमान(:) कथिमिति तदनेन प्रकारेण संयोगव्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव शब्दस्य प्रतिषिद्धचत इति नायम-सिद्धाद् व्यावर्तते । अन्यथानेयं शब्दस्य व्यक्तिः संयोगिकालमत्येतीति न संयोग-निमित्ता² भवतीति । वचनस्य कोर्थं इति वक्तव्यं । स्याद् बुद्धिः सर्वदार्घीमण्यविद्य-मानस्यासिद्धत्वं। अयन्तु न सर्वथा धींमण्यसिद्धो येनोत्पत्तिकाले संयोगव्यङ्ग्यत्वमस्ति। न³ तुपलब्धिकाल इति । तद्क्तं । एकदेशासिद्धस्यापि असिद्धस्त्वपरिज्ञानात् । यथा नित्याः परमाणवो गन्धवत्वात् । क्वेतनाक्च तरवः स्वापादिति । यक्चा नित्यः शब्द इति प्रतिजानीते स कुठारदारुसंयोगादेः शब्दस्योत्पत्तिमेव प्रतिपद्यते। न पुन-रवस्थितस्याभिव्यवतमिति व्यक्तमस्यान्यतरासिद्धःत्वं। अथ संयोगे सत्युपलब्धे-रिति हेत्वर्थाभ्युपगमान् नायमसिद्धो हेतुरिति समाधीयते। तथापि तैलतेजो-र्वात्तसंयोगे कूलालमृतुपिण्डदण्डसं धोगे च सति दीपघटादयः समुपलभ्यन्ते । न च तेषान्तत्र संयोगाप्राप्त्यवस्थानमित्यनेनानैकान्तिक एव प्राप्नोतीति न कालातीतः। तदुत्तरकालमप्यवस्थाने साध्ये समुदायान्तरव्यय (?) वादिनो विरुद्धः। सपक्षा-भावादेव तत्र वृत्तेरभावात्। क्षणस्थितिधर्मवति च धर्मिणि। रूपादिके विद्यमान-त्वात् । स्थिरभाववादिनन्तु प्रति⁸प्रतिबन्धवैकल्यं साधनवैफल्यञ्च । अनङ्गीकृत-सिद्धान्ते तु न्यायवादिनि प्रतिवादिनि पूर्वपक्षप्रतिपादितो दोष इति । एवमुदा-हरणान्त⁹रेपि दूषणमुत्प्रेक्ष्य वक्तव्यमिति ॥०॥

यस्मात्प्रकरणचिन्ता स निर्ण्यार्थमपदिष्टः प्रकरणसमः। (न्या० सू० १।२।७) विमर्शाधिष्ठानौ पक्षप्रतिपक्षावनवसितौ प्रकरणन्तस्य चिन्तामविमर्शात् प्रभृति प्राङ्गनिर्ण्यात् परीक्षणं सा यत्र कृता स निर्ण्यार्थं प्रयुक्तोभयपक्षसाम्यात् प्रकरण²-मनितवर्त्तमानः प्रकरणसमो न निर्ण्याय कल्प्यते। कस्मात्पुनः प्रकरणचिन्ता तत्त्वा। प्रस्मादुपलब्धे तत्वेर्थे निवर्त्तते चिन्ता तस्मात्सामान्येनाधिग³तस्य या

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विशेषतोऽनुगलव्यः सा प्रकरणचिन्तां प्रयोजयतीति। उदाहरणमनित्यः शब्दो नित्यधर्मान्पलब्धेः । अनुपलभ्यमानित्यधर्यकमनित्यन्व् व्हं स्थाल्यादि । यत्र समानो धर्मः संशयकारणहेतुत्वेनोपादीयते संशयलमः सन्यभिचार एव । या त विमर्शस्य विशेषापेक्षतोभयपक्षविशेषानु पलव्यौ सा प्रकरणस्प्रवर्तयति । यथा च शब्दे नित्यधर्मो नोपलभ्यते तथानित्यधर्मोपि । सेयनुभयपक्षविशेषानपलिबः प्रकरणचिन्ताम्प्रयो°जयित कथन्विपयये प्रकरणनिवृत्तेः । यदि नित्यवर्मः शब्दे गृहचेत न स्यात्प्रकरणं । यदि (न) नित्यथमों गृहचेत एवमपि निवर्तते प्रकरणं । सोयं हेत् रूभौ पक्षौ प्रवर्त्तपञ्चान्यतरस्य निर्णायाय कल्प्यत इति । न त्वयं साध्या-विशिष्ट एव। नाविशिष्टः। तस्यैव प्रकरणप्रवृत्तिहेतोईर्मस्य हेतुत्वेनोपादानात। यत्र शाध्येन समानो धर्मी हेतृत्वेनोपादीयते स साध्याविशिष्टः । यत्र पुनः प्रकरण-प्रयुत्तिहेतुरेव स प्रकरणसभ इति । अत्रापि नित्यानित्यधर्मानुपलम्भद्व°यादेव प्रकरणचिन्ता। न त्वेकस्मात्। विपर्यये प्रकरणनिवृत्तिरिति वचनात्। तद्यदि नित्यानित्यधर्मानुषलब्धेरिति हेतुः स्यात् । स्यात् प्रकरणसमः । तदेकवर्मानु प-लब्बेस्तुपादाने कथं प्रकरणसम इत्यिभवानीयं। उभयधर्मानुपलम्भोपादानेपि सपक्षविपक्षयोरनुद्रितच्यावृत्योरनिश्चयावसायरणानैकान्तिको भवतीति कथ-मस्य हेत्वा(भा)सान्तरत्वं । भवतु नामैकयर्मानुपलव्यिरेव हेतुः प्रकरणसमः । तथापि नित्यशब्दवाद्यवश्यमेव व्यामोहान्नित्यधर्मान् प्रतिपद्यत³ इति प्रतिवाद्य-सिद्धीयं भवति । अथ प्रमाणेन नित्यधर्म्भप्रतिक्षेपाक्षित्यधर्मानुपलब्धः प्रति-पाद्यते । तदापि निश्चायकत्वात् सम्यग्ज्ञानहेतुरेवायं इति कथं हेत्वाशासः प्रक-रणसमः। तदा हि विशेषोपलब्धिरेव हेत्वर्थी व्यवतिष्ठते। विशेषाश्य नित्यस्य कृतकत्वादयः। न च तत्कृता प्रकरणचिन्ता⁵ विषयंये प्रकरणनिवृत्तेरिति वचनात्। अपि च नित्यधर्मानुपलब्धेरिति किश्रयं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेवः किम्वा प्रतियोगिविधानं (।) यवि प्रसज्यप्रतिषे धस्तदा प्रमेयत्वादिवत् साधारणानैकान्तिकोयं नित्यधर्माप-लब्धः प्रतिषेवमात्रस्यानित्यत्वरहितेव्वसत्स्वपि सम्भवात् । अथ प्रतियोगि-विधानन्तदाप्यनन्तरो^रदितया युक्त्या हेतुप्रतिरूपत्वायोगः। अन्यस्त्वन्यथेदं सूत्र-ह्यं व्याचव्दे । यो हेतुहेंतुकालेऽपिदव्होऽत्येत्यपैति । कस्मादपैति । प्रत्यक्षेणाग-मेन उभयेन वा^६ पीड्यमानः स कालमतीत इति कालातीत इत्युच्यते । कुतः पुनः प्रत्यकागमविरोघो लभ्यत इति चेत्। चतुर्लक्षणो हेत्रिति वचनात्। तथाहि 86b पूर्ववच्छेष⁹वत्सामान्यतो दृष्ट(न्या० सू० १।२।५)ञ्चेत्यत्र चतुरूपो हेतु-रिष्टः । पूर्ववन्नाम साध्ये व्यापकं । शेषवदिति तत्समानेस्ति । सामान्यतत्त्व दृष्ट-ञ्च शब्दादिवरुद्धञ्चेति । तथा भाष्यवचनमप्यस्ति । "यत्युनरनुमानं प्रत्यक्षा-गमविरुद्धं न्यायाभासः स" इति । तदेवं त्रैरूप्ये सति प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्यां यो वाध्यते

दास्तथैवाहो(स्वि)दन्यथै(वे)ति । तत्ते चिन्त्यमानमिहातिप्रसञ्चत

स कालात्ययापिदण्टः। स च त्रिधा भिद्यते प्रत्यक्षविरुद्ध आ²गमविरुद्ध उभयविरुद्ध-इचेति (।) प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धो यथा अनुष्णोग्निर्द्रव्यत्वाद्दकवत् । आगमविरुद्धो यथा ब्राह्मणेन सुरा पातव्या द्रवत्वात् क्षीरवत् । उभयविरुद्धो यथाऽ³रिहमवच्चक्षुरिन्द्रिय-त्वाद् घाणादिवदिति । न चायं किल पक्षविरोधः पक्षविरोधस्य प्रतिक्षेपादिति । तदेतत् त्रैरूप्यलक्षणानववीधवैशद्यं (।) त्रैरूप्यं हि यदा स्वं प्रमाणैः परिनिश्चितं पक्षधर्मत्वादिकं त्रयं च यत्र बाधा तत्र प्रतिबन्धोस्ति। बाधाविनाभावयोविरो-धात । अविनाभावो हि सत्येव साध्यधर्मे हेतोर्भावः⁵ कथञ्चासौ तल्लक्षणा धीमणि हेतुः स्यान्न चात्र साध्यधर्म इत्यादिकमत्राबाधितविषयत्वद्रुषणानसारेण वक्तव्यं। यत्र पुनरियं बाधोदाहृता न⁶ तेषां त्रैलक्षण्यं मनागप्यस्ति प्रतिबन्धवैकल्यात्। अभ्युपगतपक्षप्रयोगस्य च पक्षदोष एवायं युक्तः । यत्पुनः पक्षदोषत्वपरिहाराय बह्वसम्बद्धमुद्ग्राहि तं तदत्यन्तमसारमिति नेहावसीयते ॥०॥

यस्मात्प्रकरणचिन्तेति प्रकरणं भाष्ये निरूपितं । तस्योदाहरणं । अणुरण्व-न्तरकार्यत्वं प्रतिपद्यते^ड नवेति चिन्तायाङ्यकश्चिदभिधत्ते। अणुरण्वन्तरकार्यो रूपादिमत्वात् तद्द्वचणुकादिवदिति । योसावणोरणुः कारणत्वेनोपादीयते तत्रापि रूपादिमत्वमस्तीति⁹ चिन्ता किमियं रूपादिमत्वादण्वन्तरकार्यो न वेति चिन्ता- 872 याञ्च यदि तस्याप्यण्वन्तरकार्यत्वं रूपादिमत्वादिति विकत तदा तस्यापि रूपादि-मत्वमस्तीति पुनरिप चिन्ता¹ तदेवमनवस्थारूपं प्रकरणं प्रवर्त्तयतीति प्रकरणसम इत्युच्यते । अथाणुरण्वन्तरकार्यत्वं न प्रतिपद्यते रूपादिमत्वे सति तदानैकान्तिको हेतुरिति तस्माद् भि²द्यतेऽनैकान्तिकात् प्रकरणसमः । न चायम्विरुद्धोऽविपर्यय-साधकत्वात् । नासिद्धः पक्षधर्मत्वदर्शनात् । न कालात्ययापिहिष्टः प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्या-मबाध्यमानत्वात् । अतोऽर्थान्तरमिति । अथवा प्रदेशे करणं प्रकरणञ्चेति कारण-सिद्धिरित्यर्थः। प्रदेशे सिद्धिरितीयं चिन्ता यस्माद्धेतोरपदिष्टा भवति स प्रकरण-समः स प्रदेशसाधकत्वात् समः । यथैकदेशेऽसाधकत्वन्तथेतरत्रापीत्यसाधकत्व-सामान्यात् समः। तस्मादेकदेशवर्त्ती धर्मः प्रकरणसमः। तद्यथा पृथिव्यप्तेजोवा⁵ य्वाकाशान्यनित्यानि सत्तावत्वादिति । अत्रापि यद्यक्षपादमतानुसारी तावदेवं प्रमाणयति । परमाणुः परमाण्वन्तरपूर्व्वको रूपादिमत्वाद् द्वचणुकादिवदि°ित तदा तस्याभ्युपेतविरोध इति नायमतीतकालाव् भिद्यते । अथ बौद्धः करोति । तदापि हेतोरसिद्धिः परमाणुनां रूपादिव्यतिरेकेणानभ्युपगमात् । अयोगाच्च^r द्वचदीनाञ्चा-भावादुभयविकलो दृष्टान्तः । यदाप्यनपेक्षितसिद्धान्तो न्यायवादी ब्रूते तदापि

द्वितीयपक्षोदितदोषानिवृत्तिरिति नायमसिद्धाद्वयावर्त्तते । योऽ प्यनुमेयैकदेशवर्त्ती धर्मः पृथिक्यादोन्यनित्यानि गन्धवत्वादिति अयमप्यपसिद्धान्तान्तर्भूत एवेति न पृथ्यवा87b च्यः । नासिद्धः पक्षैकदेशधर्मत्वात् । सपक्षैकदेशवर्गत्तव दिति चेत् विषमोयमुपन्यासः । सपक्ष एव च सत्विमत्यत्र हि समुच्चीयमानावधारणमेव न सकलसपक्षधर्मतां साधनस्य प्रतिपादयति । अनुमेये सत्ववचनं पुनरयोगव्य वच्छेदेन नियन्तृभूतमशेषसाध्यर्थानधर्मतायाः प्रतिपादकमित्यनेनैव पक्षैकदेशासिद्धभेदानामपोहः कृत इत्यपार्थकं यत्नान्तरमिति यत्किञ्चदेतत् ॥०॥

भावि²विक्तोप्यत्रैव खररवे पतितः। प्रकरणसभमन्यथा समर्थयति। यस्मा-ह्रेतो(:) प्रकरणिचन्ता विपक्षस्यापि विचारः पश्चाद् भवति स एवं लक्षणो हेतुनिर्णयाय योपिंदरयमानः प्र[ः]करणसमो भवति । प्रकरणे साध्ये समस्तृत्यः सत्त्वे ऽसत्त्वे या यथा सत्सर्वज्ञमितरतद्विपरीतविनिर्मुक्तत्वाद् रूपादिवदिति । यस्मादयं हेतृरुभयत्र समानो योप्यसं त्वं साधयति तस्यापि समानः। कथमसत्स-र्वज्ञत्विमतरतिद्वपरीतिविनिर्मुक्तत्वात् खरविषाणविदिति । न चायं किलोभयधर्म-त्वेप्यनैकान्तिको विपक्षवृत्तिर्वेकल्या[®]त्। तदिदमाचार्येण स्वयं प्रमाणविनिश्चये* प्रतिसि[?षि]द्धं। कम्पुनरत्र भवान् विपक्षं प्रत्येति साध्याभावं। कथमिदानीं हेत्ं विपक्षवृत्तिरुभयधर्मेणैवेत्यादिना । अर्थग्रहण व्याख्याने च यद्वतं तदत्रापि वक्तव्यं। विशेषेण दूषणञ्चास्य प्रपञ्चेनोक्तमेव। एवं प्रकरणसमातीत-कालयोरनुपपत्तिः। साध्यव्यभिचारस्य तु युज्यते हेत्वाभासत्वं^र न तु यथा भवता-मभ्युपगमः । तथा हि भवन्तः सन्दिग्धविपक्षव्यावृत्तिकस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं न प्रति-पद्यन्ते। अदर्शनमात्रेणैव व्यतिरेकसिद्धचभ्युपगमात्। अत एव च भवद्भि⁸रप-गतस[? श] डकैरेवं प्रयुज्यते प्राप्यकारिणी चक्षुःश्रोत्रे बाहचेन्द्रियत्वात् घृाणादिवत्। सविकल्पं प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणत्वादनुमानवदित्यादि । न चादर्शनमात्रेणैव विना प्रति-882 बन्धे°न व्यतिरेकसिद्धिरिति प्रतानितमन्यत्र।

> आत्ममृच्चेतनादीनां यो भावस्याप्रसाधकः । स एवानुपलम्भः किं हेत्वभावस्य साधक (४५) **इत्यादिना ।**

तथा सपक्षविपक्षयोः सन्दि¹ग्धः सदसत्वस्यापि सम्यग्ज्ञानहेतुत्वमेव युष्माभि-रिष्यते नानैकान्तिकत्वं यथा सात्मकं जीवच्छरीरम्प्राणादिमत्त्वादिति । अस्य च तद्भावः प्रतिपादितः प्रमाणविनिश्चया² दौ विरुद्धप्रभेदस्तु भारद्वाजविहितः प्रति-

^{*}आचार्यधर्मकीतिप्रणीतेषु सप्तसु न्यायप्रबन्धेष्वन्यतमो ग्रथः (bStan-ḥ gyur, mdo.XCV. 11)

ज्ञाविरोधप्रस्ताव एव निराकृतः। साध्यसमेपि योयमन्यथासिद्धो वर्ण्यते यथा-ऽनित्याः परमाणवः कियावत्वाद् घटादिवदि³ति अयमपि किल साध्यसमो यस्मात र्मातिकयारूपादिमत्वादणुनां क्रियावत्वं नानित्यत्वादिति । स नोपपद्यते । धीमणि सिद्धत्वान्नहि र्घामणि विद्यमान एवासिद्धो हेतुर्युज्यते। सर्वहेतुनामसिद्धताप्रसङ-गात्। नैतदेवन्नहि पक्षेस्तीत्येतावता पक्षधर्मत्वं। साध्यवशेन हि धर्मिणः पक्षधर्मत्व-मिष्यते । केवलस्य साध्यत्वा⁵त् (।) न च साध्यो धर्मो यदि धर्मिणि तेन साधनेन विना न सम्भवति तस्य च साधनस्य साध्यधर्माभावे धर्मिणा सम्भवस्ततो हेतोः पक्षधर्मत्वं । यदा पुनरन्यथापि साधनायोपात्ते धर्मिणि धर्म उपपद्यते तदा हेतुत्त्वमे-वञ्च विशिष्टमेव सत्वं पक्षधर्मत्वेन विवक्षितं । अन्यथासिद्धत्वं यक्तमेव साध्यसमं । तदिदमत्र प्रतिविधानं यदि खलु साध्यधर्माभावे धर्मिण असम्भवो हेतोरेवं विध-मेव सत्वं पक्षधर्मत्वेन विवक्षितं न तु भावमात्रं तदा किन्तदित्थंभुतं पक्षधर्मत्वम-विज्ञातमेवानमेयप्रकाश⁸कमाहोस्वित परिनिश्चितमेवेति प्रकारद्वये यद्यविज्ञातं प्रकाशकं तदाज्ञापकहेतुन्यायमतिवर्त्तते (।) ज्ञापको हि हेतुः स्वात्यनि ज्ञानापेक्षो ज्ञाप्यनर्थं प्रकाशयति । सत्ता⁹मात्रेण च हेतवो विप्रतिपत्तिनिराकारणपटवः सन्तीति 88b प्रतिवादिनां परस्परपराहतं प्रवचननानात्वं न भवेत्। विज्ञातस्यापि गमकत्वे प्रमाणाद्वा तस्य परिनिश्चयः प्र¹माणाद्वा । न तावदप्रमाणस्य भूतार्थनिश्चयहेतुत्वा-भावादप्रमाणाद् गतिरन्यथा प्रामाण्यमेवावहीयते। यस्मादिदमेव प्रमाणस्य प्रमा-णत्वं यद्यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रका²शकत्वं। तच्चेदमप्रमाणस्याप्यस्ति तदा कथं तद प्रमाणात्साच्ये धर्मिणि विना साध्यधर्मेणासव्भूष्णोहेंतोः सत्त्वस्पक्षधर्मत्वेनाधि-गम्यते³ तदापि यत एव प्रमाणाद्धेतोः सिद्धिस्तत एव साध्यधर्मस्यापीयं जायत इति किमर्थमयमिकञ्चित्करो हेतुरूपादीयते। न च हेतोरेव केवलस्य ततः सिद्धि (:) साध्यधर्मस्य तु नेति युक्तम्वक्तुं । हेतोरिप ततोऽसिद्धिप्रसङ्गात् तथा हचेवमयं हेत्(:) तत्र धीमणि सिध्यति यद्यनेन साध्यधर्मेण विनेह नोपपद्यते सहैव तु⁵प-पद्यत इति सिध्येत्। तथा च कथन्तत एव प्रमाणात्साध्यधर्मस्यापि न सिद्धिः सञ्जातेति चिन्तनीयमेतत् । एवञ्च तेनैव प्रमाणेन सहास्य साध्यधर्मस्य । गम्य-गमकभावो न त्वनेन हेतुनेति महदनिष्टमापद्यते । एवम्विधपक्षधर्मत्वसमाश्रयणे च यावत् साध्यस्यासिद्धिस्ताबद्धेतोरिप यावच्च हेतोरिसिद्धिस्तावत्सा ध्यस्यापीति परस्पराश्रयप्रसङ्गः। पक्षधर्मत्विनश्चयवेलायाञ्च साध्यधर्मसिद्धिः सम्पद्यत इति व्यर्थमुत्तरलिङगरूपानुसरणमित्त्यञ्च न द्विलक्षणश्चतुर्लक्षणः पञ्च⁸लक्षणश्च हेतुर्वक्तव्यः । अस्मन्मते तु र्घीमणि सत्वमात्रं विज्ञाय च तदुत्तरकालमन्वयव्यति-रेकयोर्विज्ञानमन्वयव्यतिरेकौ वा सर्व्वोपसंहारेण विज्ञायत उत्तरकालं धर्मिणि 892 सत्वमात्रं विज्ञातमतश्चानन्तर्येणैव तत्सामर्थ्यात्साध्यधर्मस्य तित्र प्रतीतिरुप-

इति प्रतन्यते । हेत्वाभासारच यथान्यायन्निप्रह⁷स्थानमिति एतावन्मात्र-मिष्टमिति ॥

> लोकेऽविद्यातिमिरपटलोल्लेखनस्तत्त्ववृष्टे विद्न्यायः परहितरतैरेष सिद्भः प्रणीतः। तत्वालोकं तिमिरयति तं दुर्विदग्धो जनोय-न्तस्मा इतः कृत इह मया तत्समुद्घातनाय॥ त्॥(३)

पद्यते (।) तेनेदमत्र सकलं दोषजालं नभसीवामले जले नावस्थानमलं लभत इत्यलमप्रतिष्ठित 1 मिथ्याप्रलापैरिति विरम्यते ।

यद्येवं कि पुनरत्रेष्टिमिष्टिमित्याह । हेत्वाभासास्तु यथान्यायमित्यादि (227) ये न्याया हेत्वाभासास्तद्रक्तिन्निग्रहस्थानम्भवति । ते च येस्माभिष्क्ताः ॥

एकाप्रसिद्धिसंदेहेऽप्रसिद्धव्यभिचारभाक् । द्वयोव्विरुद्धोसिद्धौ च संदेहव्यभिचारभागि(४६)ति ।

नन् चायं वादन्यायमार्गः सकललोकानिबन्धनबन्धना वादविधानादावार्य³ वसुबन्ध्ना महाराजपथीकृतः (।) क्षुण्णश्च तदनु महत्यां न्यायपरीक्षायां कुमति-मतमन्त[?मत्त]मातङ्गिशारःपीठपाटनपटुभिराचार्यदिग्नागपादैस्तन्किमिदं पुनश्च-व्वितच⁴र्व्वणमास्थितं त्वयेति । एतच्चोद्यपरिहारपरिममं ३लोकमुपन्यस्यतिपन्यस्यते लोक(2018)इत्यादि । तिमिरञ्च पटलञ्चेति तिमिरपटलं अविद्यैव तिमिरपटलम-विद्यातिमिर⁵पटलं भूतार्थदर्शनविबन्धकत्वात् । तस्योल्लेखनो वादन्याय इति सम्बन्धः(।) उल्लेखनशब्दः कर्तृ साधनः । कस्य पुनरविद्यातिमिरपटलमित्याह । तत्त्व दृष्टेस्त⁰त्वदर्शनस्य । प्रज्ञालोचनस्येत्यर्थः । य एष समनन्तरमावेदितो वादन्यायः । सद्भिः पूर्वाचार्यैः परिहतरतैः करुणापारतन्त्र्याल्लोकान् सम्यग्वर्त्सनि व्यवस्थाप-यितुं प्र^रणीतः परां प्रसिद्धि नीतो लोके सुष्टु स्फुटीकृत इत्यर्थः। न तु परस्पर्द्धया नापि यशःकामतादिभिः । त [?य] द्येवन्तर्हि तदवस्थितं चोद्यमित्यत आह । तत्वस्यालोकमुद्योतम्वा⁸दन्यायमाचाचार्येरूपदिष्टं (।) तिमिरयत्यन्धकारीकरोति कुदूषणतमसा प्रच्छादयतीति यावत् । कः पुनरसावितसाहसिको यो महानागैः क्षुण्णं 89b पन्थानं रोद्धुमीहत इत्याह⁸ दुविदग्धः सम्यग्विवेकरहिततया जनोयमुद्योतकर-प्रीतिचन्द्र(?)भाविविक्तप्रभृतिः। यतश्च एवं तस्माद्यत्नः कृत इह वादन्यायप्रकरणे मया तस्य महद्भिरुद्भावितस्या¹न्तराजतैरवधूतस्य समुज्वालनाय। कुदूषणपरि-हारेण तन्नीत्युद्योतनेन मम व्यापृतत्वान्न मया पिष्टं पिष्टमिति संक्षेपार्थः।।

वादन्यायो नाम प्रकरणं समाप्तं (॥) कृतिरियमाचार्यधर्मकीर्तिचरणानां ॥ त् ॥ अलेखि वागीश्वरेणेति⁹ (॥)

अनर्घ (?) विनतावगाहनमनल्पधीशक्तिना² प्यदृष्टपरमार्थसारमिकाभियोगैरिप। मतं मितितमः स्फुटम्प्रतिविभज्य सम्यग्मया यदाप्तमकृशं शुभम्भवतु तेन शान्तो जनः।। (४७) अहञ्च

नैरात्म्यबोधपरिपाटि वत्रोषशैलसम्बुद्धभारवहनक्षमभूरिशक्त-मञ्जुश्रियः श्रियमवाप्य समस्तसत्त्वसर्वावृतिक्षयविधानपटुभैवेयं। महारयेनैव न किञ्चिदत्र त्यक्तिम्व विक्तं न विभज्यमेव। तथापि मन्दप्रतिबोधनार्थमालोक एष ज्वलितः प्रदीपः॥ (४८) लोकेऽविद्यातिमिरपटलोल्लेखनस्तत्त्वद्दे

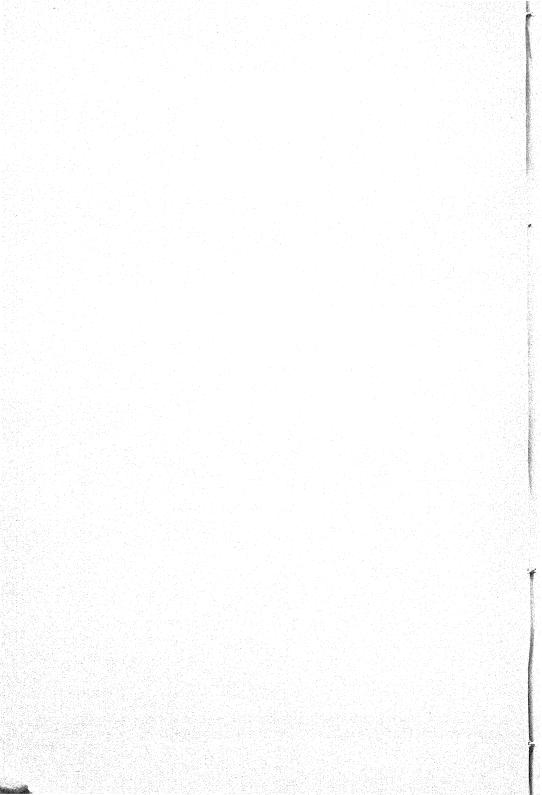
वादन्यायः परिहतरतैरेष सम्य⁵ (क्) प्रणीतः । तत्त्वालोकं तिमिरयति तं दुर्विदग्धो जनोयन्

तस्माद् यत्नः कृत इह मया तत्समुज्वालनायेति ॥ (४९)

विपञ्चितार्था नाम वादन्यायटीका समाप्ता ॥ ॥ ॥ कि कृतिरियं सान्तरिक्ष [? शान्तरिक्षत]पादानामिति ॥

सम्वत आचू२(272 N. E.—1152 A.D.)श्रावणकृष्ण एकादश्यां लिखितं मया । राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीमदानन्ददे $^{\prime}$ वपादीयविजयराज्ये शुभदिने ॥

ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रमाणञ्च निपुणैर्भवशताऽधिकं।
सहस्प्रद्वितयं स<u>म्पत्</u> [?म्यक्] संख्यातम्पूर्व्<u>शूरिभिः</u> [?सूरिभिः] ॥०॥
शुभमस्तु सर्व्वजगतां इ^ड.....सर्वेः रिक्षतव्यम्प्रयत्नत इति॥
नमः सर्वज्ञाय॥⁹



B. नामानुक्रमगी

अक्षपादः ३, २६, १०१ १०७, १२५, १३३, द्वादशलक्षणं ११४ (मीमांसाऽपि द्र०) १३८ (महर्षि: महामुनिश्च द्रष्टव्यौ) अपभांशः (भाषा) १०६ (अभिधर्मकोशः) ३७, ८०, ८३ अश्वघोषः ६७ (राष्ट्रपालनाटककारः) आक्षपादः ८५, ११४, ११६, (नैयायिकोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः) आख्यायिका ११५ आचार्यः (धर्मकीर्तिः) ४०, ४७, ५४ आनन्ददेवः १४२ (नयपालराजः) आन्ध्र(भाषा) १०६ अविद्धकरण: ३५, ४०, ७७, १०८ आर्य(भाषा) १०४ उद्योतकरः ८७, ८९, ९४, १०२, १०८, १२७, १४१, (भारद्वाजोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः) औद्योतकरं (मतं) १२६, १२७ कणभक्षः (कणादः) २६, (कणभुगपि द्र०) कणभग (कणादः) ३९ कपिलः (भगवान्) ५१ (सांख्यकारः) कश्मीर(-देश;) ४२ काणादः ७१, ९२ कापिलः (सांख्यानुगः) ४२, ४८, ४९, ५३, ९६, १३१, १३३ कापिलं (मतं) ५७ कुमारिलः ८४, १०३ जैमिनि: १३, ६७, ६८ जैमिनीयः (मीमांसानुगः) ११४ ताथागतः (बौद्धः) १०६ दिङ्गागः १३५, १४१

द्रमिड(भाषा) १०६

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C. श्लोकानुऋमगी

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नेह धुमो। ६०

बीनमाषीपल्डधानां न्याययंथानां कर्ननालक्रमेण सृची

संख्या	कत्तां A.C.	संख्या	ग्रन्थ:	Nanjio's	भाषान्तरकारः	भाषान्तरकालः A.C.
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		m	न्यायद्वारतकैशास्त्रं	1224	Hiouen-tsang	648
		>		1223	I-tsing	711
~	असंगः 4००	~	🛔 प्रकरणार्यवाचाशास्त्रकारिका	1202	Hiouen-tsang	645
w	वसुबंघु: 4००	~	तक्शास्त्रं	1252	परमार्थः	550
>>	शंकरस्वामी 450	~	न्यायप्रवेश: §	1216	Hiouen-tsang	647

न इयमेव भोटभाषान्तरीकृता विग्रह्व्यावतंनीकारिका (Stan. mdo. XVII. 5; G.O.S. XLIX.) प्रतिभाति * उपायकौशल्यहृदय—इति Nanjio. नामसारूपात् ।

‡ बांदप्रकरणं, बादप्रकरणकारिका वा भवितुमहीत । §अयमेव भोटभाषान्तरे (Stan. mdo. XCV. 8) दिङनागस्य कृतिः स्थायते।

E. मोटभाषीपल्डधानां न्याययंथानां कर्नुकालक्रमेण सूची

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				दिङनागः (बृत्तिः)	xcv.					
				विनीतदेवः 775 (टीका)	схи.		ऽ शाक्यसिहः	द्पल-बृचेगस्	840	
		w.	त्रिकालपरीक्षा		xcv. (<u>ज</u>	।न्त्याकरगुप्त:	xcv. 6 शाल्याकरगुप्तः (प-छब्)छुङ्-खि्मस्- ग्येल्	1100	
		₩ %	न्यायप्रवेशः		xcv.		xcv. 7 सर्वज्ञरक्षित: (कश्मीर-)	प्रम्स्-प-प्यैल्-म्छन् (1147-1216)	2	
		रू ख			xcv. 8	 	xcv. 8 धर्मरत्नः(चीन-)	(स-स्क्य) ग्शान्-स्तोन्	1250	
		5	हेतुचकड्(?ह)मरः		xcv.	0	xcv. 9 शांतरक्षितः (740-840)	धर्मालोक:	840	
m.	चंद्रगोमी 575	~	न्यायसिच्यालोक:		CXII. 6 श्रीसिहः	<u>.</u>	श्रीसिहः	वैरोचनरक्षितः	8	
>	षमेकीर्तिः 62 ऽ	~	प्रमाणवात्तिकं		XCV. I	्य ्य	भूतिश्रीयांतिः	xcv. 10 सुभूतिश्रीशांतिः। द्गे-विऽ-व्लो-ग्रोस्	1050	

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24 4 7	:			मृदो	भारतीय:	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
			धर्मकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः) ¹	xcv. 16	મુમૂતિશ્રીયાંતિ:	xcv. 16 सुभूतिश्रीशांतिः द्गे-विध्वले-ग्रोस्	1050
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ै जिन इति विद्याभूषणमहादायाः ibid. p. 338 हत्तीयपरिच्छेद एव

१ द्वितीयपरिच्छेद एव।

* विक्रमशिलाविहारीयः।

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भाषान्तरकार:	भोटदेशीयः	(ब्रो-सेङदकर्) शाक्य-ऽोद्			द्पल्-ब्चेग्स्			(ड्योंग्) ब्लो- ल्दन्-शस्-रब्	
	भारतीयः	शान्तिभद्र:			जिनमित्र: (कश्मीर-)				
ruc, eru	म्बो	CXII. 19 वान्तिभद्रः	CXII. 10	схи. 11	сжи. 7	CXII. 8	схи. 9	СХП. 12	СХП. 13
मीकाका यः	?								
is.		सहालम्बनिर्णय:	अन्यापोहविचारः	ईश्वरभंग-कारिका	सर्वेज्ञसिद्ध- कारिका	बाह्यार्थंसिद्धः	श्रुतिपरीक्षा	प्रमाणपदीक्षा	लघुत्रमाणपरीक्षा
मंख्या	;	~	~	8	m	>	ح	~	~
and A C Hieur		प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः 700	कल्याणरक्षित: 7००					भर्मोतर:725	
#ieur		5	w					9	•

xII]			वाव	त्न्याय <u>ः</u>			[ј.в.о.:	R.S.
1076-92			1040	1076—92	1	1050	2	
(डाँग्) ब्लो- ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्	(प-छब्) जि-म- प्रग्स्	(झाँग्)ब्लो- ल्दन्-शस्-रब्	ग्रगुस्-ऽब्योर्-शेस्- रब्	(झाँग्) ब्लो- ल्दन्-शस्-रब्	****	क्षिं-व-डोद्	ग्रग्स्-ऽब्योर्-शेस्-रब्	
भव्यराजः (कश्मीर-)	2		विनयाकरः	मनोरथ:	भव्यराज:	ा गुणाकरश्रीभद्रः शिं-व-डोद्	देवेन्द्रभद्र:	
cxII. 14	CXIII. 15	схіі. 17	СХП. 18	CXII. 20	CXII. 21	схи. т	CXIII. 2 CXIV	CXII. 25
			मुक्ताकलय:1000 (विवरणं)				कमलशील:84० (पंजिका)	
अपोहप्रकरणं	परलोकसिद्धिः	क्षणभंगसिद्धः		अपोहसिद्धः	प्रतिबंधसिद्धः	तत्वसंग्रहः		१ धर्मधर्मिविनिश्रयः
w	×	5		~	R	~		
				शंकरानंद: 8००		शान्तरक्षितः (740-840)		जेतारि:1000
				v		~		•

		r						
	काल: A.C.	1080 (?)	1050	1050	***************************************	1070	Ιοζο	1300
भाषान्तरकार:	भोटदेशीयः	म्छोग्-दद्य-पोडि-दों-जे 1080 (?)	शाक्य-ऽोद्			CXII. 27 सुभूतिश्रीशांतिःतिङ-ङे-ऽजिन्-ब्स्क पो	शाक्य-८ दि	(द्पडस्) ब्लो-ग्रोस् । 300
	भारतीय:	नागरक्षितः	कुमारकलवा:	कुमारकलश:	शान्तिभद्रः (नेपाल-)	सुभूतिश्री बांतिः	कुमारकलज्ञः दानशीलः	
maa-can	मंदी रही र	cxII. 26	CXII. 24	CXII. 23	CXII. 22	CXII. 27	CXII. 29	СХП. 28
मीक <u>ाका</u> र.								
.		बालावतारतकै:	हेतुतत्त्वोपदेश:	अन्तव्याप्तिः	विज्ञप्तिमात्रता- सिद्धिः	युक्तित्रयोगः	कार्यकारणभाव- सिद्धिः पुस्तकपाठोपाय- स्मिटः	तकेभाषा
संख्या		n	w	~	8	~	~	~
कर्ता 🗎 🗀 मंख्या				रत्नाकरशान्तिः 102६		रत्तवजू:1050	ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः IO75 दानशीलः [¶] I200	मोक्षाकर- गुप्त: 1208
संख्या				% %		8.	# X	వ్హ

F. *उपलभ्यमानानां बौद्धन्यायग्रंथानां नामानुक्रमणी

L	. उपलम्यसामामा	जादुरपापत्रपाग	। गामायुका	461
संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थ	ानं
?	अन्तर्व्याप्तिः ST†	रत्नाकरशान्तिः	St. cxII.	3
२	अन्यापोहसिद्धिः ${f T}$	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. cxII.	10
æ	अपोहप्रकरणं T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. cxii.	14
४	अपोहसिद्धिः T	शंकरानन्दः	St. cxII.	20
ષ	अपोहसिद्धिप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीर्तिः	Bib. Ind.	
હ્	अवयविनिराकरणं S	रत्नकीर्तिः	Şalu vii.	8
૭	अवयविनिराकरणं S	अशोक:	Bib. Ind.	
૮	आगमप्रामाण्यकारिका S		Ngor xxx	viii. 5
९	आलम्बनपरीक्षा T	दिङ्गागः	St. xcv.	4
٩o	आलम्बनपरीक्षा-टीका ${ m T}$	विनीतदेव:	St. cxII.	5
११	आलम्बनपरीक्षा-वृत्तिः T	दिङ्गागः	St. xcv.	5
१२	ईश्वरभंगकारिका ${ m T}$	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. cxii.	II
१३	उपायकौशल्यहृदयं CS‡	नागार्जुनः	N.	1257
१४	कार्यकारणभावसिद्धिः 🏻	ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः	St. cxII.	29
१५	क्षणभंगसिद्धिः T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. cxII.	14

^{*} संकेताः St.=Tibetan Stan-hgyur. mdo. (Cordier. Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, Paris 1915) Bib. Ind=Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta. For Ṣalu Ngor, Saskya—See Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet (J.B.O.R.S.Vol. XXI) N. =Nanjio's Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka.

† Bib. Ind. Calcutta. S=Found in Sanskrit. T=

Tibetan. C=Chinese.

‡Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Text on Logic उपायहृदयं (G.O. S.No. XLIX)

संख्या	ग्रंथ:	कर्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
१६	क्षणभंगसिद्धिः S	रत्नकीर्त्तः	Bib. Ind.
१७	क्षणभंगसिद्धिववरणं $^*\mathrm{T}$	मुक्ताकलशः	St. CXII. 18
१८	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीर्त्तः	Şalu viii. 7
१९	तत्त्वसंग्रहः ST†	शान्तरक्षितः	St. CXIII. 1
२०	तत्त्वसंग्रह-पंजिका ST†	कमलशील:	St. CXIII. 2
२१	तर्कभाषा 'TS‡	मोक्षाकरगुप्तः	St. CXII. 28
२२	तर्कशास्त्रं CS§	वसुबंधुः	N. I 252
२३	त्रिकालपरीक्षा T	दिङ्गागः	St. xcv. 6
२४	धर्मधर्मिविनिश्चयः T	जेतारिः	St. CXII. 25
२५ <u>।</u> २६)	न्यायद्वारतर्कशास्त्रं C	नागार्जुनः	N. 1223, 1224
२७	न्यायप्रवेशः Т	दि ङनागः	St. xcv. 7
२८	" ST†	"	St. xcv. 8
२९	,	शंकरस्वामी	N. 1 216
३०	न्यायविन्दुः ST/	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv. 12
३१	न्यायविन्दु-टीका ST/	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXI. 2
३२	न्यायविन्दु-टीका-नुटीकाS	दुर्वेकमिश्रः	Ngor x. 1

* धर्मोत्तरप्रणीतायाः क्षणभंगसिद्धेः टीका।

† मुद्रितः संस्कृते Gaekwad Oriental Sanskrit Series, Baroda.

‡G.o.s.s. no. XLIX

Sibid. no. XLIX.

ऑअयमेव भोटभाषान्तरे दिङ्गागकृतिरुक्ता ।) मुद्रितः संस्कृते Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta), चौखम्बासंस्कृत

Series (Benares).

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
३३	न्यायविन्दु-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. cxi. I
३४	न्यायविन्दु-पिंडार्थः T	जिनमित्रः (भारत-)	St. cxi. 4
३५	न्यायविन्दु-पूर्वपक्षसंक्षेपः'T	कमलशीलः	St. cxi. 3
३६	न्यायसिद्धचालोकः T	चन्द्रगोमी	St. cxII. 6
३७	परलोकसिद्धिः T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 15
३८	पुस्तकपाठोपायः ${f T}$	दानशील:1203A.C	St. cx11. 16
३९ ४०	प्रकरणार्यवाचाशास्त्र- कारिका C प्रज्ञालंकारकारिका S	असंग:	N. 1202 Ngor xxxviii. 3
४१	प्रतिबंधसिद्धिः T	शंकरानन्द:	St. CXII. 21
े ४२	प्रमाणपरीक्षा ${f T}$	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 12
४३	प्रमाणपरीक्षा । लघु-T		St. CXII. 13
४४	प्रमाणवात्तिकं S T*	धर्मक ीतिः	St. xcv. 10
४५	,,टीका(द्वितीय-परि०) ${ m T}$	रविगुप्त:†	St. cviri. 3
४६	,, टीका(तृतीय-परि०) T		St. crv. 1
প্ত	,, टीका T	शंकरानन्दः	St. cm
४८	,, टीका T	शाक्यमति:	St. xcvii, xcviii
४९	प्रमाणवार्त्तिक-वृत्तिः T	देवेन्द्रमतिः	St. xcvi

^{*} प्रयस-द्वितीय-तृतीय-परिच्छेदाः संस्क्रियमाणा अस्माभिः । †प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तस्य शिष्योऽयमिति भोटभाषान्तरे ।

संख्या	ग्रंथ:	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
५०	प्रमाणवात्तिक-वृत्तिः T	धर्मकीर्तिः	St. xcv. 18
५१	प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकारःST*	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः	St. xcix.C
५२	,, ,, टीका T	जय (ानन्त):	St. ci., cii
५३	,, ,, टीका $ { m T}$	यमारिः	St. CIV.2, CV., CVI., CVII.
५४	प्रमाणविनिश्चयः ${f T}$	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv. 11
५५	,, ,, टीका T	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	St. Cx. 2
५६	,, ,, टीका T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CIX,CX. 1
५७	प्रमाणसमुच्चयः S T 🕇	दि ङ्गागः	St. xcv. 1
५८	,, टीका T	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः	St. cxv.
५९	,, वृत्तिः T	विद्धनागः	St. xcv. 2
६०	,, वृत्तिः T		xcv. 3
६१	प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीत्तिः	Şalu viii. 4
६२	बालावतारतर्कः Т	जेतारिः	St. CXII. 26
६३	बाहचार्थसिद्धिकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. cxII. 8
६४	युक्तिप्रयोगः T	रत्नवजुः	St. CXII. 27
६५	वादन्यायः S T‡	धर्मकीतिः	St. xcv. 16

*अन्त्येषु त्रिषु परिच्छेदेव्वेव । द्वितीयः परिच्छेदोऽस्य मुद्रितः J. B. O. R. S. XXI.

[†] प्रथमः परिच्छेदोऽस्य भोटभाषान्तरतः संस्कृतेयऽनूद्य प्रकाशितो मैसूर विक्वविद्यालयेन ।

[‡] अयं मुद्रचते संस्कृते J. B. O. R. S. XXII.

संख्या	ग्रंथ:	कर्ता	प्राप्तेः स्था	नं
६६	वादन्याय-टीका	विनीतदेवः	St. CXII.	
६७	वादन्याय-टीका S T^*	शान्तरक्षितः	St. cviii.	
६८	वादन्याय-वृत्तिः 'T'		St. CXII.	
६९	विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका $\dagger T$	नागार्जुनः	St. xvII.	
७०	$,,$ वृत्तिः $\left. \mathrm{T} \right $	"	St. xvII.	I
७१	विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः 'T	रत्नाकरशान्तिः	St. CXII.	2.
७२	विवादशमनशास्त्रं † C	नागार्जुनः	N.1251	
इ्थ	व्याप्तिनिर्णयः S	रत्नकीत्तिः	Şalu viii.	
७४	श्रुतिपरीक्षाकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII.	9
७५	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धिः T	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv.	I.
७६	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि-टीका ${f T}$	विनीतदेवः	St. cviii.	
७७	संबंधपरीक्षा 'T'	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv.	I
20	संबंधपरीक्षा-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. cxii.	1
७९	संबंधपरीक्षानुसारः 'T'	शंकरानन्दः	St. CXII.	2
८०	संबन्घपरीक्षा-वृत्तिः 'T'	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv.	15
८१	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII.	7
८२	सर्वेज्ञसिद्धिकारिका T	"	St. cxII.	8
८३	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिकाS	रत्नकोत्तिः	Salu viii.	I

^{*} इयं मुद्द्यते संस्कृते J.B.O.R.S. XXI. Pt. III † ६९, ७२ एक्स्यैव प्रकरणस्य नामद्वयं प्रतिभाति G.O.S.S. No. XXLI.

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
८४	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका S	?	Ngor xxxvIII. 4
८५	सर्वेज्ञसिद्धिसंक्षेपः S	शंकरनन्दनः	Ngor xxxvII. 1
८६	सहालम्बनिर्णयसिद्धिः Т	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः	St. CXII. 19
८७	सामान्यदूषणदिक्प्रसारितंS	अशोक:	Bib. Ind.
23	सामान्यनिराकरणंS	रत्नकीतिः	Şalu. viir. 9
८९	स्थिरसिद्धिदूषणंS		Şalu. viii. 6
९०	हेतुचकडमरुः T	दिङ्गनागः	St. xcv. 9
९१	हेतुविन्दुः T	धर्मकीत्तिः	St. xcv. 13
९२	हेतुविन्दु-टीका $f T$	अर्चंट:	St. cxi. 6
९३	हेतुविन्दु-टीका-ऽनुटीका S	?	पं॰ सुखलाल B.H.U.
९४	हेतुविन्दु-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. CXI. 5
९५	हेतुविन्दु-टीका (धर्माकर		
	दत्तीया)-ऽनुटीका S*	दुवेंकमिश्रः	Ngor. x. 2

^{*} अस्यैको हस्तलेखो नयपालराजगुरूणां श्रीहेमराजशर्मणां समीपेपि ।

G. धर्मकीतः सप्त न्यायनिबंधाः सटीकाः

			ر (<u>سع</u> ا)	पष्ठ-पंक्ति-	इल्लोकपरिमाणं	
	,		प्राच-अनुर (जुंदा)	: : :		
प्रथाः, तट्टीकाकाराश्च	पारच्छदाः	वेष्ठनं	पृष्ठपंक्त्यंका:	परिमाणं	मूलं टीका	योग:
. प्रमाण वास्तिकं	VI—IV	XCV.IO	190a4—250b6		1,459 1,05,400	1,06,859
	H	XCV.18	404b3—535a4		3,500	
देवेन्द्रमति: (पंजिका)	ν <u>ι</u> —π	XCVI	rb—390a8	388.12	8,748	
गक्यमतिः (टीका)	I—IV	XCVII	rb—402a8		77041	
		XCVIII	rb—348a8	356.12	2406/1	

 मागाजुनकृत्योरेकविद्याति पत्राणि विहाय, स्तन्-अयुर्-संग्रहे ऽव्यवहितानि बौद्धन्यायग्रंथानामेकविद्यति वेष्ठनानि (mdo. xcv—cxv); तत्र षोडहासु (xcvi—cxi) केवलं धर्मकीते: सप्त न्यायनिवंधाः सटीकाः, ह्योः (cxiii, cxiv) द्यातरिक्षतस्य तत्त्वसंग्रहः सटीकाः, ह्योः (cxiii, cxiv) द्यातरिक्षतस्य तत्त्वसंग्रहः सटीकः; श्रेष्योद्योः वेष्ठनयोः (xcv, cxii) धर्मकीतेरप्यन्येषां च ग्रथाः । दलोकपरिमाणेन १,७५,२४४ हलोकेषु १,३७,३११ इस्लोकमिता प्रथा धर्मकोतिपरिवारस्य, अष्टादशसहस्रमितः शान्तरक्षितीयः, शेषा दिङनागप्रभृतीनाम् । संख्यान इह स्नर्-थङ-मुद्रित मोट-स्तन्-ऽयुर्-ग्रथतः प्रतिपृष्ठं सप्त पंक्तयः प्रतिपंक्ति साद्धं क्लोकः प्रायेण गृहीतः ।

ै हेम० तालपुस्तकान्ते त्रयाणां परिच्छेदानां ग्रंथपरिमाणं—"(हितीये) इलोकाः २८८, तृतीये इलोकाः ५३९ चतुर्थे इलोकाः २८८" इति कभ्यते । त्रुटितस्य आक्षस्य परिच्छेदस्य संख्या भोटभाषान्तरसाहाय्येन ३४४ लब्या ।

३ इयं संख्या मोटमाषान्तर उपलभ्यते ।

											17,074				2,936			
92691	2/=62=	18 1.18	10,140		23.70	20°))2		7,578		7,5552	15,734		12,403	3,271	2,759	1,0304	1,477	
											1,340				127			
380.11)	342.10)	432.12	373.12)	136.151	288.11	434.12	319.9	336.12	206.11)	128.14	59.3	345.2)	207.20	145.6	7.14	41.14	69.5	
1b—382a7	1b344a6	1b-434a8	1b-375a8	20827—34528	1b-290a7	1b—436a8	1b-321a5	rb—338a8	1b—208a7	13728—26626	250b6-329br	1b-347a8	1b—209b8	209b8-355a6	329b1—337a8	1b—43b3	43b3—113a1	
XCIX	O	ij	CH	CIV. 2	CQ	CIV	CVII	CIII	CIV. I	CVIII.3	XCV.II	CIX	CX. I	CX.2	XCV.12	CXI.1	CXI.2	. समुपलभ्यते
<u>N</u> — <u>1</u> 1		8		*					Ħ	H	H-I	цп	Ħ					ै इयं संख्या भोटभाषान्तरे समुपलभ्यते
प्रज्ञाकरगुत्तः (भाष्यं)		जय(ानन्त)ः(भाष्य-टीका)		यमारिः (भाष्य-टीका)				शंकरानंदः (टीका)	रविगुप्तः (टीका)	,, (बृतिः)	२. प्रमाणविनिश्चयः	धर्मोत्तरः (टीका)		ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः (टीका)	३. न्यायविन्दुः	विनीतदेव: (टीका)	भर्मोतरः "	े इयं संख्या

ै ताल-पत्रपुस्तकान्ते--"नवशताधिक । सहस्रहितयं" प्रन्थपरिमाणं प्रबत्तम् ।

•	4	स्तर	स्तन्-ऽंग्युर (मृदो)	पृष्ठ-पंत्रित-	इलोक	इलोकपरिसाणं	
मथाः, तद्वाकाकार(श्व	الأعقول:	बेष्ठमं	पृष्ठ-पंत्रत्यंकाः	परिमाणं	मूलं	टीका	योगः
कमलबीलः "		CXI.3	113a1—122b6	8.27		221	
जिनमित्र: "		cxr.4	122b6—123b8	81.		31	
४. हेतुबिन्दुः	N—I	XCV.13	33728-35723	11.61	444	4,036	4,480
विनीतदेव: (टीका)		CXI.5	123b8—223b6	100.13		2,268	
अर्चेट: (विवरणं)		9.IXO	223b7—302a8	78.9		1,768	
५. संबंधपरीक्षा		xcv.14	35723-35827	0.17	29	1,080	1,109
धमेकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः)		XCV.I5	358a7-364b8	5.23		147	
विनीतदेव: (टीका)		CXII.I	rb-26b8	24.20		548	
शंकरानंदः "		CXII.2	27a1—44a3	16.17		384	
६. वादन्यायः		31.vox	364b8-400a7	35.7	862	3,509	4,307
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CXII.3	44a3—71a5	26.16		609	
शान्तरक्षितः "		CVIII.2	7125-18327	111.16		2,9001	
७. सन्तानान्तरसिद्धः		XCV.17	400a7—404b3	3.17	72	474	546
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CVIII.1	rb—21b2	19.13		474	
					4,319	1,32,992	1,32,992 1,37,311

H. धर्मकीर्त्तिपरिवारभाजां ग्रंथकाराणां ग्रन्थपरिमाणम्

ग्रंथकाराः	ग्रंथसंख्या	ग्रंथपरिमाणं
		(श्लोकाः)
१. यमारिः		26,552
२. जयानन्तः	1	18,148
३. शाक्यमतिः		17,046
४. प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः		16,267
५. धर्मोत्तरः	2	13,940
६. देवेन्द्रमतिः		8,748
७. धर्मकीत्तिः	9	7,966
८. शंकरानन्दः	2	7,963
९. रविगुप्तः		7,552
१०. विनीतदेवः	5	4,929
११. ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः		3,271
१२. शान्तरक्षितः		2,900
१३. अर्चट:	.	1,768
१४. कमलशील:	1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1,	221
१५. जिनमित्रः		31
	29	1,37,311

I. भोटन्पाणां तुल्यकालीना भोटीय-न्याय-भाषान्तरकाराः

1.		
	A.D.	
स्रोड-ब्च्न्-स्गम्-पो	630—98	
मङ-स्रोङ-ब्च्न्	698—712	
दुर्-स्रोङ	712-40	
छ्यि-ल्दे-ग्.चुग्-ब्र्त्तन्	740—802	
छ्यि-स्रोङ-ल्दे-ब्चन्	802-45	वैरोचनरक्षितः ¹
		देवेन्द्ररक्षितः ¹
		धर्मालोकः ²
		र्नम्-म्खऽ-स्वयोकः ³
		द्पल्-बर्चेग्स् ^{4 *}
मुनि-ब्च्न्-पो	846-47	
ख्रि-ल्दे (स्रोक्)-ब्च्न्	847-77	ये-शेस्-स्दे ⁵ (862 A.C.)
रल्-प-चन्	877—901	n
ग्लङ-दर्-म	901—2	
ऽोद्- स्रुङस्	902—65	
द्पल्-ऽखोर्-व-चन्	965—83	
डोद्-ल्दे	1040	ग्रग्स्-ऽब्योर्-शेस्-रब् ⁶
		द्गे-विऽ-ब्लो-ग्रोस् ⁷
		(ब्रो-सेड-द्कर्) शाक्य-डोद् ⁷
		(राजकुमारः) शि-व-ऽोद् ⁸

¹ आचार्यशान्तरक्षित (740-840 A.C.)स्य शिष्याविमौ (Bu-ston II, P. 190)।

²आचार्यशान्तरक्षितस्य सहकारी भाषान्तरीकरणे (Stan. mdo. XCV. 9)।

³ शान्तरक्षितकालीनौ (Bu-ston. II p. 191)।

⁶रिन्-छेन्-ब्सड़-पो (958-1055 A.C.)-सहाय एष (Bu-ston. II. p. 214)

⁷ वीपंकरश्रीज्ञान (982-1054 A.C.)-समकालीनाः ।

⁴नागसंवत्सरे (840 Å.C.) ऽनेन ग्रंथसूची व्यंधािय (ibid. p. 191)। 5 अश्वसंवत्सरे (862 Å.C.) राज्ञा निर्दिष्टं किमिप । (Stan. mdo. CXXIII.44).

⁸अयं राजकुमारः तत्वसंग्रहभाषान्तरकारो ऽोद्-ल्दे-नृपस्य सहोदरः (Bu-ston. II.pp.213, 214)

चे-ल्दे

1076

(र्ङोग्) ब्लो-ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्¹ (ख्युड-पो) छोस्-ब्चोन् 2 तिङ-ङे -ऽजिन्-ब्सङ-पो 3 (शङ-द्कर्)ऽफग्स्-प-शेस्-रब्+ Sदद्-पडि-शेस्-रब् ⁵ (क्रोंग्) ब्लो-ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्¹ ग्रग्स्-ऽब्योर्-शेस्-रब्⁶ (शङ-द्कर्) ऽफगस्-प-शेस्-रब् (श्व-म.) सेड-गर्यल्⁶ ब्यङ-छुब्-शेस्-रब् म्छोग्-दङ-पोऽ-दों-जें दुगऽ-विऽ-दो-जें

द्वङ-ल्दे

ऽब्क-शिस्-ल्दे

1092

(ङोंग्)ब्लो-लदन्-शेस्-रब् (प-छव्) छुल्-छिम्स्-ग्यंल्-म्छन्

(स-स्क्य) ग्रग्स्-प-ग्येल्-म्छन् 1147-1216 (स-स्क्य) ऽफग्स्-प (स-स्क्य)

1251-80

ग्रग्स्-प-ग्यंल्-म्छ्न् (स-स्क्य)-स्तोन्³ ग्शोन् शर्-व-ऽजम्-द्ब्यङस्-दोन्-ग्र्यन् (द्पङस्)ब्लो-ग्रोस्-ब्र्त्तन्⁴

1288-1342

सहायोऽयं ²चें-ल्दे-न्पेणाहृतस्य काश्मीरकस्य ज्ञानश्री(मित्र)स्य

(Bu-ston. II. p. 215)

³चें-ल्दे-नृपेणाहूतस्य चन्द्रराहुलस्य सहायोयं (ibid. p. 215). ⁴च्रे-ल्दे-द्वड-ल्दे-नृपयोः समकालीनः (ibid p. 218).

⁶मणिभद्ररक्षित-सहायः प्रमाणसमुच्चय-भाषान्तरीकरणे ।

¹ च्ंं-ल्दे नृपेण 1076 A.C. वर्षे कश्मीरेषु प्रेषितोयं, द्वडः-ल्दे-ब्क्र-शिस्-ल्वे-नृपयोरपि उपस्तम्भमुपलभ्य 1092 A.C. संवत्सरं यावत् तत्रैव स्थित्वाऽ नेकान् ग्रन्थानन्दितवान्। (Bu-ston. II p. 215 and J.B.A.S. 1889, S.C. Das.)

^{5(9.} प-छ्व्) जि-म-प्रग्स् (b. 1055) सहायः कनकवर्मां (Stan. mdo, XX III. 3) अस्यापि सहायः (Stan. mdo. XCV. 3).

⁷ऽफग्स्-प-ब्लो-ग्रोस्-ब्र्त्तन्-प-समकालीनोयं (Stan. mdo. XCII.3)

⁸बु-स्तोन्-पंडितः (1290-1364, इतिहासलेखनकालः 1322 A.C.) एनं स्वगुरोरिप पश्चात् स्मरित (Bu-ston, II. p. 224)

बौद्धन्याययन्यानां चीन-भोट-भाषान्तरयोः कालक्रमेण सूची

क—चीन-भाषायां*

4	Ē	नागार्जुन:		वसुबंधु:	असंग:	वांकरस्वामी	नागार्जुन:	
	7	उपायकौशल्यहृदयं (N. 1257)	विवादशमनशास्त्रं (N. 1251)	तकेशास्त्रं (N. 1252)	प्रकरणार्यवाचाशास्त्रका ${ m (N.\ 1202)}$	न्यायत्रवेश: (N. 1216)	न्यायद्वारतकेशास्त्रं (N. 1224)	" (N. 1223)
	भारतीय:	चि-चि-आ-ये	विमोक्षप्रज्ञ:	परमार्थः				
भाषान्तरकारः	काल: A.C.	472	541	550	645	647	648	711
	चीनदेशीय:				Hioen-tsang			I-tsing

* विश्वेषाः Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka-गंधे इध्टब्साः

Token hand process and the contract to the contract of the con	measuranteen pinterosamenteen paratitiones			
	भाषान्तरकाराः			
भोटदेशीय:	काल: A.C.	भारतीयः	ग्रथ:	कत्ता
		१ब्सम्-यस्-काले (823- 901 A.C.)		The state of the s
धमलिक:	840	शान्तरक्षितः(74०-84०A.C.) हेतुचक्रडमरुः	हेतुचक्रडमरः	दिङनाग:
L		ज्ञानगभै:	न्यायविन्दु-टीका	धर्मोत्तरः
वैरोचनरक्षितः	*	श्रीसिहः	न्यायसिद्धचालोक:	चन्द्रगोमी
द्पल्-बच्गेस्		ज्ञानगर्भ:	विश्रहच्यावर्तेनीकारिका	नागार्जुनः
देवेन्द्ररक्षितः	*	a	विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका-वृत्तिः	
र्नम्-म्खऽ-स्क्योद्ध	•	\boldsymbol{n}	संबंधपरीक्षा	धमैकीत्तिः
٩	2		संबंधपरीक्षा-टीका	विनीतदेव:
द्पल्-बृचेंग्स्		जिनमित्रः (कश्मीर-)	सर्वेज्ञासिद्धिकारिका	कल्याणरक्षित:

xxvIII]						5	ादन्या	[J.B.O.R.S		
	कल्याणरक्षित:	धमैकोत्तिः	विनीतदेव:	कमलशील:	धर्मकीर्तिः	विनीतदेव:	2	जिनमित्र:		
	बाह्यार्थसिद्धिः	हेतुबिन्दु:	हेतुबिन्दु-टीका	न्यायविन्दु-पूर्वपक्षसंक्षेपः	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धः	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि-टीका	न्यायविन्दु-टीका	न्यायविन्दु-पिडार्थः		
	जिनमित्रः (कक्मीर-)	प्रज्ञावमी		विशुद्धसिहः			जिनमित्र:	सुरेन्द्रबोधिः		
	840			1			862			
	द्पळ्-ब्चेंग्स्			D	D		ये-बोस्-स्दे	•		

भेटदेशीयः सोन्ब-डोद् प्रगुस्-ज्योर्-शेस्-रब् दगे-विज्ञलो-ग्रोस्	भाषान्तरकारा: काल: A.C. 1050 "1050	भारतीयः २-गूगे-काले (९९०-1200 गुणाकरश्रोभद्रः देवेन्द्रभद्रः सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	ग्रंथ: तत्त्वसंग्रह: तत्त्वसंग्रह-पंजिका प्रमाणवातिक-वितिः प्रमाणवातिक-वितिः	कत्ता शान्तरक्षितः कमल्यालः धर्मकीर्तिः	VOL. XXII. PT. I] APPENDIX.
		1	यसाणवातिक-टीका	", देवेन्द्रमति:	J•
	n n	" ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	प्रमाणवार्तिक-टीका वादन्याय:	शाक्यमतिः धर्मेकीर्तिः	
्ब्रो-सेब्स्ट्कर्) शाक्य-ऽोद्	3	कुमारकलयः:	हेतुतत्त्वोपदेश:	जेतारि:	[x
•	"		अन्तव्याप्ति:	रत्नाकरशान्तिः	XIX

	दिङ्गाग:		रत्नवज्र:	शान्तरक्षितः	धर्मकीर्तिः	धर्मोत्तर:	धर्मकीतिः	शंकरानन्द:	धर्मोतर:
विज्ञाप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः	प्रमाणसमुच्चय:	प्रमाणसमुच्चय-बृत्ति:	यु क्तिप्रयोग:	वादन्याय-टीका	प्रमाणविनिश्चय:	प्रमाणविनिश्चय-टीका	न्यायविन्दुः	अपोहसिद्धि:	अपोहप्रकरणं
शान्तिभद्रः	कनकवमीं "	a.	सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	कुमारश्रीभद्र:	परहितभद्र:			मनोरथ:	भव्यराज:
1050		>	1076		(1076-92) परहितभद्र:	1		, n	(1076-92)
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प-छन्) जिन-म-प्रग्स (b. 1055 A. C.)-सहायः कनकवर्मा (Stan. mdo. xxii.3) -छदे-नूप-प्रेरणया तिझ-ङे-ऽजिन्-ब्स्ड-पो-सहायेन वंद्रराहुलेन सटीकः प्रमाणसमुच्चयो

भाषान्तरीकृत इति

VOL. XXII. PT. I] APPENDIX. J.										
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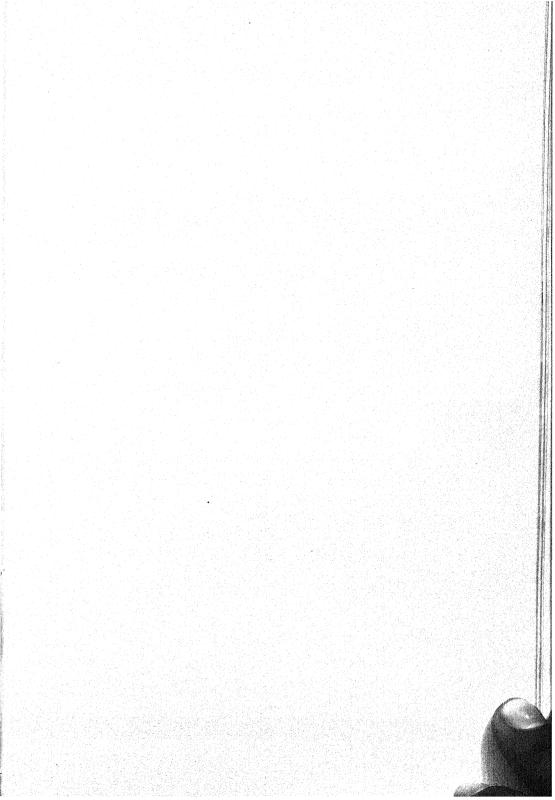
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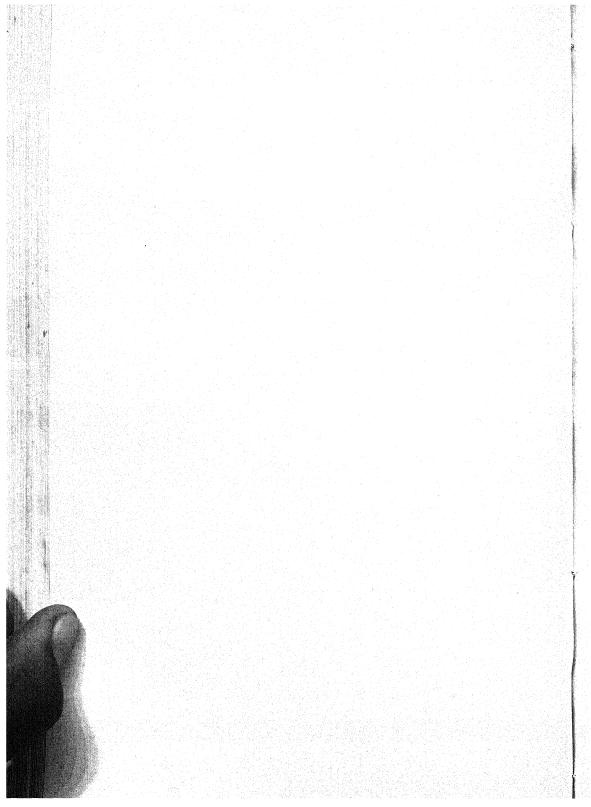
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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

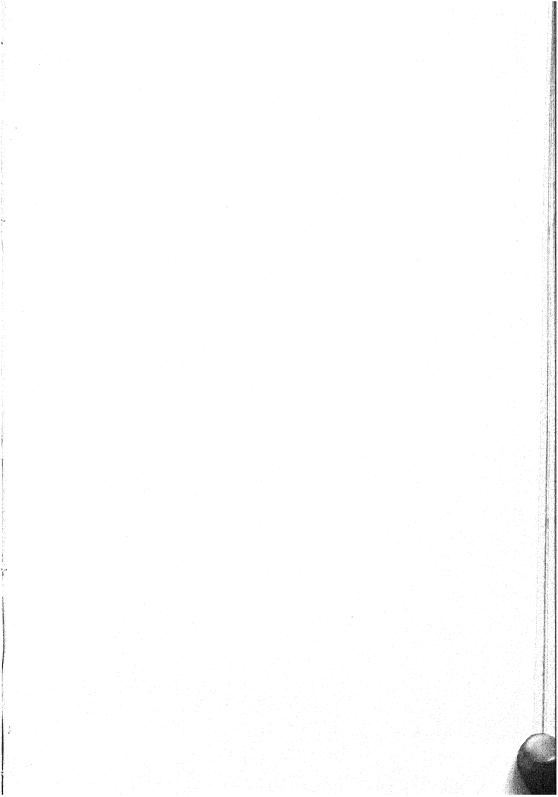
June 1936

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Moulds from Yaudheya Mint at Rohtak









[Enlarged Reverse.]





Drawing of letters.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXII

1936

PART II

Leading Articles

ON SOME HINDU COINS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

[WITH PLATES II-IV]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

Sunga

1. Discovery of a Y and hey a mint. Unread Y and hey a legend read.

A unique discovery in Indian Numismatics is an ancient mint dug out at Rohtak by Dr. B. Sahni, the Lucknow scientist who has been recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Professor Sahni discovered in hundreds moulds of coins below 3 feet in a mound called Khokra koṭ.¹ The moulds are arranged on discs. They were, when to work with, fitted into piles in several layers (with obverse and

¹ It is a mound 20' to 30' high, on the outskirts of the city. See Sahni, Current Science, 1936, pp. 796—801.

reverse moulds), and were tied together in bunches; metal was poured into each bunch through a central hole. There are grooves on the discs for the escape of extra metal. I give an illustration of a disc from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Sahni [Pl. II]. The type of coin produced from them is the one illustrated by Cunningham, C. A. I., pl. vi. fig. 2, and by Rapson, I. C. pl. iii, fig. 13. The legend has two parts, the upper and the lower. The lower part was not read before (Rapson, I. C., iii). From numerous pieces and their impressions (positive) shown to me by Dr. Sahni I read the lower portion as Bahu-dhāñake; a few moulds read also Bahudhāñke. The upper portion reads Yaudheyāna. A tracing of the letters has been prepared by Dr. Sahni which I am reproducing here. Sometimes the \hat{n} takes a form resembling t. In the tracing the general form has been kept. The whole legend means: "Of the Yaudheyas: Bahudhānyaka." It was therefore the mint of the Bahudhānyakas, who were a member of the Yaudheya Federation of republics. We had already guessed from other series of the Yaudheya coins that there were at least three members of the League. This supposition is now confirmed.

According to the Sabhāparvan of the Mahā-Bhārata, ch. 35¹ (verses 4-5), the "Robîtaka" State

¹ ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढ्यं धनधान्यवत् । कार्तिकेयस्य दियतं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥४॥ तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीच्-छूरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः। मरुभूमि स कारस्त्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥५॥—Kumb. ed. [In the Calcutta Edition, C. XXXII, Bahudhānyaka is lost] was divided into two provinces—Maru and Bahudhān yaka; and it was a very wealthy state (bahudhanam). Rohîtaka is undoubtedly the modern Rohtak and it must be taken to be the head-quarters of the 'Bahudhāna yakas.' 'Maru' must have been the province of Rajputana.

Bahudhānyaka extended from at least Rohtak and included Behat in the district of Saharanpur where Capt. Cautley dug up a large number of coins of our Bahudhānyaka mint (Prinsep, ed. by Thomas, 1858, i, p. 73, p. 200, pl. xix. 5, 6, 9; p. 82, pl. iv, 11).

The Bahudhānyaka coins were of "white bronze" (Prinsep, i. p. 85), a mixture of tin and copper (p. 202), and were evidently more valuable than copper coins.

The same passage of the MahāBhārata notes that Rohîtaka was dear to Kārtikeya, that is, Kārtikeya was the presiding deity of the people. This is confirmed by one series of the Yaudheya coins which has the figure of Kārtikeya on it and his name.

The huge territory extending from Bhawalpur and including Hoshyarpur to Bijaygarh (Bharatpur State, where their inscription was found), and reaching Rohtak and Saharanpur lay under the Yaudheya Federation composed of three states—the Bahudhānyaka and two others—in the pre-Christian centuries. It was very likely this large republic which was ready to oppose Alexander and from which his army turned back (*Hindu Polity*, i 67, 150-1). The actual government was vested in an aristocracy but their parliament consisted of five thousand members.

The obverse of the coin has a bull, probably the Sunga imperial sign. The reverse has an elephant, another Sunga symbol, a nandipada (Sunga), and the letter $G(\pi)$ probably denoting Gana. In the Rohtak ruins a clay seal (baked) with a hole and bearing a mark of string, was found by Dr. Sahni. It is in regular Sungan characters, as opposed to the artificial script of the coin. The seal legend is in perfect Sanskrit. This seal is the first Sanskrit seal of the pre-Christ centuries yet found. It reads: Bhadramitra-(2nd line) -sya, Dronighāte. 'Dronighāta' the Pass Dronī (lit. mountain valley), was probably a pass in the Siwaliks at or near (Dehrā) Dan.

2. Coin of Siri, grandson of Bhāga (Second Century B.C.)

Æ. Die-struck: 44.75 grns.; found at Ahichchatra—Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh. Pl. III. 1.

This is a new coin published here for the first time. The letters are clear and the coin is a neat piece. It reads—'Bhāganattisa Sirisa.'

"[Coin] of Siri, grandson of Bhāga."

They are well-executed characters of the second century B. C. The letters agree with the Pabhosā and Hathigumphā letters and the letters on Sumitra's coin (J. B. O. R. S., XX. 7). The reverse has a bushy tree in railing.

The coin comes from Ahichhatra, and belongs to Mr. Srīnāth Shāh of Benares.

This Bhāga is evidently the Sunga sovereign the Bhāga-bhadra of the Besnagar pillar inscription.

¹ Pl. IV. 18.

COPPER COINS

Širi, grandson of Bhāga

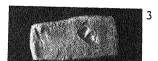


Goma



Gomi





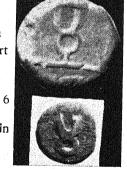
Tubațhi Coin

5





Pāṭaliputra clay passport



8
Pāṭaliputra
Coin



Rājgīr Coin

10

Taxila Coin

7



M-Standard at Sanchi





Ayodhyā Coin



John Sta

Siri was probably a governor [of Ahichhatra?]. The coin being of a smaller denomination, had to be small, and the letters are reduced to bring in the full two line legend. The second line which has the name has bolder and spaced letters, a feature which we find for the first time.

3. Gomin's Punch-marked Copper Coins (c. 200 B. C.) Wt. 51.3; 56.5; Deochand- Rai Krishna Das collection, Napur, Saidpur, Gazipur- garī-Parchāriņî Sabhā Museum. U.P. [Pl. III. 2, 3.]

Two pieces of oblong copper coins have been brought to Rai Krishna Das of Benares from Saidpur, Ghazipur¹. The smaller one is a little broken off at left and is heavier. They are unique amongst the punch-marked class. Symbols are very few, and there is a legend, of which all the letters are stamped with one die, while symbols are by different punches. Ob. has a crude bull facing a javelin and below is the legend Gomasa on the one and Gom [i] on the other. Rev. has a nandipada and, on the smaller piece, also another symbol, a flower. They were probably 12 raktika pieces. 'Gomi' seems to have been a coin legend of Pushyamitra (JBORS., XX. 293). The letters belong to his period.

4. Pushyami'

A new coin [P1. IV. 17] of the type reproduced in J.B.O.R.S. XX. 291, pl. II. 1, has come to Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh from Kosam. It gives a clearer reading. The

¹ They had been picked up from a field at Deochandpur, Tahsil Saidpur.

legend is Pushyami-

5. Silver coin of Brahmamitra, Mathurā mint
Patna Museum, 8726; 105'95
grns. [Pl. IV. 16]

Upto this time we knew two issues of this ruler, both in copper. One belongs to Mathurā (CAI, pl. viii, No. 12; CIM. 194) and the other to Kosam (CIM, p. 205, xxiii. 5). The present coin is the first discovery of a silver coin of Brahmamitra, which is quite in line with the fact already published through this Journal, namely, that the Sungas had a silver currency of the new type of signed coins.

Brahmamitra's coin was imitated by the Mathurā Satraps.

The present coin agrees with the copper issue. The female figure is elegant on our silver coin. She holds a jar in her right hand (raised), and faces probably a tree. The jar artistically serves a double purpose: it represents a jar in the hand of the lady, and it represents ma of the ligature hma. In the Kosam coin we have also the full ligature hma (a)

Our coin (PM, No. 8726) weighs 105'95 grns. It was acquired by me from the collection of Dr. Hultzsch. The material is alloyed silver like that of other Sunga coins published in this Journal (XX. 6). The obverse symbols [to the r. of the female] are the cross-with-balls (small) and nandipada (?) below. The female is probably Yamunā; her hair is tied and the end flying. The back has a nandipada in the middle. Other symbols are indistinct. The legend reads Brahmamitrasa. Dr. Hultzsch notes on the

envelope *rājasa* as being on the reverse, but I do not find these letters. The coin was uncleaned and Dr. Hultzsch mistook it to be of copper.

The same prince's name appears on the Bodh-Gayā railing.

Pre-mauryan [?]

6. Punch-marked Coin of 'Tubathi'.

Wt. 119.95. Eran mint. Rai Krishna Das collection Nāgarî Prachāriņî Sabhā Museum. [Pl. III. 4.]

This coin came to Rai Krishna Das from Ujjain. It is of the type of the Eran coins. It has the same technique, the same fabric, and the same features, e.g. the same river with fish (CAI, xi); all the symbols are on a die and stamped together—characteristic of the Eran coins. The value of this coin lies in the fact that it has a legend in the oldest form of Brāhmī, reading Tubaṭhi or Turbaṭhi. Probably its Sanskrit equivalent is Turvashṭi. The coin seems to be older than the time of the Mauryas. The name, which is a place-name, appears to be connected with dynastic name Turvaśa.

The reverse has a tree on the ground marked with a square.

Maurya

7. Balance-marked Coins from Rājgīr and Pāṭaliputra

There are two small oblong copper coins at the Patna Museum brought from Rājgīr, picked up probably at the ancient fort of Rājgīr (the fort of A jā ta śa tru) wherefrom the local Paṇḍās collect the Rājgīr coins after the annual rains.

They combine the characteristics of the stamped system and cast coinage. The pieces were first cast and then they were stamped with a seal-shape die. The result is a shapely regular and neat coin [P1. III. 9].1 It has an initial in the oldest Brāhmī, syllable Ra, or R[ā], probably standing for 'Rājagriha', or an Aśokan monolith pillar, as on the coin of Taxila [C A I, II. 6]2. After the initial there is a scale with the Brāhmī m placed over the centre of the yard. The reverse is blank. The design of the scale with m may be compared with the one on the Ayodhyā coin in Cunningham [CAI, ix. 3] and Rapson, IC. [IV. 2]3; and contrasted with that on the Dojaka coin [IC., 1. 2] where the centre is marked by a point only, and with the design found on the Srāvastī lead coin (die-struck) brought by Rev. R. Sānkrityāyana. [Pl. IV. 11].

The scales here and on other coins, I think, denote the Pautava Department of Hindu Government. This Department was, according to the Artha Sāstra [c. 19] in charge of weights, which was definitely a State matter. King Nanda had according to the Mahā Bhāshya, fixed a uniform weight system, and the Mauryas also had the matter under government control. The symbol guarantees the right weight of the coin. We have the symbol on silver punch-marked coins of the Maurya times [J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, Pl. III. 32, 33, 34].

In this connection a passage of the Artha Sāstra should be noticed (अक्षेषु नान्दीपिनद्धं कारयेत् c. 19) which

³ My plate here, IV/10.

Patna Museum, nos. 1297, wt. 36.2 grns. ² The difficulty in taking it as a pillar is that it has no capital, the essential feature of a pillar of Asoka.

Coins of Śrāvastî

Lead



11



12

Copper



14





13





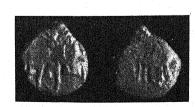
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16 Silver Coin of Brahmamitra

Seal from Rohtak



17 Pushyami[tra]



18 Bhadramitra at Dronighata

Æ.

lays down that the yard be marked with Nandi. which the commentator explains as svastika. The letter m here therefore does not signify Nandi. The design of m surmounted on a standard is found at Sanchi where it is distinguished from the Nandipada standard in the same frieze (CHI, 1, pl. xxiii. 631.) The relic carried on the elephant there has behind it a m-standard. The same m is found at Jaugad on a staff,3 on a glass sealing [J.B.O.R.S. X. 189, pl. 4], on a clay sealing and on a coin-like piece of copper [plate III 5, 8] dug out from the Maurya level by Spooner at Pāṭaliputra (excavation).4 It was evidently used in Maurya times as a royal mark, and it denoted either M(agadha) or M(aurya). The clay sealing has no hole or mark of string, which proves that it was carried by hand and that it was a State token.

Probably most of these balance-marked pieces were used as tokens given at the gate by the Customs Department. It is provided in the Artha Sāstra that all merchants importing foreign goods were to be granted *mudrās* (seal-passports) to pass the goods at the barriers [AS. c. 21]. I think that some of these 'coins' are really such mudrās, otherwise the clay seal, which is an exact copy of the copper piece of Pāṭaliputra cannot be explained. The Rājgīr coins

¹ Nandipada-standard is in the upper row at right hand end, and *m*-standard just opposite.

² See the *m*-standard enlarged on my plate III. 7 here. See also the letter *m* on the Taxila coin, Pl. III. 6 [CIM, XX. 8].

⁸ Hultzsch, Asoka, 116, where it is clearly mo.

⁴ Now at the Patna Museum nos. K.S.I. No. 21, 4909, wt. 15. 66 grns.

are not worn, that is, they were not in circulation. The weight of the lead coin of Srāvastī is also irregular (grns. 42.4). The silver punch-marked pieces (where the scale is only one of the several symbols) are certainly coins. To the passport class will belong the glass seals found at Pāṭaliputra and published by me in J.B.O.R.S. X. 189. The glass sealings which must have been turned out in numbers, could hardly have served any purpose other than as passports.

8. Sravasti mint

A number of coins collected by my venerable friend Mahā-Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅ kṛityāyana from the Srāvastī villages prove the existence of a Srāvastī mint in the Sunga Period and earlier.

We have a distinctive design on coins of copper. It is a decorated Nandipada (with three arms), so prominent on Sunga coins already published in this Journal. The Nandipada here stands inside a semicircle. I reproduce here a cast copper coin (double-die struck) and a stamped coin of the class [Pl. IV. 14,15]. Their weights are respectively 130.2. (PM, No. 11785) and 70.4 grns. (Patna Museum, No. 11786) The die-struck coin has on the obverse Nandipada-on a-standard (placed on the top of a staff), standing inside a railing, and a cock (greatly effaced) facing it to the right. The cast coin has the same standard of Nandipada but to its left there is some other object on another railing. Both have Nandipada in a semicircle on the reverse.

Several coins of Agnimitra, in a material which looks like brass, with the so-called Panchala

symbols, also come in the collection. There is a similar small coin of the dynasty where the name is different but is not readable. All these appear to be local coins.

There are also three

Lead Coins of Srāvastī

They are all stamped [Pl. IV, 11, 12, 13.]

One of them (no. 12) bears a legend in Sunga characters—'Sāvati.' Its weight is 178.5 grns. (PM, No. 11792). The reverse is blank. There is a balance coin, (no. 11) with one scale; the yard has a handle with three projections. Below the yard to the right there is a representation of probably weights, (cf. J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, 111, 32-34). Its weight is 42.4 grns. (PM, No. 11789) the reverse is blank. In the Maurya Period we have 8 (letter M) placed over the The Sravasti coin is probably pre-Mauryan. The third coin (PM, No. 11790) weighs 50.4 grns. It is neatly struck on both sides. The obverse has either a vata or pipal tree in a railing, with the letter m at both its corners. The reverse has an elephant. This seems to be Mauryan. All these are local coins of Śrāvastī.

NEW COINS OF N \overline{A} G \overline{A} -V \overline{A} K \overline{A} T \overline{A} K \overline{A} PERIOD

[WITH PLATE I]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

§1. Some new coins unknown and unpublished before are published below [P1.1]. They serve a second purpose, namely, of answering certain criticisms of SIR R. BURN.

"Lanky Bull Type" Coins

§2. In JBORS., XIX. 71-72, in my History of India, 150-350 A.D., a coin unidentified before [V. Smith, C. I. M., 155, No. 4] was identified as a Vākāṭaka coin. Sir Richard Burn has questioned this view in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology ('for the year 1933,' published in 1935, Leyden, pp. 10-11)¹. In his opinion the coin belongs to "the 3rd century B. C.," and not to about 348 A.D., as proposed by me. This means that one of us must be wide off the mark by 600 years! If the question had been raised by a man of lesser standing I would have treated it with silence. But a statement from Sir Richard on coins, be it ex cathedra (as in

¹ A most unsuitable place to raise a controversy. An Annual Bibliography is a Digest, not a Journal, and a Digest is not necessarily open to replies on defence by people attacked. I hope, Sir Richard and Dr. Vogel, in fairness to me, will give as prominent a publicity to this reply as they have done to the attack.

the present case), must deserve the attention of every numismatist. Hence this reply. I would propose that let

New Coins Arbitrate

§3. The coin in dispute is known to numismatists by a popular name the "lanky bull type." Its chief feature is, to quote the words of V. Smith, the "humped bull of very lank shape," which is unmistakable and a positively distinctive devise. A point of Sir Richard's is that the lanky bull coin bears no inscription, his point probably is that other pieces which he has seen bear no inscription. I reproduce here another coin with the same bull and with a name-legend which is in characters of c. 300 A.D. I am enlarging the obverse to show the form of letters.²

Coin of Bhavu-Nāga

Æ, cast; 87.5 grns.; Kosam. Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh, Benares. [Pl. I, No. 1]

§4. The coin belongs to the cabinet of Mr. Srīnāth Shāh of Benares, a well-known collector. He acquired it from Kosam.

Ob.—lanky bull; a hole in the coin below the stomach of the bull (an original defect in casting); over the back a symbol formed by two serpents with raised heads facing a rod-like object standing in the middle; at bottom, a serpent [nāga]; the bull faces (right) the begin-

¹ CIM., 155.

² The photograph is direct from the coin, several times magnified. The reverse is actual size photographed from the coin direct.

ning of the legend, which is in box-headed letters, reading [Srī] Bhavanāgo

Rev.—on top, figure for 30 (Kushan type); in the field the peculiar tree (six-branched) as on the lanky bull coins already known; a standard (left); to the right of the tree in railing—svastika and cross-with-balls.

The coin had been long in circulation; it has become smooth. The head of the first syllable $\sqrt[5]{r}$ is worn off leaving only traces. The box on the heads of Bh, v, and n exists in outlines, and the syllable go has become faint; all the other letters still stand out in bold relief. The hanging line of Bh was cut thinner in the original mould.

\$5. The letters are undoubted pre-Guptan and post-Kushan. The symbols (nāga) and system of dating (30th year on the back) is quite in line with the Nāga coinage.

§6. We know from Vākāṭaka inscriptions (cited in the History, 150-350 A.D.) that Bhava Nāga was the last Bhāraśiva (Nāga) king who was succeeded by Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, Rudrasena I being Bhava Naga's daughter's son and heir.

\$7. Now if we turn to the other coin I described as Vākāṭakan¹, the main difference between that and the present coin lies in the fact that the place of the 'standard' of the Bhāraśiva coin is taken up by the 'wheel.' That wheel is definitely the Vākāṭaka royal symbol, on the authority of the Nachna inscrip-

¹ JBORS., 72 p. III; CIM., 155.

Śrī-Bhava-Nāga

Æ



Bha va nā go



[Rev., original size]

[Enlarged]

Æ.



Bhīma (Nāga)



tion of the reign of Prithivishena Vākātaka (Fleet, Gupta Inscription, plate 33, B) and on the authority of the wheel inscribed on the Dureha boundary pillar with the expression "of the Vākātakas" (JBORS., XIX. plates IV-V). The wheel has a peculiar shape with eight spokes, and this identical wheel is to be found on the coin I called Vākātakan¹. The other difference is that the symbol of the serpent (naga), the rebus of the dynasty, disappears from the Vākāṭaka coin and the naga design is removed from the back of the bull where a nandipada star (four nandipadas grouped round a common neck) is substituted. It was natural for the succeeding dynasty to remove the rebus of the late dynasty, and to substitute its main emblem the wheel (chakra), denoting the chakra-vartin position of the Imperial Vākāṭaka [samrāṭ in their inscriptions]. The coin must belong to one of the two Imperial Vākāṭakas consisting of only two successions, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. Architectonically, numismatically, it is a direct successor of Bhavanāga's coin.

§8. SIR RICHARD'S verdict that the coin belongs to the 3rd century B. C., is totally dislodged by the coin of Bhavanāga, which is an imitation and which cannot be earlier than 300 A.D. on its lettering.

§9. The above conclusion regarding the age is further strengthened by another coin which has to be recognized from its technique as belonging to the same series, and which, on the evidence of its letters,

¹ JBORS., 72, p. III; CIM., 155.

precedes the coin of Bhavanāga. This also comes from Kosam and belongs to Mr. Srīnāth Shāh.

Coin of Bhīma Nāga

Æ, cast, 73 grns. Find spot, Kosam, but Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh probably of some [Pl. I, 2]

Ob.—In the field tusked elephant, on platform, mounted by man, walking to standard (l.); on r. cross-with-balls and a svastika (floral); legend reading: Bhīmasa; at bottom nāga rebus serpent.

Rev.—Tree in railing with two branches, dominated by the Malwa large cross-with-circles; on left margin a hill of six arches in three storeys surmounted by a chhatra (?); on r. margin figure 40, Kshatrapa type; a group of 4 nandipadas enclosed in an oblong; a triskeles.

From the style of letters the coin belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and was evidently struck by the same Bhīmanāga as of the Narwar coin (Cunningham, C. M. I., pl. 1. 15).

Evidently the mounted elephant was imitated from Kushan coins.

The coin which is in chain of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka coins is thus another piece displacing SIR RICHARD BURN'S theory.

The Historical Value of the Coins of Nava

§10. The dynasty of Nava is known to the Purāṇas. And if it is shown that coins struck with the name *Nava* are found with the letters of the period, it is unfair to ignore the identification and its historical consequence. Coming as the coin does, in fairly large numbers, from the territory which had

been directly under the Kushans, and bearing Kushan letters, and years, not of the Kushan era but of the king's (Nava's) own regnal years, it cannot but prove a political revolution denoting replacement of the Kushans by Nava in central Hindustan—the area of the coin. But Sir Richard would minimize this obvious conclusion by saying

"Mr. Jayaswal takes the word 'Nava' (Nākas or Nāgas) in the well-known passage describing the rulers of Champavatī and Mathurā as a name, instead of the number nine. He identifies him as the striker of a well-known series of coins found chiefly at Kosambī the inscription on which has been variously read as *Nevasa*, *Devasa* or as part of a name *navasa*." (ABIA, 1933, p. 10).

§11. By saying this he makes the reading still a matter of doubt which is unfair to me. No one had read the name before me as Nava; the prior published readings were only 'Neva' and 'Deva' (V. Smith, CIM, 199). The reading was for the first time contended for in my History, 150-350 A.D. (JBORS., XIX), which led to the identification of the coin with a known dynasty. Sir Richard instead of giving me the credit of reading the name correctly says that others have read it as navasa but as part of a name. He gives no authority to enlighten us as to who anticipated this reading navasa. That the legend cannot be part of a name would be evident even to a non-expert enquirer who would care to look at the reproduction in V. Smith's Catalogue (CIM, p. 212 pl. XXIII. 15) or a number of originals in the

Indian Museum. The incuse produced by the stamp itself proves conclusively that the whole name is *Nava* and that the name begins with *N*. The letters are always designed to cover the entire field either by *Nava* or the possessive *Navasa*. It should be noted that it was never doubted by V. Smith or Prof. Rapson that there could be something before *N*. It is regrettable that an obviously definite fact should be made indefinite by loose statements.

"NAVA NAGA IN EARLY INDIAN COINS"

In page 10 of A. B. I. A. for 1933, Vol. VIII published in 1935, Sir Richard Burn has commented on Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's reconstruction of the Nāga Coins.

The following points have been raised by Sir R. Burn:—

- (1) Is the reading *Nava* (possessive *Navasa*) on Coins No. 16, Pl. I, Vol. XIX, Parts I & II, J. B. & O. R. S. 1933 correct?
- (2) Can it be taken as 'Navasa' with the letter N as the initial in the incuse, or there is the possibility of another letter before it?
- (3) Is it a Nāga coin? If so, of which period and place?

If the illustration referred to above reproduced in the Journal from the original plate XXIII, Coin No. 16, of the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins by V. Smith, Vol. I, be correct (a fact not challenged) then it would be clearly seen that the letter N has an incuse to the left of it without any extra place in the incuse for any other letter in the legend before it. This is also found in other coins of Nava. It is undoubtedly the initial letter of the legend and it is equally clear that it could be nothing else than the word Navasa, Nava in the genitive case, which is the usual form on the Coins of that period.

It should be noted as well that it is in the

singular form and cannot therefore stand for the Series of Kings of this dynasty. In other words, it is clearly the name of the individual king and cannot be the mere title of the family of *Nāgas*, so well known to the Purāṇas.

It seems to be the only possible conclusion to read it as the coin of the first member of a new starting dynasty. It certainly cannot be taken to refer to the number nine, the form being in the singular.

(3) From the script it would be clear that both the letters are of the 1st century A. D., like the letters of inscriptions of Mathurā illustrated on Table III of Bühler's chart under Column I.

It would be natural from the caligraphic point of view to surmise that the Coin belongs to the Mathurā side. Sir Richard is wrong to say that it is confined to Kosam. I have myself found a silver coin of this king at Mathurā. There also the incuse shows that it is impossible to take the legend Navasa as part of any other name preceding: The incuse is definite (J.B.O.R.S, XX. 6. pt. 4; 306).

Durgaprasad



RĀJGĪR (MANIĀR MAṬH) STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[WITH PLATE V]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

In the excavation of 1932-33 at the Maniar Math site of Rājgīr a small stone (Register no. 11) was found by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Superintendent Archæological Survey, Central Circle. It is part of a concave frieze, the back of which shows a pilaster. The material is the Mathura spotted red sand-stone. The fragment measures 7½" (length) 6" (breadth). It evidently decorated a round temple. The portion represents a figure seated on a hill; one leg is drawn in and the other hangs down, the outlines of which are visible in the impression reproduced here. Down below at a fair distance there is the head of a human figure looking upwards¹. The upper part of the seated figure, and the body of the lower figure are broken off. The fragment has a two line inscription, which is complete. The frieze is described by a labelinscription.

Mr. Chandra casually mentioned the piece to me. The lower line of the inscription, as read by others, gave no meaning. After examining a photograph of the inscription I proceeded to Nalanda where the find was deposited. It confirmed my

¹ This is part of another frieze.

reading, disclosing the name of King Srenika, i.e. Bimbisāra, contemporary of the Buddha, and King of Magadha [with its capital at Rājagṛiha, Rājgīr]. Mr. Chandra kindly had an impression taken for me which I reproduce here [Pl. V]. It reads:

(1st line) Parvato Vipula [पर्वतो विपुल] (2nd line) Rājā Sreņika [राजा श्रोणिक]

that is, the hill carved above is Vipula one of the five hills of Rājgīr; and the king carved on it is Sreņika. The exact rendering is

"The hill———(is) Vipula
"The king———(is) Srenika"

The characters are early Kushan (1st century A. D.). Probably it was a Jaina sculpture, as Jaina tradition connects the king Srenika with the hill Vipula. The Buddhist form of the royal name is 'Seniya Bimbisāra;' while the Jaina form is 'Srenika.'

Probably the o-mātrā on Vipul (o) and Srenik (o) partly coincides with the thick lines from which the letters hang. The frieze is labelled like the friezes of Bharhut.

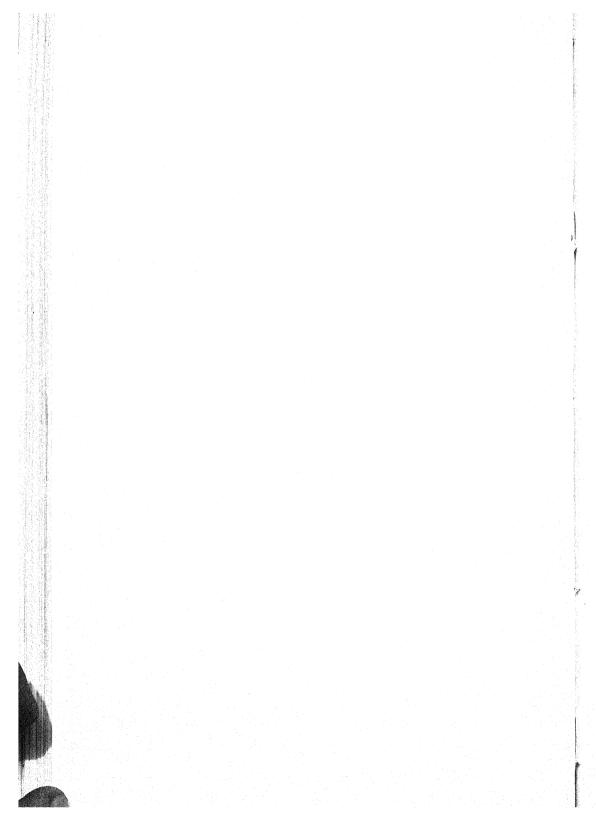
We have here a monumental evidence on the name of the Magadhan king, inscribed within some five centuries of his existence. It is a pity that the whole figure is not available. Probably there had been some traditional picture of the king in sculptures.

The Rājgīr excavation of Mr. Chandra is bringing out remarkable things.

Rajgir [Maniar Math] Image Inscription.



Parvato Vipula Rājā Śrenika



AN UNRECORDED MUHAMMADAN INVASION OF NEPAL

[WITH PLATE]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

- I. In modern books on Nepal¹ there is no reference of any Muhammadan invasion in books.

 No mention of the Invasion in books.

 Sion of Nepal. Nor is there any such reference in any Muhammadan History. And the present-day belief prevalent both in Nepal and British India is that Nepal was never visited by any Muhammadan conqueror. But the fact is incontestable that the Muhammadan power did reach Nepal and that it did measure swords with the kingdom of Nepal and that it was successful for the time being, though finally repelled. The material for this conclusion, newly discovered, is set out below.
- 2. Anyone who knows the terrain of Nepal must be struck with admiration for those who can lead an army into Nepal. Hindu kings of Tirhut had twice invaded and succeeded in subjugating Nepal. But the Muhammadans as a rule were poorer fighters in the hills and they mostly avoided difficult countries in the hills. The success of King

¹ The earlier authorities are Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright and Lévi. They utilize the national records (the Chronicles) of Nepal, Wright giving a complete translation of the Chronicle. Landon is the most recent writer [1928].

Shamsuddîn Iliyās of Bengal (to be described below), therefore, impresses the mind more deeply on account of its being an exception in the Muhammadan centuries.

3. This invasion of the Bengal king which was marked with general incendiarism explains the loss of royal records which one would have expected in the royal offices and the treasury of Paśupati Nāth which is as important as any royal archive. Iliyās burnt down the capital and many shrines. The idol of Paśupati, which had come down from at least the Gupta times, was also damaged by Iliyās. But for this conquest we would have obtained official records of administration going back to the Gupta times, i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal.

4. Last April (1936) I was permitted to visit
Nepal, thanks to the courtesy of
Discovery of the
His Highness Sir Juddh Shamser Bahadur Rana, Prime
Minister of Nepal, and the kind offi-

ces of Sri 6 Rājaguru Pandit Hemarāja Sarmā, C. I. E. The fact of some stone images having broken noses was pointed out to me insistently by my venerable and esteemed friend Mahā-paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana who was present in Nepal at the time and whose constant companionship I had the advantage of enjoying in visiting historic places in Nepal. But the local explanation by the common people and scholars of this fact offered was that the damage was accidental. That the damage was not

accidental is evident in the large and beautiful figure of Gangā at Pasupati Nāth and in a number of stone Buddhist images at the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa. In the course of my examination of the well-preserved inscriptions at Svayambhū Nāth, the most important Buddhist shrine in Nepal, an inscribed slab1 to the west of the Tibetan Vihāra situated in front of the great Stupa was discovered. It having struck me as a record unpublished before, I took two impressions of it the next day2. The copies of the inscription brought by me are now in the Patna Museum, one of which is being reproduced here. The script is Newārī. Except for two passages (lines 2 and 3) the whole is readable. The inscription when read gave the history of an invasion by Sūratrāņa Samasdīna 'along with a large Bengal army'-Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīno Bangāla-bahulairbalaih.3 The inscription is in incorrect Sanskrit. The last line is in Newārī. Lines 1-18 are in verse, except the invocation in the beginning. Lines 18-34 are in prose. Lines 35-37 are again verses. Lines 38-40 giving the date and the concluding line [in Newārī], giving the name of the engraver, are in prose. The text is given in Appendix A.

Summary of the Nepal era (1371-72 A.D.), Inscription. the full-moon day of Aśvina, Wed-

¹ An inscribed slab is called a silā-patra in the living terminology of Nepal. The slab, fixed in a wall, tends to be in a lane between two rows of houses.

² Later I saw a good impression of the inscription in the State Library in the file of impressions.

³ The orthography of the inscription makes no distinction between b and v, and throughout only v is used for both.

nesday, in the Aśvinī Nakṣhatra, Śuka-karma Yoga, when the repair and restoration of the Stūpa was completed and Pratiṣhṭhā (i.e. reinstallation) was made and the standard (dhvaja) was planted. This was necessitated because in the Nepal year 467 (1346¹ A.D.) in the month of Mārga-Sīrsha, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the reign of King Jayarāja Deva, Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīna (Sultān Shamsuddîn), along with a large army of Bengal, having come into Nepal, broke and burnt completely the Dharma-dhātu Stūpa (the pious relic shrine), the banner of the Muni (Buddha), which had been founded by the predecessors of the King (or, by earlier people).

After sometime King Javarāja Deva died, having been burnt while asleep, inscription along with his palace. He was goes on to add. succeeded by his son Jayār-Deva. And while he was ruling over iuna Nepal, Jayasthiti Malla, the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, was protecting, by favour of the rise of the Buddha's merits, the city of Kāshthamandapa. In that city there was Rāja-Harsha, whose elder brother was Ranadeva and younger brother was Rudradeva. With his two brothers he had distinguished himself by defeating the enemies [Muhammadans]. Rāja-Harsha, having obtained permission from both the kings who were like Indra and Upendra (Jayārjunadeva and Jayasthiti Malla), rebuilt the 'D h a r m a-

¹ The Nepal Era began on the 20th October 879 A. D.

Dhātu Stūpa on the Sāhya.' He decorated it with a gold umbrella, having performed one lac Abutis. The donor, Rāja-Harsha, was a Mahāyānist Newār nobleman. His father's name is given as the Minister Raṇa-śakti-Malla Bhalloka. His several relations are associated with the donation. The full name of Rāja-Harsha was Rāja-Harsha-Malla Bhalloka; his wife's name was Joti-Lakshmī. With him was also associated in this act of piety his nephew (sister's son) Jūḍha Simha, a resident of Kharapura.¹

The staff, set with gems, the umbrella, the *kalaśa* and the *dhvaja* were all made ready in the town of Kāṣḥṭhamaṇḍapa, and then for four days an illumination was kept up; and the materials were taken in a procession. All the paraphernalia were of gold.

The names of the architect, the artist in charge of the woodwork, the officiating priests, the astrologer etc. are noted at the end. And the composer adds an apology for his possible mistakes.

The date of the inscription is repeated.

6. The Sultan Shamsuddin of the inscription is undoubtedly Shamsuddin Iliyās who ruled in Bengal as an independent king [Sultān] from 1342 to 1357 A.D. He is known to posterity, from his habit of taking bhāng,

¹ His later career was marked with distinction. He helped the Shurqi Dynasty, and belonged to the court of King Jayasthiti Malla. The dba in his name is probably a mistake for tba. The Sanskritized form of his name was Yûtha-simha. Nepal Cat., p. 246, Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭaka by Dharmagupta who started publishing his books in 1360 A.D. (p. xxxviii). [The Newārs pronounce the t-class letters as t-class ones and vice versa.]

as the Bhangar Sultan, an appellation current still, up to the United Provinces. During his reign there arose a dispute between Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and him for the possession or suzerainty of Tirhut. Hari-Simha-Deva, the last independent Hindu king of Tirhut had been driven away into Nepal by Muhammad Tughluq in 1324 A.D. and Fīrūz Shāh, on the authority of Vidyāpati, set up the Oinwar dynasty in Tirhut. It was not clear up to this time as to what that power was against which the Oinwars were seeking protection at Delhi from time to time. It seems now certain that it was the Bengal power which kept on troubling the Oinwar subordinates of Delhi. And owing to the rivalry between Delhi and Gaur two parties in the Oinwar dynasty were set up, one depending upon Delhi and Jaunpur and the other on Bengal.

There had been a rivalry between Nepal and Tirhut, the latter under the dynasty of Nānyadeva. Harisimhdeva when pressed by the Delhi Tughluq invaded Nepal. Nepal seemed to have had leaned towards Delhi, for we find a coin struck in Nepal in the name of Alāuddin Khalji (1296-1316).

Nepal thus being allied with Delhi was a natural object of attack for Iliyās. Hājī² Iliyās with his royal

² It is recorded that Hājīpur (district Muzafferpur) was

founded by him.

^{1 &}quot;A silver coin struck in Nepal in the name of 'Alāuddin, Muhammad Shāh Khilji" (Durga Prasad, Numismatic Supplement 1929, p. 37), where it may be added, the middle circle (ob.) reads śri śri-Pati. This imitation of 'Alauddin Khilji's coin must have been made by one of the Malla kings in the first part of the fourteenth century. This is the earliest Nepal coin of the Middle Ages, and shows that Nepal acknowledged the influence of the great Khalji.

name of Shamsuddin succeeded in 1343 to the throne of Bengal and ruled as an independent king up to 1357, i.e., he ruled in the time of Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq of Delhi. Iliyās is said to have invaded Jājnagar (in Orissa) and the Muhammadan historians note that he also invaded the South-Eastern provinces of the kingdom of Delhi and overran Tirhut. But his invasion of Nepal is not mentioned, evidently on account of his failure there. Such defeats have been, as a rule, ignored andomitted. His invasion of Tirhut was in 1352 A.D. (Camb. H. I. vol. iii, pages 175 and 263). As he did not reach Tirhut before 1352 he must have reached Nepal by the Bengal route.

of Jayasthiti Malla, Further information from Vainsāvalā.

Pages of which have been reproduced by Dr. Bendall in his Nepal Catalogue. One of the pages reproduced, curiously enough, gives further details of this invasion but both Dr. Bendall and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri left the passage unread and the datum escaped notice. It is as surprising as the non-detection of the Svayambhū Nāth inscription by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Sylvain Lévi. The Vainsāvalī reads as follows:—[for the original see Appendix B]

Of the queen Devala-Devi2 was achieved with great difficulty. After this Śrī 467 = 1346 A.D. Paśupatimalla Deva was imprisoned. By the consent of both families in the year 467 Śrāvaṇa Badi 4

¹ Nepal Cat., i, Plate 8.

² Passage in the previous leaf, not reproduced by Bendall.

Śrī Jayarāja Deva was crowned by common consent.

A son, Śrī Jayārjuna Deva, was born to 467 Vaiśākha Sudi 7 Jayarāja Deva from his wife Rudrama-Devī.

The treasuries of Śrī Śrī Devaladevī, and of Lord Paśu-468 Kārttika pati were drawn upon. Pūrņmāsī

[1347 A. D.]

By the king Jayarāja Deva the treasury of Lord 469 Vaisākha Paur-Pasupati was drawn upon. namāsī.

[In the same year] Samasadīna, the Sūratāna of the East, having come into Nepal broke Paśupati in three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepal. The nation loudly laments.

A great ceremony of propitiation called the Great-Suffer-470 Mārgaśira Sudi 9. ing Propitiation was performed. [1349 A.D.]

Then Devala Devi...(record goes to the next page).

8. This document is also by a contemporary writer like the inscription, both having been recorded in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. Now taking the two documents together we have the following chronology of the invasion.

In 467 in the month of Srāvaņa there is a dynastic Year 467 (1346 revolution by which Jayarāja A.D.) De va comes to the throne.

(In the same year Jayārjuna is born, before his father's coronation).

In the same year 467, according to the inscription, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, i.e., four months after the coronation, Shamsuddin Iliyās reached the hill of Svayambhū Nāth, which is at a distance of about

The name is omitted in the other Vāmśāvalī lists, while it is well-established from Manuscript colophons noticed by Bendall.

6 miles from the temple of Pasupati. Iliyās had selected the right moment for his invasion, that is, a moment when a dynastic revolution was in progress in Nepal. He reached the outskirts of the capital within four months of the coronation of Jayarāja Deva.

According to the constitutional law of Nepal the king of Nepal can draw upon the treasury of Lord Paśupati only under two circumstances—when the country is invaded by a foreigner or when there is a famine in the country. We thus understand that after six months from the date of Shamsuddin's arrival in the valley of Nepal Jayarāja Devain 468 borrows money from the temple of Paśupati. Evidently a stiff fight was put up by the king of Nepal, and the war continued for 17 months before Shamsuddīn could break his wrath on Pasūpati. And in the meantime on the last day of Vaiśākha in 469 (= 1348 A.D.) the king of Nepal had made a second draw upon the treasury of Paśupati.

The year 470 saw Nepal free from the Muhammadans¹ and the Propitiation Ceremony [thanks-giving] was performed. It seems certain that the efforts of the nobles of Kathmandu headed by Rāja Harsha drove the Muhammadans out.

9. In 1352 A. D. Iliyās is said to have occu-

¹ For several years Nepal had been torn by external and internal troubles; her recovery in 1349 was therefore remarkable. In 1324 she was invaded by Harisimhadeva, who was soon driven away by the army [I.A., XIII. 414, c. IX. 6]; in 1328 Adityamalla Khasiyā invaded the valley; up to 1346 two families (Malla) had ruled (Nepal Cat., 10-11).

Malla.

pied Tirhut which was then under the king of Delhi. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who had come to throne in 1351 A. D. marched against Shamsuddîn in 1353 A. D. and drove him to a remote corner in Bengal, to an island in the Brahamaputra (Ikdala). Thus from 1352 A.D., Ilivās was busy in Tirhut and Bengal, having retreated in 1349-50 from Nepal.

Jayarāja Deva was alive and ruling in the year 476, i.e., 1355-56 A. D. when a manuscript was written and dated in his reign1, i.e. six years later than the destruction of Paśupati2.

10. It now becomes clear that it was this Muham-

New light on the accession of Jayasthiti

madan invasion which indirectly led to the supersession of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. With Jayasthiti Malla begins

the Kārņāta dynasty of Nepal which lasted up to 1768 A. D. when the present Gurkha dynasty dispossessed them. Jayasthiti was a descendant of the king Hari-Simha Deva, the last king of Tirhut who was driven away in 1324 A. D. Hari-Simha Deva is said to have entered Nepal where some conquests had already been made by his minister Chandesvara, as noted in his books. Dr. Bendall unnecessarily disbelieves

¹ Bendall's Catalogue of Nepal Mss., p. 27 (Introduction). ² The present Pasupati idol is a Mukhalingam after the style of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta sculptures. It seems that the broken idol is the one which stood in the small stone temple (Gupta Style) at Pasupati Nāth, where there is still a mriga (antelope) on a fragment, and a broken human figure is standing below on the Bagmati, or there might have been another Pasupati image on the outskrits of the capital as there were several minor Pasupati images in the valley. The Vamsāvalī, however, suggests the main Pasupati.

the episode of Hari-Simha Deva's political connection with Nepal about 1324 A. D1. There is still existing in the royal palace at Bhātgaon a large temple of the goddess Tulajā of Hari-Simha Deva, still known by the name of the founder. It seems that Hari-Simha Deva did establish himself at Bhatgaon but was driven out as the Vamsavalis assert. descendants became subordinate to the Mallas, for we find I a y a s t h i t i assuming the 'Malla' ending to his name and as a subordinate governor of the city of Kāshthamandapa (Kathamandu) in the reign Jayārjuna Malla in the year of our inscription, i.e., 492 = 1371 A. D.² Up till now this position was not known that Jayasthiti Malla started his career as a subordinate to the last Malla ruler. Jayārjuna Malla mentioned in our inscription as reigning in 492 = 1371-1372 A. D.had come to the throne in or before 484 in the month of Kārttika (= 1363 October) when a manuscript was copied under his reign³. He was still reigning in Saka 1297 (=1376 A.D.) when another manuscript is dated.3 About the year 500 (= 1380) when a manuscript was copied at Bhatgaon, Jayasthiti Malla is mentioned as king. And in this year 503 (= 1383 A.D.) the Vamsavali notes the position of Jayasthiti as a full sovereign, Jayārjuna 'having

¹ Introduction, p. 14 of the Catalogue.

² Before this date, in 1354, he had already married Rājalladevī, an heiress to the royal house of Nepal (Bendall, pp. 11-12). But this connexion did not give him the throne for some years.

³ Ibid, p. 27. ⁴ Bendall, Introduction, p. 12. See his inscription of the year 512 (1392 A. D.) in Bendall's *Journey*, p. 83.

been broken.'4 It appears that from 500-503 (= c. 1380-1383 A.D.) there was a period of struggle. Jayasthiti had married Rājalla-devī, a Malla princess, but he did not base his claim on that ground for succession. He is described officially by his contemporaries as the busband of Rājalla-devī, which is a mere compliment to the Queen,—a feature of courtesy well-established in Nepal, where smaller coins are still struck in the name of the Queen-consort. But in reality he became the real ruler at Kathmandu within a few years of the Muhammadan invasion.

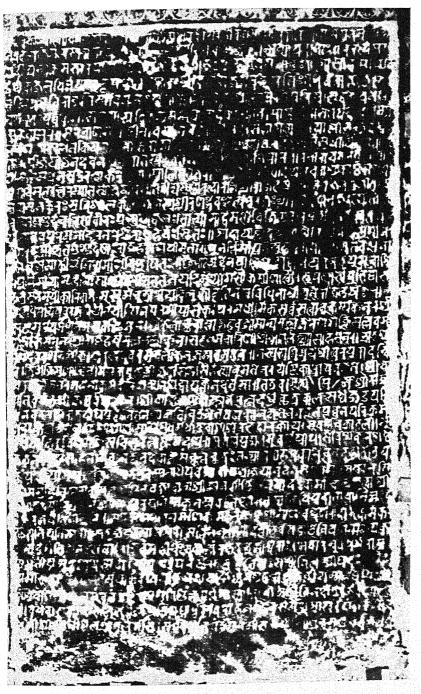
11. It seems that Rāja-Harsha and other nobles who are mentioned to have defeated "the enemies" and who repaired the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa with such ceremony and who praise Jayasthiti as the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, had risen against Shamsuddîn and driven him out with the help of Jayasthiti. In the Nepal year 492 Jayasthiti was considered to be the most notable man in Nepal.

APPENDIX A

Inscription dated 492 NE (1371-1372 A.D.) at Svayambhunath, Kathamandav

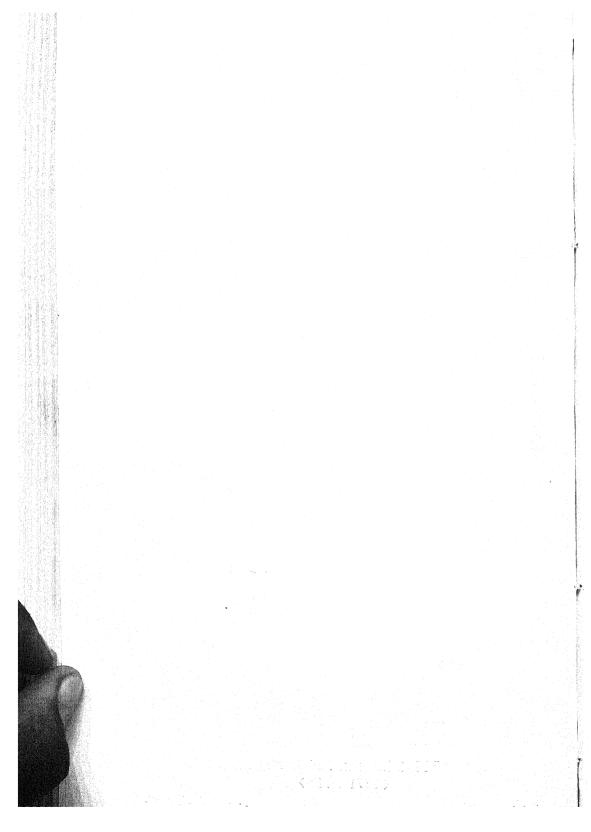
(L. I.) अों न]मः धर्मधातवे ॥ जगताह्नादसच्छास्त्रहेतवे धर्मधातवे ॥ सर्वलोकतमोहानिकारिणेस्तु सदा नमः॥ [वहु ?](L. 2.)भवफलजिह्मं यस्य नामापि शृण्वन् जन्मिनाध्यायमानाम् ॥ निरुपमगु(L. 3.)णवीर्य्यत्यक्तसंसारपाशःपातु वो धर्माधातुः॥ आसीद्धम्मं-निधि(L. 4.)द्वयैकजलिधर्नेपालभूमण्डले ख्यातः श्री ज य रा ज दे व नृपतिः तेनैव राज्यं कृते ।। (L. 5.) तस्मिन्नेव विराजित स्म विमलः स्तुपो मुनेः केतनः श्री सा ह्ये शिखरिप्रसिद्धभुवने प्र(L. 6.)स्थापितः पूर्वकैः ॥ सप्तषष्ठाधिके श्रीमन्नेपालाब्दचतुः शते। मार्गशीर्षे सिते पक्षे दशम्या[-] (L. 7.) गुरुवासरे ।। सूर त्राण सम स्दी नो वङ्गालवहुलैवंलैः।। सहागत्य च ने पा लो भग्नो दग्धस्तु (L. 8.) सर्वशः ॥ कालेन कियता धीमान्स राजा त्रिदिवक्कतः। एवं भवनदग्धस्तु सुसुप्तोपि यथास्थि(L. 9.)तः ॥ श्री जया र्ज्न देवेन सुनुना तस्य भूभृतः। सम्पाल्यमाने ने पा ले वीरनारायणेन तु॥ श्री ज(L. 10.)य स्थि ति म ल्ले न क्षत्ररत्नाकरेन्द्रना । पालिते तत्र कालेन बुद्धपुण्योदयेन च।। श्री का ष्ठ म ण्ड प(L. 11.)पुरी विमलातिरम्या तस्यां जयी वसति वीर्य्यगुणैरुदाराः (रः)। श्री राज ह र्ष इति सर्वजन-प्रणीतः श्री(L. 12.)(म?)ज्जयामृतकरः सुविशालकीर्तिः ॥ तस्य श्रीरणदेव इत्यवरजः श्री रुद्रदेवानुजः ख्यातो(L. 13.)[ती ?]व-समस्तशुद्धचरितो वीरः प्रतापोज्वलः। ताभ्यां सार्द्धमतो विजित्य च रिपून् सत्कीत्तिकान्तद्यु (L. 14.)तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नेव पुरे मनोहरतरे श्री राज ह र्पः स्थितः ॥
आदायाज्ञा (+)द्वयोराज्ञोरिन्द्रोपेन्द्रसमान(L. 15.)योः ।
सज्जीकृतं गुभोद्दिष्ट-राज-ह र्षेण धीमता ॥
पुनर्निर्मायते स्तूपं धर्म्भधातुसमुद्भवम् ।
ना(L. 16.)ना-रत्नसमाकीर्ण-शिरोमणिविभूषितम् ॥
अ ब्दे ने पा लि का ङ्के न य न न व यु गे चाश्वि(L. 17.)ने पूर्णिमायामृक्षे मासानुकारे सिततनयदिने योगसौकर्मणाख्ये ।
स्तूपस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठां स(L. 18.)कलशुभमयीं कारिता तैः सुस्वर्णछत्रारोहादिलक्षाहुतिमखविधिना श्रीयुतै राज ह र्षेः ॥

(L. 19.) देयं धर्म्मोयं प्रवरमहायान-यायिन परमोपासक । परमधार्मिक सर्वसत्वानुकंपकेन । श्री $(\mathrm{L.~20.})$ का ष्ठ म ण्ड प महानगरावस्थितेन । श्री के ला छे ट्वा खा कुटुंवजामात्यमूर्त्यङ्ग-र ण श क्ति म ल्ल व म्मं $(L.\ 21.)$ भ ल्लो क सुतेन। श्रीराजहर्षमल्लभल्लोकेन। सहधर्म्मचारिणी श्रीजोती-ल क्ष्म्या सहितेन ।। भ्रातृ श्री(L. 22.)र ण दे व व म्म भ ल्लो क । श्री रु द्र-देव वर्म्भ भ ल्लो केन सहानुमतेन ।। तस्य भागिनेय श्रीखरपुरावस्थि (L. 23.)तं । त्रिशक्तिगुणान्वित । महारावृत्त श्री जू ढ सिं ह सिं हस्यानुमतेन । यष्टिकारोपनकृते । श्री थाः । (L. 24.) दारुकर्मकृते । महता कर्मकारेण अतिश्रद्धायुक्तेन चेतसा ॥ तत्र च । मूर्त्यं सि ङ्गश्री राज $(L.\ 25.)$ प ति-वर्मभ ल्लो क पूर्व ङ्गमेन । श्री का ष्ठमण्ड पस्थाने रत्नदण्डछत्रकलसध्वज उपस्थि(L. 26.)तेन चतुरहोरात्रदीपप्रज्वलितेन नानाविचित्र-नेत (त्र)-पटा-कालंकृतेन भूतपूर्वेन परिक्रम(L. 27.)महायात्राकृतेन ।। ओं श्रीश्रीश्री-सा ह्ये गु-धर्म्भधातु-वा गी श्व रभ ट्टा र काय सुवर्णचकावली । सुव(L. 28.) र्णघटित विश्वमणिखचितरत्नोष्णीषदण्ड ।। सुवर्णखह्म। सुवर्णपीथ । सौवर्ण-कलशध्व(L. 29.)जकनकदण्डसहित । नवीनकृतदेवाङ्गसं(स)छन्नछत्रः तस्यावरोहनकाले चतुरहोरात्रय(L. 30.)ज्ञपूर्णायामुपढोकितः ॥ तत्रैव स्थाना-घिपवज्राचार्य श्री ज या नं दः। स एव मण्डपस्थानसि $(\mathrm{L.~31.})$ को म गु ह्रि-विहारावस्थितपण्डितवज्राचार्यश्री ज्ञा न की त्ति से न पा दः कर्माचार्ये कृत्वा श्री (L. 32.)[व]ज्र घा तु दे ग्गु रि क्रमेन जीर्णोद्धारप्रतिष्ठाकृतं भवति स्म ॥ तस्य तिथिप्रदाता वानिह्यं (L. 33.)दैवज्ञ र त्न प ति नाम्नेति ॥ स एव स्थाने विश्वमणिकर्मकर[भि]क्षु श्री मार्य चन्द्रे ण ॥ दारुकर्मकर (L. 34.) स्थपित-प ति भारो सभातृज ज गरा म भारो सहितेन ।।



Svayambhū Nath Inscription of the Nepal Year 492 \langle 1371 A. D. \rangle

J. B. O. R. S., 1936.



मोदन्तां भवसङ्कटे निपितताः त्यक्त्वा(L. 35.)जना दुर्गति ॥ निःशेषारि जितं(ा) महीञ्च सकलां रक्षन्तु भूमीश्वराः । मेघारम्बुधरैधराम्ब(L. 36.)सुमतीं पूर्यन्तु तोयैस्सदा । मत्पुण्योपचयैर्लभन्तु कृतिनः संवोधि-लक्ष्मीपदम् ॥ इदं (L. 37.) प्रसस्तिकं तस्मान्मया मंदिधया कृतम् ॥ यदि शृद्धमशुद्धं वा क्षमनीयम्महद्वुषैः ॥

(L. 38.) श्रेयोस्तु ने पा ल-सं व त् ४९२ अ शु नि शु व ल पू र्ण मा-स्या न्ति थौ अ श्वि नि न क्ष त्रे सु क में यो गे (L. 39.) ॥ बुध वा स रे प्रतिष्ठासंपूर्णप्रतिपद्याध्वजावरोहनदिवसेन । थ्व आखर ठाकर या (L. 40.) करमी श्री मा नी ग लञ्च मूलमीस । स एव था नयंतु पूलमीस ॥ * ॥ शुभमस्तु सर्वदा

APPENDIX B

Text of the Vamsavali, Nepal Catalogue, i, pl. 8.

- L. 1. श्री दे व ल दे वी नां अतिकष्टेन प्रतिपादितं ॥ अत्रान्तरे श्री प शु प ति-म ल दे व-बंधनं करोति ॥ उभयकुलसानुमतेन सम्वत् ४६७ श्रावण वदि ४ श्री ज
- L. 2. य राज देव स्य राजा कृत्यः सर्वसंमतेन सम्वत् ४६७ वैशाष शुदि ७॥ श्रीज य राज देव स्य पत्नी श्री रुद्र म देवी स तस्य पुत्र श्रीज यार्जुन देव
- L. 3. जात ।। सम्वत् ४६८ कार्त्तिकपूर्णमासी श्रीश्री देव छ देवी नाम् श्री पशु प ति भ टा र क स्य कोष प्रढोकितम् ॥ सम्वत् ४६९ वैशाषा-पौर्णमास्यां
- L-4. [श्री] श्री राजाजय राज देवेन श्रीपशुपति भटारक स्य कोष प्रढोकितम्।। तेन तत्र पूर्व्यं सुरतान समसदिने नागत्य नेपालम् श्रीपशुपति स्त्रिखं-
- L. 5. डी कृता ने पाल स्मस्त भस्मीकृतानां हाहाकरन्ति लोकश्च ॥ सम्वत् ४७० मार्गशिरशुदि ९ महाकष्टनुषिमः भ क्त पुरे ॥ तदनन्तर श्री देवल देवी नां [स्म?]

AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

(From Sirat-i-Firozshāhi)*

By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., T.N.J. College Bhagalpur

[For a prefatory note on the work *vide* JBORS. XXII. 13.]

Nauroz,¹ the son-in-law of Burmah Shirin, and the guide and leader of the vain, despicable and perturbed band, the slanderer of fair names, the ungrateful and unjust, who having come to the court of the Sultan from Turkistan in a poor and destitute condition, was nourished with the morsel from the table of generosity and the gift from the tray of favours of the cherisher of the poor (i.e., the Emperor).

VERSE

Whatever demanded the Sultan from fortune and divine power

Heaven permitted, and made no enquiries.

But for thy dignity, oh Emperor!

No event can find its way in the vicinity of countries.

^{*} See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXII. Part I, page 13.

¹ Yahiya calls him Nuroz Karkuj. See my Tārikh-i-Mubārak shāhi (Gaekwad's oriental Series) p. 121. Nizām-uddīn and Zīa Barni call him Nauroz Gurgin.

Nauroz betrayed trust and sallying out with that band against the Emperor put the mark of rebellion and hostility over the wrinkles of his forehead and scattered all sense of gratitude to the winds.

VERSE

A tree that is bitter, it is its nature; If thou dost plant it in the garden of Eden, When watering, dost sprinkle water from the Canal of Heaven,

Or, dost put at its root honey or genuine musk, Its own nature it shows at the end.

The wolf's whelp will grow a whelp,

Even though brought up in the company of men!

Nauroz seduced the Mughals to join him and then declared war against the Imperialists. Having drawn up his army in a file, he laid his hands of plunder on the royal forces.

This information reaching him,

VERSE

Whose wardship suppresses all hostile attempts as the rain dissolves sugar, Whose wardenship dispells rebellion as does the silk cloth baffle fire:

Oh thou! in the overflowing of whose kindness are placed the plebeian and the noble,

Oh thou! in whose favour are the young and the rich!

His Majesty, in testimony of his favour to the just cause of the Muslims, officials and non-officials,

and in evidence of his anger against those reproachful and accursed tribe, girded up his loins for the holy war.

VERSE

His protection repulses untoward events everyday;

It provides a check to all entanglements for Islam:

He, who in revealing truths, when opens tongue,

Puts nail on the door of misinterpretation. From its sleep of destruction arises not everlasting insurrection,

While his (Emperors) eyes, like vigilance, remains awake;

Before his prudence, wisdom of the malicious however cautious

Is like senselessness near sobriety.

His Majesty, by nature auspicious,

Except near him is never yellow

The face of the insurrection of the age!

Ever on the people are his hands of generosity;

Ever near destruction are the steps of his enemies;

His banner with a slight motion The groove of excessive rebellion destroys. The lion of the Spheres is always held, By the shadow of the imperial lion standard. Of his servitude the world will ever boast of Till the Cypress¹ and Lily are among the liberated.

With followers, sons, brothers, relatives, friends and personal slaves,

VERSE

The party of men—the heirs and relatives, stood in all sincerity, in front and behind!

The Emperor fought the recalcitrants who came in thousands.

VERSE

In climes where thy violence conflagration causes
It cleanses the air of all its impurities.
In climes where thy kindness scatters grains
Surely in snare it entraps the griffins;²
The palate of rebellion taste bitter, for,
At the point of thy lance lies all the sweetness of victory.

(Oh Emperor?)

In the centre of the Universe strike ye thy lance, so that oppression

Within the orbit of the world may not keep its feet!

And with an onset the royalists put the battalion of the rebels to plunder.

His Majesty,

^{1 &}quot;In Persian literature the cypress-tree is called Sarwi āzād or the free cypress, from its freedom from curvature, and its independence of all support or from its being always green."

² "A fabulous bird, often mentioned in Eastern romance: it is celebrated in the *Shah-nāma* as the foster-father and teacher of Zāl, Rustam's father..."

VERSE

Whose brain does the Heaven fill with the odour of desire,
He, near whom the dust of battle-field is like ambergris and perfume;
With thy single motion a country is conquered,
Verily, thou leadest thy army against the enemy!
Conclusive evidence lies in thine favour—thy sword,

How can thy enemy's dagger refute?

By his sharp and blood-thirsty sword, made the streams of the Five Rivers (in the Punjab) flowing; those that gave themselves up were gradually made to immerse into the blazing hell-fire. Thus, the Emperor, by the help of God scored a victory.

VERSE

Each victory that God awarded him with,
Was but a prologue to another:
The Earth is illumined with the lustre of his
justice,
The Heavens is fragrant with the odour of his
actions.

Oh Emperor!
Where can thy enemy forbear thy attack?
Of what strength is a fox to a lion?
With thee are God's help and protection,
In thy army are all the heavenly bodies computed!

The soldiery, the effete and the young, the infant, the women and the adult, those that had been put to extreme anguish of mind and body lifted up their hands in consecration of the Emperor.

At the same time, it so happened that, His Majesty, May God his kingdom perpetuate!

VERSE

If the Sun sheds light on his enemies,
They become scattered like the particles resembling the "Suha!"

11

who had set free a number of persons from captivity, and had fulfilled to the best of his ability their claims to consanguinity, conferred upon them favours and offices. But in return for the protection that was afforded to them, these people displayed enmity towards His Majesty. In fact, on their part, the consequences of propinquity should have been obedience to the Emperor and conformity to his wishes, and not perversity and hostility which they had shown.

VERSE

Externally, a mild sheep, Internally, a ferocious wolf!

But how little did it affect the benevolence of the Emperor! It is however strange that, these persons regarded themselves as the near relations of His Majesty and stung him at the same time!! Previous to this, when these persons were often favoured with the king's kindness, they would look upon themselves as belonging to the rank of the royal servants, and now, having fully enjoyed the benefits of his indulgence they behaved like foreigners becoming the efficient instruments of fraud and deception.

¹ An obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

Actuated by a sense of perfidy and lust for seizing the country these evildoers struck their nefarious hands on the rope of knavery and treachery. What an error of judgment! His Majesty, by nature auspicious, is ever the custodian of the believers!! How could any one harbour such evil thoughts against him, and what more wonderful thing than this!!!

VERSE

One, who is worthy of the country, is the Emperor,

You can say there is no such territory worthy of him!

When the world reads out *khutba*¹ in his name, auspicious constellation

Sacrifices at his pulpit the purse of fortune.

When autumn is perfumed with his conviviality. The spheres exude sweat in shame for the fragrance of his incense!

Victory and assistance (of God) ever go before him,

Wherever goes he, his banner becomes victorious!

Having an attack of insanity, (the body of insurgents) sometimes won over the keeper of the royal elephants by gifts of large basins full of gold dinars; at times, they provoked (desire) in the foolish, villainous and totally destitute people of the town by false promises. How ludicrous, what could they bestow! The rumour of their niggardliness was but

¹ A sermon preached in the mosques on a Friday.

current in the world, but how wonderful, they still implored assistance and aid. On occasions, they kept concealed some of those despicables in an ambush. They neglected the fact that, Almighty God in rendering assistance to His chosen had specially favoured him (Emperor), and it was He who was the bestower of sovereignty. The evil designs of the malefactors he (Emperor) frustrated and set at naught.

VERSE

With every evil there is a blessing rolled up, Soft marrow is arranged inside the bone!

Whatsoever treachery and fraud were displayed by them they were requited with various acts of kindness from the clement Emperor.

Once, these evil-minded persons held a special convivial entertainment in honour of the Emperor, and held out an invitation to the patron of fellowship and the protector of the realm (meaning the Sultan). May God maintain his sovereignty! Out of natural generosity and in obedience to the Sunnat¹, His Majesty accepted the invitation, though his well-wishers and friends informed him that there was a fear of personal danger if he kept the invitation and that some deadly poison was mixed up with all the victuals and drinks. The Emperor, nevertheless, from natural vigour and bravery did not refuse the invitation, and having sincere belief and firm faith (in God) drank off at the assembly with his own pious hands that deadly potion.

¹ The traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'an and held in nearly equal authority.

VERSE

He who puts his trust in God Holds the celestial horse under his control: If the whole world turns out his enemy Not a hair of his body is bended.

On another occasion (the miscreants) won over by stratagem one of the attendants of the court and caused him to administer, while presenting betel to the Emperor, pills of acacia mixed up with venom. The well-wishers of His Majesty gave him a warning, but in spite of this and notwithstanding the signs of hostility, he partook of the poisoned pill. By the Grace of God, it had no effect on him.

VERSE

He whom the favour of God protects
A spider screens under his web,
In his palate poison is transformed into sugar,
In his hands stone is changed into jewel;
He who places his head on the threshold of God
Puts his head on the top of fortune!

The Emperor, as his wont, owing to his clemency and mercy, connived at the misdemeanour. The people of the country are authentically aware of this fact.

Again, one of those wicked persons, who had joined hands with the King's enemies, secretly taking security in his own malignity, advanced forward and attempted from an ambush to shoot an arrow at the Emperor, when the latter, during the chase, separated himself from his attendants and was left alone. The well-wishers and admirers of the court made the fact

known to His Majesty, the refuge of the world, and supplied him with the name and address of the villain, who took upon himself the responsibility of shooting the arrow of misfortune, but the Sultan paid no attention to the incident. The friends (of the Emperor) had also thrown out the hint that the devil-may-care fellow shall rush at the Emperor and shall throw a turban round the neck of His Majesty's horse, and further advised him (the Sultan) that when the criminal would be engaged in his nefarious work he should be caught hold of and wounded at the point of the Emperor's arrow that never missed the target.

VERSE

A wonderful bird, thy arrow, oh King!
It rises high up like the Vultures;
It accepts no food but the heart of the enemy
And preys not except the life of the adversary;
Proclamation of Victory it seizes in its talons
Announcement of triumph it holds in its beak!

In fact, during the hunt, that fellow, who lost his eye sight from his enmity to the Emperor, was discerned by His Majesty, who galloped his world traversing horse towards him.

VERSE

(His Majesty's horse was like)

A ferocious tiger, a wild sheep with tapering tail and buttocks like a deer,

Eagle in appearance, phœnix in beauty, and in flight like a parrot:

Legs strong, face pointed, with buttocks wide

Broad in neck, hoofs small and loins narrow; When wrathful the air is under its control, In attack, a Zephyr with legs restrained: In appearance, a patridge gracefully moving, While walking, a bride with beautiful features: When ran the mare with limbs outstretched, They looked like tough pillars of mountains.

The Emperor addressed the assassin, his voice resembling the mighty note of thunder, "God, the Almighty is my protector and my help! Whoever has intended to shoot an arrow at me, let him do it, and may the evil designs of the unfortunate fellow be thus disclosed to the public." Upon this, the evil intentioned fellow began to tremble, and down he fell in a swoon.

VERSE

He who breathes in thy opposition (oh Emperor!) Will himself be stifled by his hostile breath. Wherever thy phœnix-like desire casts its shade In rank and dignity the Aanka¹ becomes smaller than a fly!

(After the above incident) the said ruffian survived for ten years and four, but his name was never disclosed by His Majesty nor did the fellow suffer in receipt of (imperial) rewards and bounties.

On a different occasion, in an hunting expedition, a certain individual shot an arrow towards the game but it struck the Emperor instead. When some of the courtiers mentioned the name of the criminal to

¹ A fabulous bird which makes a distinguished figure in eastern romance.

His Majesty, the latter out of excessive natural generosity, forbade them to speak out the name and himself repudiated the whole incident.

Praise be to God! the Emperor was under His (safe) custody! One ought to have known that the Almighty could do away with any misfortune!

Of innate clemency and attainments perfect, the Emperor made his way to the capital.

Miscellaneous Articles

Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas

In JBORS., XIX 114 ff the origin of the Guptas has been discussed. The Mañjuśrī Imperial History would regard them as Jāṭs from Mathurā (p. 53). On their *Dhāraṇa Gotra*, Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, points out (JBORS., vol. XX, p. 224) that this gotra is still a flourishing one amongst the Jāṭs.

Now if we turn to the history of Nepal, the Vamsávalis mention "Gupta kings" just before Sivadeva, (Lévi, Nepal, ii. 122; 157; 72) who according to the Vamsavalis, drove this invaders' dynasty out of Nepal and restored the Lichchhavi dynasty. They are noted to have belonged to the Aheer caste. On referring to another mention (Wright, History of Nepal, p. 108; Lévi, ii, 72) the "Gupta dynasty" are said to have been 'Goalas' and interlopers in Nepal. The reference to the end of the Gupta rule in the time of Sivadev a I who is known from inscriptions to have flourished along with Amsuvarman (GI., p. 189) seems to be based upon true history. It is supported by ascertained chronology, according to which the dispossession of the Guptas would fall in the period a little after 600 A.D. Nepal authorities must be referring to the Imperial Guptas or their representatives when they treat of the Guptas who had eight successions coming down to the time of Sivadeva I.

The alleged caste of the Guptas as Aheer = Skt. (Abbīra) or Goalā (= Skt. Gopāla) 'cowherd', which in popular estimation are interchangeable terms, brings them very near the Jats who are always classed popularly as a variety of Goālās or Aheers. That the Guptas were regarded in Nepal as Goālās or Aheers is fairly a good piece of evidence on their original caste, and lends support to the identification of their caste already proposed in this Journal.

Identification of the royal names of the Gupta Dynasty in Nepal

The names given in the Vamsavalis of the Gupta Dynasty are given in two places, one (1st column below) as those whose family was thrown out by Sivadeva, who re-established the Survavāmśa Lichchavis; and another, in the beginning where the kings of the Gupta Dynasty who came and ruled in Nepal are enumerated (column 2nd).

> Jaya Gupta I Parama Gupta Harsha Gupta Bhīma Gupta

Mani [or Mati] Gupta

Vishnu Gupta Yaksha Gupta Jaya Gupta II

Vishnu Gupta Krishna Gupta Bhūmi Gupta

> (Lévi, Nepal, ii, 72, Wright, p. 108).

(Lévi, ii, 157, 172).

This Java Gupta II, driven out of Nepal, settled down near Janakpur in the Tarai (IA, VII. 89). Evidently the Guptas dispossessed by Sivadeva (I) had been a Gupta branch settled in Nepal. Java Gupta II is known from his coins which have been assigned to "about 600 A.D." (CIM, 121), not 'earlier than the end of the sixth century' (Allan, civ). His copper coins have the Garuda emblem of the Guptas. His gold coin is most debased, bearing Ja ya vertically and Gu between the legs. That his coins were recognised in Magadha and he had connexion with Magadha is proved now by a mould of his gold coin dug out at Nālandā this month. Uptil now his coins, though recognised as Guptan, could not be attributed to any Gupta line known from inscriptions (V. Smith, CIM, 121; Allan, G.C. 149; Rapson, IC, §96). The family connection with the main line is established by the coinage. Java Gupta II, as a ruler settled in the Tarai, in North Bihar, is given no further genealogy, he was evidently the last of the Nepal Guptas.

Lévi's view that the Guptas had no political authority in Nepal cannot be accepted. He misinterprets the Allahabad inscription. Nepal is definitely stated in the inscription to have been a tributary paying kara to Samudra Gupta. The Imperial Gupta influence is clearly traceable in the coinage of Nepal of the 6th century—the legend style—Mānānka, Guṇānka, after the fashion of Gupta Vikramānka.

THE PLACE OF AGASTYASAMHITĂ IN DHARMASĀSTRA LITERATURE

By Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., Kānyatîrtha

The publication of Mr. P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. I in 1930 marks the dawning of a new period of research in the domain of ancient and mediæval religious and civil law of the Hindus. It reviews the development of Smriti literature through twenty-five centuries, from the earliest times down to 1820 A. D. The body of the work describes in detail more than one hundred authors of Dharmasastra, while the exhaustive bibliographies give short notes on works and authors of the same.

Mr. Kane writes in p. 507 "अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता mentioned in कालिविक of जीमूतवाहन, in अपराकें". But no work has been published under the title of अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता and Mr. Kane has given us no clue of any MS. of the same. One अगस्त्यसंहिता has been edited* in 1910 with a Bengali translation by the late M. M. Kamalakṛishna Smṛititirtha and published in Bengali characters from the Hitavādī Office of Calcutta. It does not, however, contain the quotations of Agastya in Kālaviveka (B. I. edition, p. 277) and Aparārka (Ānandāśrama series, p. 1070). The very verses ascribed to Agastya by Aparārka are ascribed

^{*}On the basis of four MSS., one obtained from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, one from the Calcutta Sanskrit College and two from private libraries of Bhatpara, district 24 perganahs.

by Sūlapāṇi to Pulastya in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* (Cal. ed. in Bengali characters). So it is extremely likely that paleographical similarity of the words अगस्य and पुलस्य in Devanāgarī script might have occasioned a copyist's error in *Aparārka*. I have not succeeded in finding out the cause of the mention of the alternative title अगस्तिसंहिता by Kane.

The printed Agastyasamhitā is, however, an authoritative treatise in continuous metre and partakes of the character of Dharmaśāstra, being composed not later than the 15th century, inasmuch as it has been profusely quoted by Govindananda and Raghunandana, the sixteenth century jurists of Bengal. former quotes it in his Varsakriyākaumudī Suddhikaumudī, while the latter quotes it in his Tithitattva, Ekādaśītattva and Malamāsatattva. A11 the above quotations are found in the printed Agastyasambitā which consists of thirty-two chapters, the verses in each chapter ranging between thirty and sixty. The work embodies a supposed dialogue between Sutiksna and Agastya, the latter having gone to the hermitage of the former on the Gautami river in the Dandaka forest The conversation which ranges over many topics of ritual and philosophical interest is carried on between the above two sages, Sutikṣṇa putting and Agastya answering the questions.

The description of the following topics which are dealt with in the Agastyasamhitā will not be out of place here:—

Chap. 1. Dialogue between Siva and Pārvatī.

- Chap. 2. Determination of the knowledge of the Supreme Being.
- Chap. 3. Description of the Rāma incarnation.
- Chaps. 4-5. Description of the hymns and prayers of Rāma.
- Chap. 6. Description of the sacred character of the basil plant.
- Chap. 7. ,, of the greatness of the formula of incantation.
- Chap. 8. ,, of the teachers of that incantation.
- Chap. 9. Determination of the incantation.
- Chaps. 10-25. Detailed rites in connexion with the worship of Rāma.
- Chaps. 26-29. Rites in connexion with the Rāmanavamī festival.
- Chaps. 30-31. Rites in connexion with Laksmanamantra.
- Chap. 32. Rites in connexion with Hanuman-mantra.

Thequotations from the Agastyasamhitā in the various works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana are from the following chapters only, viz: 6th, 10th—13th, 16th—18th, 20th, 26th—28th, and 32nd. The quotations from each of the 16th, 18th, 20th, 27th, and 32nd chapters consists of two or three verses, while those from the rest cover almost the entire chapters. The lengthy quotations are concerning the worship of Rāma and the Rāmanavamī festival, and we propose to give a brief description of the latter, as contained in the 28th chapter of the Agastyasamhitā, inasmuch as the Bengal nibandha-

kāras, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, have laid down their prescriptions regarding this festival on the sole authority of the Agastyasamhitā alone.

"Rama, who is but an incarnation of the God Hari, took his birth in the ninth lunar day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. If in any year that lunar day coincides with the asterism of punarvasu, it becomes highly auspicious and confers immense good on the worshipper. If the coincidence of the asterism with the lunar day occurs in the midday, the festival is then of the holiest character possible. The period of duration of the Ramanavami festival is more sacred than that of ten millions of solar eclipses. The Supreme Being partially manifested Himself as Rāma in the womb of Kauśalyā, when the sun had gone to the Aries and the lagna was the Karkata. The rites, performed on the anniversary of that day in honour of the God Rāma, conduce to the salvation of the performer. Persons, wishing to attain the neighbourhood of the Supreme Being, should fast and offer oblations to the Fathers on that day and abstain from sleep in the night following it. The fool who eats in this day surely goes to the Kumbhīpāka hell. All persons should shower in this day bounties on the deserving, according to their circumstances, and charities, however small, if made in that day, will have the spiritual effect of great ones, like the tulapurusa. The simple performance of the Ramanavami festival confers on the performer the spiritual benefit accruing from the repeated munificence on solar eclipse days in the holy spot of Kuruksetra. The ninth lunar

day, if beginning from the middle of a solar day, will be discarded by the devotees of the God Viṣṇu who will fast on the following solar day and break their fasts on the next following day.

"The God Rāma will be meditated upon as possessing two hands, shining like blue lotuses, and two eyes, effulgent like red lotuses, and that, dressed with yellow robes and bejewelled head-dress and anointed with celestial things, he is seated in a throne befitting a god; and that, surrounded by holy sages like Vasiṣtha and others, he is engaged in conversation with Sita, while Lakṣmaṇa, bow and arrows in hand, waits upon him and Bharata and Satrughna also attend him. Having meditated thus, the worshipper should repeat the following twelve-syllable mantra ''ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय'' and, if initiated, should repeat the mantra of Rama with nyāsa, after having said his tantric prayers.''

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Early History of Kausāmbī. By NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, м.А. Head of the Department of History and Civics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Published under the auspices of The Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. 8½ × 5. Рр. і—хххі, 1-120, Plates 1-9, Maps 2.

It is a promising sign of the times that as students of politics are taking to Provincial Autonomy as a prelude to Federation, students of history are concentrating on regional research as an approach to co-ordination comprehending diverse ages, stages, sites and their stories. Living about 35 miles away from Kauśāmbī, Professor Ghosh has attempted to trace its history through Literature and Archæology from the earliest times to the 11th century A. D. On the whole the attempt is creditable.

The author has evidently taken pains to collect his secondary references, but his arrangement of primary sources is rather haphazard. Apart from the Frontispiece, his plates 1-9 place the Aśoka Pillar and a Red-stone Image¹ of the time of Kaniṣka before the Pre-Mauryan Terra-cottas. Archæologists are not

¹ Dr. Mookerji in his Introduction, p. xxi, and the author on p. 108, call it an image of the Buddha and then read the inscription describing it as a Bodhisattva. After the publication of Dr. Har Dayal's admirable *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 1932, even a layman should be more discriminating.

agreed as to whether the art of working terra-cotta preceded sculpture in stone, but in the present case no such consideration is involved and the terra-cottas IV—VIII are admittedly pre-Mauryan. The same lack of perspective is apparent in the assessment of the primary literary sources, citations from the Epics, Purāṇas and the Pāli canon. The result is confusion, creating unreal difficulties and ignoring or minimising very real ones.

Thus on p. xvi, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji who writes the Introduction, states that "Kausurabindi was a Kauśāmbeya, i.e., a native of Kauśāmbi." "Mr. Ghosh refers to Dr. Ray Chaudhary on p. 5, according to the commentator Harisvāmin, Proti Kauśāmbeya was a native of Kauśāmbī, if Harisvāmin's interpretation is correct." Now, neither Dr. Mookerji nor Dr. Ray Chaudhary points out that this derivation of Kauśāmbeya from Kauśāmbī is nothing more than a possible interpretation by a late author, commenting on the Satapatha Brāhmana (Eggeling, S.B.E., 44, 153, n. 5). There is another and more authoritative meaning noted by Macdonell and Keith in Vedic Index (1912), Vol. I, p. 193: "Kauśāmbeya is the patronymic ('descendant of Kuśamba') of a teacher Proti in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (xii, 2, 2, 13; Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2. 24) according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary: a view supported by the fact that Kūśāmba actually occurs as the name of a man in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (viii. 6. 8)." This chronological confusion leads the author to his next false step-"There are several traditional accounts of the origin of the city of Kauśāmbī, but none of them has any

semblance of connection with the other. They are often contradictory.*** no historical value" (p. 1). A synchronistic setting of Purānic, Vedic and Epic evidence would remove this contradiction, even though it may not associate the earliest known Kūśāmba with the site of Kauśāmbī. More than one Kuśāmbas are referred to through the ages just as Kauśāmbī was founded, refounded and continued through more than one age. The 48th king of the family of Svāyambhuva Manu (4821 B.C. according to the Purānas) was Prācīna-Kuśa or Prācīnabarhis. The 152nd king of the family of Iksvāku of Vaivasvata Manu (2100 B. C. according to the Purānas) was Kuśa. The 2nd king of the family of Brhadratha (1652 B. C. according to the Purānas) was Kuśāgra. The terra-cottas at Kauśāmbī on the Jumna bear such close affinity to the terra-cottas discovered in the Ganges valley, Nerbudda valley and the Indus valley the last of which has been assigned to the 4th millennium B. C. (cf. Marshall, Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. I, p. 106), that the earliest stratum of Kauśāmbī may be equated with any of these three Kuśas, checking the successive stages of literary tradition through the successive strata of archæological finds. Hence an independent chronological setting of these two primary (literary and archæological) sources and then their synthetic synchronism have far more than a visual value and may be recommended to Professor Ghosh if and when he recasts his pages.

This uncertainty of background has sometimes vitiated the author's utilisation of secondary sources as well. In his chapter on "The Identification of

Kauśāmbī," pp. 83-99, he gives a fairly full and discriminating account of relevant discussion by Cunningham, Vincent Smith and Watters. But the evaluation of the various data leave much to be desired. The evidence of Kauśāmba-mandala, Pabhosā and Payālasa (p. 99) on the strength of the Kara inscription (1035 A.D.) and the Pabhosā red sandstone (1824-25 A.D.) pp. 94-99, should be compared with earlier description of Kauśāmbī and the latter's contiguity to Srāvastī after far more consideration than the author appears to have shown. Kuśāmba, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of one well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayodhyā and north-west of modern Allahabad. The Hitopadesa places it in the Gauda country (Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, I, 34, 6; Pāṇini, IV, 2, 68; Hitopadeśa in Mitralabha: Asti Gaudavisaye Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī. Similarly is the city Srāvastī described as situated in Gauda, while it belongs to Kosala, likewise a part of Oudh (Cf. Visnupurāṇa, vol. III, p. 263). In Vol. I, pp. 327-8 of A. S. I., Cunningham wrote—"These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that Gauda is only a subdivision of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins of Srāvastī have actually been discovered in the district of Gauda which is the Gonda of the maps." Neither Cunningham nor the author realises the association between Kauśāmbī and Srāvastī at different epochs. The author exaggerates the importance of the Kara inscription and in accepting Daya Ram Sahni's claim to have "finally and conclusively established the identity of those remains with Srāvastī." (J. R. A. S.

1927). The Kara inscription is dated A. D. 1036, and it is on a piece of stone and stones have been known to travel. Rests the similarity of name with Kosam. The two Sahet Mahet inscriptions identifying Srāvastī are slightly more cogent. But none of these can be regarded as finally conclusive by those familiar with the vicissitudes of place-names in inscriptions and accounts in Hiuen Tsang. Two instances from Bihar and Orissa are typical. Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, 1871, p. 461 identified Buddhayana with Budhain, but he himself indicated in his "Map of Magadha showing the Routes of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang (A. S. R., 1871-72, vol. III, p. 139. 1873) Budhain is several miles east or north-east, i.e., on the wrong side of Jethian, and he made no attempt to explain this discrepancy. Jackson corrected this fallacy and identified Buddhavana with the Hanria Hill in J. B. O. R. S. (vol. III, Part III, 1917, pp. 293-316). The itinerary of Goradhagiri from Khāravela's inscription at Khandagiri to its replica on the Barabar Hills is wellknown through the writings of Jackson, Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji (Jackson, J. B. O. R. S., vol. I, Part II, 1915, pp. 159-171). Thus while the identification of Sravasti with Sahet Mahet, and of Kauśāmbī with Kosam may be accepted as good working hypotheses, it would be unwise to refuse further enlightenment or to minimise existing difficulties, specially in view of the fact that excavation may reveal strata yet untouched by the surface exploration. Moreover this uncertainty of identification need in no way interfere with the actual work of collecting and piecing together the finds which are of undoubted value.

It would be highly interesting to have a detailed account of the archæological finds, specially illustrating the terra-cottas and coins. The author mentions a few in pp. 102-114, but even these supply food for prolonged reflexion. One wonders how Cunningham's intuition regarding coins amounted to real genius. Jayaswal triumphantly vindicated this (and incidentally some of his own) in his lacture on 'Pre-Mauryan Coins' before the R. A. S. in London.

Professor Ghosh has produced a readable book. It is to be hoped that he will make it more useful by supplying fuller information reproducing more of the recent finds.

A. Banerji-Sastri

- The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, м. A. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 7, Pt. 1. Madras, 1933.
 10" × 6½". Рр. хіv, 236, 46. Price Rs. 3/.
- The Uṇādisūtras with the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa. Edited by the same. M. U. S. Series No. 7, pt. 2. Madras, 1933. 10" × 6½". Pp. xii, 149, 63. Price Rs. 2/8/o.
- 3. The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and The Uṇādisūtras of the Kātantra School with the Vṛtti of Durgasimha. Edited by the same. M. U. S. Series No. 7, pt. 6. Madras, 1934. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xiv, 107, 51, 72, 24. Price Rs. 3/.

The Madras University and the editor may be congratulated for having undertaken the publication of the Uṇādisūtras in various recensions and already published the above three nicely got up volumes, each furnished with indexes of Sūtras and words and the first two also with those of authorities and quotations. The importance of the Uṇādisūtras as an authoritative guide to the position of the accent and the right sequence of sounds in a large number of nominal stems cannot be exaggerated; one cannot, however, say as much of their etymological contribution, which not infrequently consists in an arbitrary analysis into a verbal root and a suffix, all other phonetic require-

ments being supplied by nipātana¹. All this has been recognised by the commentators². There appears to be a general agreement, also in holding the Uṇādiderivatives as nouns (samjñā-śabda), which, coupled with a view implicitly held by some that all of them are current in non-Vedic Sanskrit, has misled many commentators into attributing mostly fanciful meanings to purely Vedic words. That this view cannot be altogether correct is, however, clear from II. 82³, dhṛser dhiṣ cha samjñāyām, whereupon Ujjvaladatta remarks, samjñādhikāre punaḥ samjñāgrahaṇam prāyeṇoṇādīnām yaugikatvasūchanārtham, and from the large number of Vedic derivatives which are very often found to be yaugika in sense.

Almost every school of Sanskrit grammar has its own Uṇādisūtras⁴, but the most important are those of the Paṇinīyan school, since the others are mostly based on these and almost universally ignore the accent. The authorship and the date of composition of these Sūtras, the earliest that we possess, are obscure. We know that they are very old, since they have been frequently quoted in the Kāśikā and

¹ Cf. Pāṇ. 3.3.1, उणादयो बहुलम् and the Vārttika on it, बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादिष तेषाम्। कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तद्क्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु।।

² Cf. Sveta. I. 1, उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः संज्ञाशब्दाः। तेन तेषामत्र स्वरूपसंवेदनस्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीमात्रफळमन्वाख्यानम्, and Nārā. I. 1.vs. 1-4, 3. vs. 1-2.

³ The references in this article are to Ujjvala's text, except when some other commentary is being considered.

⁴ Besides those that are being reviewed here, there are Uṇādisūtras attached to the Saṁkṣiptasāra, the Supadma and to the grammars of Chandra, Śākaṭāyana, Vāmana (cf. Winternitz, III, 403, fn.4) and Hemachandra.

were presumably known even to Kātyāyana and Patañjali,1 and we also know that they are later than Pāṇini's grammar, since not only have they quietly adopted throughout the pratyāhāras, the samjñās, the paribhāṣās, and the anubandhas of the latter, but there are a few of them which appear to have been necessitated to record exceptions to the corresponding Sūtras in that grammar². More than this we do not know. That some have fathered them upon Sākaṭāyana³ and others upon Vararuchi⁴, alias Kātyāyana, appear to be nothing more than guesses, the former based on the statement of Yāska, Nir, I. 125, and on a Kārikā6 to Pāṇ. 3.3.1 that it was Sākaṭāyana, amongst the grammarians, who held that all nouns are derived from verbs, and the latter on the assertion of Durgasimha that it was Kātyāyana who composed the Krt-sūtras, Sarvavarman having held that the derivatives were rūḍha like the word vṛkṣa². Much more plausible is Goldstücker's conclusion that the Unadi list8 'must be of

¹ See Goldstücker, Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit literature, p. 131ff; especially the footnotes to pp. 132-135.

² E. g. II. 65, च्विरव्ययम्: Pā. 1.1.39, क्रन्मेजन्त: and IV. 226, गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम्: Pā 6.2.139, गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्.

⁸ E. g. Nāgeśa.

⁴ E. g. Vimala Sarasvatī.

⁵ तत्र नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानाञ्चैके ।

⁶ नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्। यन्न पदार्थ-विशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूहचम्॥

⁷ वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः। कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिप्रतिबुद्धये।।—Durgasimha at the beginning of the Krdvrtti.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 139. By the Unādi list he could have only

Pānini's own authorship'; but, even as it is, it does not carry conviction. His main argument in favour of this view is that without such an assumption Kātvāvana's 'strictures' upon some of Pāṇini's rules1-esp. those upon the so-called inconsistencies of his anubandhas—become no better than a madman's raving. Evidently, he did not notice that Kātyāyana, Patañjali or Kaiyata did not consider pha, dha, kha, chha, gha in sū. 7. 1. 2., tha in 7. 3. 50, or la in 3.4.77 as anubandhas or its2, but sthanins and that, this being the case and there being no qualifying words in the Sūtras, Kātyāyana was merely testing if, within a grammatical context, they were universally applicable. Had this not been the case we should have hardly found such expressions in the Vārttika and the Mahābhāsya as thādese varņagrahaņam ched dhātvantasya pratisedho vaktavyah: pathati, pathitum on 7.3.50 (thasyekah),

meant the essentials of the present Uṇādisūtras, for a mere list of suffixes without reference to the respective roots and the various phonetic operations has hardly any meaning. A modification of this view is that of Pathak (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute vols. IV, pp. 111-136 and XI, pp. 90-93) who holds that Pāṇini is the author of the present treatise. Mangala Deva Shastri (Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference vol. II, p. 466fl.) would have it that it is earlier than Pāṇini. The same remarks would apply to these two views as well.

¹ Most of these rules, with Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's remarks, have been quoted by Goldstücker, op. cit., pp. 132-33.

² Cf. Pā. 1.3.3,7,8 and Patañjali on 1.3.3, एतच्चात्र युक्तं यिदत्कार्याभावादित्संज्ञा न स्यात् । यत्रेतकार्यं भविष्यति तत्रेत्संज्ञा and on 3.4.77, with reference to ल, इत्कार्याभावादत्रेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति, upon which Kaiyaṭa has तस्यां च सत्यां लोपे च कृते स्थान्यभावादल्विधित्वाच्च स्थानिवद्भावाभावादादेशो न भविष्यतीत्पर्थः। Kaiyaṭa also has on 7.1.2, ये त्वनुणादयः खल्घञादयस्तेषु खघयोरित्संज्ञ्या भाव्यम्। 'खित्य-नव्ययस्य' 'चजोः कृ घण्ण्यतो' रिति लिगात्.

or lādeše sarvaprasango'višesāt..... asyāpi prāpnoti: lunāti, labhate on 3.4.77 (lasya). Besides, we should not also forget that Kātyāyana himself has said. prātipadikavijnānāch cha pānineh siddham, on 7.1.2, which Goldstücker has quoted in footnote 209, but evidently overlooked in course of discussion. There is, however, no doubt that an analysis into roots and suffixes. essentially the same as that in the present treatise, had already been done for most of the words before Pāṇini's time and that Pāṇini was so far conversant with it as to feel the necessity to frame a few rules especially covering such cases1. Thus we may not be far from the truth, if we hold that the present Unadisutras are an adaptation of this analysis to Pāṇini's system by some grammarian who came after Pāṇini but before Kātyāyana and Patañjali, if the aunādika derivations mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya are considered sufficient, as they do appear to be, to indicate his priority2.

¹ Cf., besides उणादयो बहुलम् 3.3.1 and ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः 3.4.75, थाथघञाक्ताजबित्रकाणाम् 6.2.144, न्यङ्कवादीनाञ्च 7.3.53 and ति-त्-त्र-त-थ-सि-स्-सर-क-सेष् च 7.2.9 along with the Kāśikāvṛtti.

² Cf. Mahābhāsya

Unādisūtra

Pratyāharasūtra 7,8. अक्षर- III. 70, अशे: सरन्.

=अश् + सरन्. 1.1.4 जीर- in जीरदान्- (which appears also in 6.1.66 as an instance of a disappearing before τ) = $\sqrt{\sqrt{3}}$ ज्या+रक् or √जीव्+रक, but the remarks are directed against $\sqrt{$ जीव्+रदान् according to Kaiyyata and Nāgeśa.

Our present Un. has no such rule, but cf. Bhoja 81, जीवेर-दानुक्.

These Unadisutras appear in two different recensions, the Dasapadi and the Panchapadi. The former has been commented on by Mānikyadeva and followed by Vitthala in his commentary on the Prakriva-

-त (तन् acc. to Kaiyaṭa).

1.1.61 कंस = √कम् + स, along with 6.1.162 हंस-, वत्स-derived with स and 8.3.59 वर्स-. तर्स- (स supported by Bhattoil in Prandh) also with the same suffix.

परान् शुणातीति परशुः

1.4.3 स्त्रियामाख्यायेते स्त्र्याख्यौ। यदि कर्मसाधनः । कृतस्त्रिया धातु-स्त्रियाश्च न सिध्यति। तन्त्रयै लक्ष्मयै श्रियै भूवै etc., upon which Kaiyyata remarks, न हि तयोरीकारोकारौ स्त्रियां विहितौ.

derived with-8.

4.1.3 स्त्री- $=\sqrt{4\pi^2} + ड्ट.$ सूते: सप् प्रसवे पुमान्, upon which Kaiyaṭa has, सू इत्ये-तस्य धातोः सप्प्रत्ययो (?) भवति सकारस्य पकारो भवतीत्यर्थः। औणादिको मसुन्प्रत्ययः ह्रस्वश्च बाहुलकात्।

1.1.26 लोत-, गर्त derived with III. 86, हसिमृग्निण्वामिदमिल्पूध्-विभ्यस्तन्.

III. 62 वृत्वदिहनिकमिकषिभ्यः सः.

I. 34 आङ्गपरयोः खनिशूभ्यां डिच्च

The words are derived in III. 158, III. 160, II. 57 and II. 68 respectively, none of which are stryadhikāravihita.

3.4.77 शाला-, माला-, मलल- Kaiyaṭa has शाला (मा?) मलिभ्य औणादिको लनुप्रत्यय: and Sveta. remarks शोममालीभ्यो (शोमामलिभ्यो ?) लः इति कैयटा-चार्यः पठति स्म उणादिस्त्रम्, But this Sū. is not found in the present Un.

> IV. 165, स्त्यायते ईट्. IV. 177, पाते र्ड्म्स्न्, on which Bhattoji in Praudh. Iñanendra in Tattvabodhini, after referring to Mbh. and the readings of Nyāsa and Raksita, 'पुनाते मेक्सुन् ह्रस्वश्च', and others, 'पूञा डुमसुन्', remark, 'उपेयप्रतिपत्त्यर्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिता इति तत्वम्'.

kaumudī, and the latter by Ujjvaladatta and his numerous predecessors and successors. It is remarkable that, while Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Prauḍhamanoramā often refers to the Daśapādī, Ujjvala seems to be unaware of its existence. The two recensions differ not only in the order and division of the Sūtras, but sometimes even in the wording of the Text. Bhaṭṭoji, op. cit., has recorded most of these differences.

Amongst the extant Uṇādi-vṛttis on the Pañcha-pādī the oldest and, in many respects, the best is that of Ujjvaladatta. The peculiar charm of Ujjvala's commentary and its superiority over others mostly consist in the attempt at noticing every peculiarity of a word formed with an Uṇādi-suffix—not only in its own use, but even in that of its secondary derivatives, and in the large number of apt quotations from diverse sources¹ in support of his statements. In this respect

6.1.67 दिव-, जागृवि-with-वि. IV. 53, वृद्भ्यां विन् and IV. 54, जृश्स्तू जागृभ्य: क्विन्, respectively.

II. 67, गमे डी.

6.1.123 गो- =√ गम् + डो.

7.1.2 হাজনে, ঘণ্ট-with-ল্ and -ন্ত respectively.

7-3-50 कण्ठ-, शण्ठ-, पण्ठ-, with

I. 105, कणेट्ठ:, II. 104 (acc. to Kaiyaṭa, शमे जीनदाच्युस्प्रिति ठः), and II. 105 (acc. to Kaiyaṭa, पणोऽन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते इति ठः).

7.3.59 अर्क = $\sqrt{34}$ + क $\sqrt{40}$ III. 40, कृदाधारार्चिकिलभ्यः कः . 7.4.13 राका-, धाका-, with -क

8.3.59 क्रसर-, धूसर- with -सरक्. III. 73, क्रधूमदिभ्यः कित् (सरन्).

¹ The number of the authorities quoted by him is more than 150 and they range over almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature.

it bears comparison with the great Mādhvīyadhātuvṛtti of Sāyaṇa. Of the many commentaries1 previous to his, he names six, viz. the Prāchinavrtti, the Sati-vrtti, and the Vrttis of Govardhana, Purusottamadeva or Deva, Kṣapaṇaka, and Nagna, of which the last two, as suggested by the meanings of the words, may be identical. His only weak point appears to have been his obviously imperfect acquaintance with the Vedic language, and herein he has been excelled by Bhattoji Dīkṣita, whose Praudhamanoramā on the Unadi portion of the Siddhantakaumudi is a masterpiece of critical interpretation of the Sūtras. Bhattoji is largely indebted to Ujjvala for the non-Vedic materials of his commentary, but his strongest point is his uncommon mastery of the Vedic language, along with that of the Paninivan literature as a whole, with the help of which he not only criticises and corrects his predecessors, but also restores in many cases the correct text of the Sūtras,—a feature rarely met with in the other Vrttis, two of which we shall examine here.

The Uṇādi Sūtras and Vṛttis of the other schools are mostly concerned with the derivations and meanings of the words, and are often insipid and of a doubtful authority, for want of support with literary quotations. Two of these, viz. those attached respectively to the schools of Bhoja and Sarvavarman, we shall review here.

With these remarks on the Unadi literature in

¹ Cf. उणादिवृत्तयोऽनेका भूरिभिः सूरिभिः कृताः। तास्विदानीं विपर्यस्ताः सूत्रशब्दार्थधातवः।। ता एवाथ समालोच्य ग्रन्थानन्यांश्च विस्तरात्। सर्वतः सारमाक्रुष्य मया वृत्ति विरच्यते।। Intro. vs. 4-5.

general, let us now proceed to examine the above publications.

Svetavanavāsin's Uņādivṛtti

The editor states in his Introduction, p. ix, that. according to Svetavanavāsin, Sākatāyana is the author of the Pāninivan Unādi-sūtras¹, which is hardly correct, since there is such a word as ādi after Sākatāyana in the text, yeyam śākaṭāyanādibhiḥ pañchapādī virachitā etc., quoted by him. Svetavanavāsin's Vrtti is far less elaborate and appears to be far less reliable (at least the present edition) than Ujivala's work. His knowledge of the Vedic language must have been poor: sū. 362 he reads (in common with Ujivala) dadhisāyyah² $(= dadhi + \sqrt{so + \bar{a}yya})$, which is only a mistake for Ved. didhisāyya-and 364 as stuvah kseyyas chhandasi, giving as example, staukseyya-, which is non-existent and a mistake for Ved. stuséyya; cf. Sk. and Praudh.3 for both the cases; in 301-302 he reads -knu, instead of-ktnu, as the suffix and derives krnu-, hanu- and jiganu4, which are really mistakes for Ved. kṛtnu, hatnú-, and jigatnu-, cf. Sk. and the remarks in Praudh. directed against the Dasapadivetti; in 345 he reads -kāku for -kāru as the suffix, which leads to the absurd example prdāru- = vršchika- or sarpa- in 347, the real Ved. word being prdaku-, found in the other

 2 Samkṣiptasāra, Krchchheṣoṇādipāda 671, has $didbi+\sqrt{so}+\bar{a}yya$. The references are to the edition of Syāmācharaṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, San. 1308.

¹ This inaccurate statement has already been repeated by Pathak and Chitrao (Word-Index to Pāṇini Sūtrapāṭha and Pariśiṣṭas, Introduction, p. V): रवेतवनवासिना च स्वकृतटीकायां तथैव (i.e. शाकटायनप्रणीतानीति) निरदेशि!

Sk.—Siddhāntakaumudī and Praudh.—Praudhamanoramā.
 Bhoja, too, has kṛṇu and jiganu- in 2.1.74 and 2.1.76.

Vṛttis; in 348 he reads -agnuch for -aknuch and gives, as example, vajagnu- for vachaknu-, cf. Prauḍh. and the name Gārgī Vāchaknavī in Bṛ. Ār. Up.; sū. 630, showing the formation of Ved. réknas- is also faulty and should read, richer dhane ghich cha, as in Sk., cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Prauḍh., this reading being suggested also by kittvāt kutvam (undoubtedly for ghittvāt kutvam) in the Vṛtti, which appears to have escaped the notice of the editor.

Even in the meanings of the later Sanskrit words Svetavanavāsin is often not very accurate: cf., for instance, (sū. 14) kanduḥ = pākasthānam (also Nārā-yaṇa and Saṃkṣiptasāra, Kṛchcheśoṇādipāda 543); (36) gaḍuḥ = vadanaikadeśaḥ; (127) yakṣmaḥ = mukharogaḥ; (146) plīhā = vyādhiviśeṣaḥ; (153) nirṛthaḥ = paśūnām saṅghātaḥ; (264) dhanuḥ = śaraḥ; (277) vasnam = dravyam; (343) tasaraḥ = tantuvāyaḥ; (345) bhayānakaḥ = bhīruḥ (cf. Saṃkṣiptasāra, l.c. 600, bhīruko bhayānakaḥ kātaraś cha); (723) ūrṇā = chhāgaloma, etc. Certain words, too, in his own sentences appear with wrong genders, but for this probably the editor is, at least partly, responsible: cf., for instance, (150) artha-n., (152) auṣadha-m., (158) pṛṣṭha-m., (274) phena-n., (353) anta-n., (389) ādeśa-n., etc.

Moreover, in some instances the editor's preference of certain texts over others found in his own mss. is highly questionable. In sū. 87 he reads-duk and tardūḥ, while his own ms. B has -duk and tardūḥ in agreement with all the other known Uṇādi-vṛttis. He reads sū. 93 garmuṭ cha against A. gro muṭ and gives the example, garmuṭ, against A. garmuṭ. Now, this is not only against all the Uṇādi-

vṛttis and the Vedic records of the word garmut
> gārmutá-it is also against the text of the Vṛtti adopted
by himself which has muḍāgamaḥ, not muḍādesaḥ. In

110 he adopts the example chānḍāla- against chaṇḍālaof A. and C., but cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Prauḍh.
against the possibility of such a form here. In 159
he prefers sedhra- to sidhra- of B., which is not only
read by Ujjvala and others, but required by the
anubanadha k of the suffix. He reads vīyu- in 344
against pīyu- of B., which agrees with all the other
Vṛttis, and gives, as example, viyālaḥ vṛkṣaviseṣaḥ (cf.
Bhoja 2.3. 101, viyālaḥ chāraḥ), for which every other
Vṛtti reads piyāla-, the well-known tree. In 357 he
has the absurd dūtaḥ preṣakaḥ (!) against preṣakaraḥ
of B.

Besides those mentioned by the editor, two other printing mistakes may be noted—sū. 536, prājāpatiḥ for pra- and p. 193 below, uraḥ vṛkṣaḥ for vakṣaḥ.

Nārāyaņa's Uņādivṛtti

The Uṇādivṛṭṭi of Nārāyaṇa is brief and precise. He tries to justify the etymologies and the rules as far as possible, but that he finds the former unsatisfactory is clear from his remarks¹ under sū. 3. Interesting also are his remarks under sū. 130 about the pronunciation of padma- as patma², presumably in his own province, inasmuch as this tendency of de-voicing

¹ अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने। किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः किश्च-ल्लब्धश्चेत् कृतिनो वयम्।। etc.

² पद्मं हि पद्यतेरुक्तं न पते मीधवादिभिः। स्पष्टो दकारञ्चोदीचां तकारो-क्तिरतो भ्रमः॥

is characteristic of south Indian mss. and publications in general. He seems to have been much more conversant with the Vedic language than either Ujjvala or Svetavanavāsin and has accurately interpreted āyavaḥ=martāḥ (sū. 2), mahā=mahatvam (150), darśataḥ = darśanīyaḥ (382), vidathaḥ = yajñaḥ (388), jāgṛviḥ = vinidraḥ (489), ārdaraḥ = kusūlaḥ (727), etc., but has apparently been misled by his predecessors in the meanings of apvā = devayūtham and amīvā = jalam (143) and niṣangathiḥ = dhanurdharaḥ (526), and in the retention of sū. 370 dadhiṣāyyaḥ without any remark.

Nārāyana does not appear to have seen Ujjvala's Vrtti, but must have been highly influenced by Svetavanavāsin. All the references to vrtti or kāchid unādivrtti are traceable to the latter, with whom he has also shared in the defective texts and interpretations in a few instances. Sū. 684 he reads, with Sveta., pāter datih (Ujjvala and Bhattoji : pāter atih) and remarks, idam prāgukter beyam, and gives, as example to the next rule (vāter nit), vatir vāyub, which appears to be non-existent¹. Ujivala and Bhattoji have vātir vāyuh and quote Rabhasa in support. With Sveta., too, he explains the word mithuna- in Sū. 663 as standing for masculine and feminine, although he is not satisfied in his mind.2 While in Sū. 598 he explains the same word mithune as maithune dyotye and gives the apparently absurd meaning maithunechchhāvatī strī to the word suśarman-, which he thinks is the aim of the rule. Ujjvala, Vitthala and Bhattoji all

¹ But cf. Samkṣiptasāra, l. c., 712 वापात्योर्डतिः।

² एवं व्याख्या क्वचिद्वृत्तौ यश आद्याश्च पुंस्त्रियोः। न दृष्टा इति भीतिर्नः को वा शब्दान्तमीक्षते॥

explain *mithuna*- in these two rules as a coupling of *upsarga* and *dhātu*¹.

The text appears to be carefully edited, but a few anomalies are still noticeable. In sū. 362 the editor adopts mūrtah against muhūrtah of ms. G, although the text clearly supports the latter and Bhoja. whose view is represented here, also has it. The sū. lūs-śinghi-dhānbhyaś cha is incorporated in the Vṛtti to sū. 357 for no apparent reason, while Ujįvala, Bhattoji, Svetavanavāsin, etc. read it as a separate rule. Sū. 241, śviter daś cha (not found also in Sveta.), does not appear to have been intended as a separate Sūtra by the author, but to have been mentioned only as a text found in the Tikasarvasva, although not found in his own mss., and this view is supported also by ms. A which omits the Sūtra. Vatsara- and vatsala- (for patsara- and patsala-) in 347, mithin- (for mathin-) in 444, and mrdviketi (for mrdviketi) in 453, appear to be printing mistakes, as they go against the sense of text and are not supported by any editorial remarks, while bhojaktab in 516 and kvichid in 607 have clearly to be corrected to bhojoktah and kvachid respectively. The word karmaṇām in the quotation, karmaṇām chinute śubham, in 590 appears to be a corruption of karmānam, cf. Ujjvala under the same rule, karmānam kurute subham etc. Unfortunately, the Trivandrum edition of the Tikasarvasva presents the same text.

¹ But cf. Samkṣiptasāra, 1. c. 739 सोर्मावृश्वभ्यो मिथुने and its Vṛtti, सुपूर्वे मा सुमामानौ स्त्रीपुरुषौ, एवं सुपूर्ववृञ्ज् सुवर्माणौ, तथा श्रॄ हिंसायां सुशर्माणौ.

The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa

The Unadisutras of Bhoja, indicating, as they do. the position of the accent as well with the same anubandhas as in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, form a very important treatise indeed, while Dandanātha's commentary is the prototype of Nārāyanabhatta's Unādi-vṛtti in respect of brevity and aptness. Dandanatha appears to have taken a great care for the precision of meanings and is generally far more accurate than most of the other commentators on the Unadi, cf., for instance, grahanih agnyādhāraḥ (sū. 212), plīhā śarīrāntaravayavaḥ (278), while others are satisfied with the meaning vyādhiviśesah in both the cases; jīrvih vṛddhah, jāgrvih jāgarūkah (235), while some have been pleased to treat them as substantives; and so on. Several interesting and rare words also appear in his commentary, e.g., kalmalīkam jvālah (369), cf. kalmalīkin- in RV. II. 33.8; pavīram vījāvapanam (652), cf. AV. III. 17.3, lāngalam pavīrávat; khadūrah khuralīsthānam (661), Cf. J.B.O.R.S., vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 66, where this meaning was guessed for the word in AV. XI. 9(11). 16 from its inferred connection with khalūrikā-; maggušah nakulah (753), cf. Eng. mongoose; avasam pātheyam (777), cf. Yāska I. 17, padvadavasam gāvah pathyadanam. It is unfortunate that the text of such a valuable work could not be presented in a better form, and the pity is that there should appear a considerable number of such textual errors as could be easily detected with the help of a little critical study. We subjoin a list of those that we have come across and that have not been noticed by the editor.

[Sū. 12] rāhuh saihmikeyah: for ... saimhi-. [36] vanisthuh ūrvaikadeśah: for ... udaraikadeśah? [48] nīlanguh timih : for ... kṛmih? [63] pājyartibhyo dit : for ... nit1. [77] taner duh: for ... daüh1, cf. Pān. Un. taner daü sanvach cha. [81] jīvaradānuḥ: for jīradānuḥ, according to the sense of the Sūtra and the Vrtti. which must have been misunderstood, and to Vedic usage, cf. also Nārāyaṇa, p. 143, l. 6. [97] sigruh saubhājanakah: for ... saubhāñjanakah. [113] Sū. dūścha, Vr. drūś chābhyāgamah, while Nārāyaņa on I.86 remarks, bhojamate tro duk cha. Thus duk appears to be the correct reading, inasmuch as \bar{u} at the end of the $\bar{a}gama$ is superfluous, the suffix itself being $-\bar{u}$. Thus the examples tadrūh, dadrūh, appear to be corruptions of tardūb, dardūb, it being noted that there is nothing in $S\bar{u}$, or Vr, to indicate the disappearance of r from the roots². [131] The Vrtti appears to be a corruption for tisthateh savya upapade enpratyayo bhavati dich cha. [133] yāteḥ: for yateḥ, otherwise vṛddhi is meaningless. Pān. Un. also has this latter reading. [239] Correct the examples to varnasih, parnasih and sānasih. The agama is n, not nu, cf. nut and thut in Sūtras 335 and 336 respectively. [265] A similar mistake is noticed in the example garmut, which should be garmut (= $\sqrt{g\bar{r}}+(m)ut$). [292] umapade: for upa-. [301] praryanujujyate: for parya-. [324] ustam: for usah. [337] pāt balih: for pājah balam. [358] Where is the example

¹ Cf. sū. 127 for the effect of the indicative d.

² Cf. the remarks of Ujjvala on I. 92, repeated in Praudha., भोजदेवशब्दानुशासने तु दरिद्रातेर्यालोपश्चेति तिपा निर्देशात् रिश्च आ चेति संहितापाठे यशब्दलोपे ददूरित्यपि साधितम्। तथा रश्च इश्च आश्चे-त्यन्तसदेशद्वितीयरेफलोपेन ददूरित्यपि साधितम्।

for the alternative numāgama (viz., kantaka-)? [364] The syllable tab appears to have been dropped after visakī-. [368] śalākā and dūṣikā are out of place amongst regular derivatives with -kikan and should, if their inclusion is right, be śalikā and dūsīkā respectively. [370] samkusukah: for samkasukah. [381] kalavinkah grhavātakah: for ... grhachatakah? [395] iseh in Sū.: for useh, as in Vr. [427] dichach: for dī-, if the example is right. [449] sringāṭaḥ jalaviśeṣaḥ: for ... jalajavišeseh? and ālikam: for alikam. [470] dapratyayah in Vr.: for dha-. [518] °kukundau in Vr: for °kakundau. [543] pāmam: for pāpam. [557] parivapanam: for paripava- and nichayam: for 'yah. [569] ambah: for āmbah, see Nārāyana on IV. 103. [578] valabhih: for valabhī in Vr. [588] kusumbhah mahārajatam: for ... mahārajanam. [598] adharmah: for adhamah. [608] vaserādivatvam nut cha: for ... tut cha, as required by the example, vastyam. See also Nārāyana on IV. 121. [637] vindhram: for vīdhram. [645] kiñji in Sū.: for kañji, cp. example and Narā. on III. 138. [654] kimmīrah: for kirmīrah? [660] kavūrah sadī: for karchūrah śaţī. [675] Sū. idāvatsaraḥ, Vr. idvatsarah: both wrong for idavatsarah. [700] bhrsta-(bhrasta, acc. to the corr. of the editor)tilasatīchūrnam: for bhrstatilātasīchūrnam? [722] śrnoteh: for śrnāteh. [771] āṭarūṣaḥ pāśaḥ : for ... vāsā, cf. vāsā āṭarūṣakaḥ in 772. [793] ex. dastyūhah: for dātyūhah (= $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ + tyūha). Similarly in Nārā., p. 149, l.1, datyahah has to be corrected to dātyūhah.

The Uṇādisūtras of the Kātantra School with Durgasimha's Vṛtti

These Sūtras and the Vṛtti (based on a single

ms.) are so very badly edited that it would have been much appreciated, had the editor waited for other The disadvantages of having to depend upon a single ms. are, no doubt, many, but still there are many instances of textual errors whose continuance can only be attributed to the editor's insufficient acquaintance with the Kātantra School and failure to exercise his critical judgment sufficiently, as will be clear from the appended notes. The Catalogus Catalogorum records two other mss. of the Sūtras, one of which contains also the Vrtti of Durgasimha, and it is very likely that more mss. would be available in Bengal, where this school of grammar is still assiduously studied and where most of the best works of this school have been produced. Nor is this the first publication of the Sūtras. Gurunātha Vidyānīdhi of Calcutta, in his edition (in Bengali character) of the Kalāpa with many commentaries, published them as an appendix, some thirty years ago. The text of the Sūtras published by him differs slightly from that in the present edition, while the Vrtti, the authorship of which is not mentioned there, appears to be a shorter recension of Durga's Vrtti. The Sūtras are divided into five Pādas, but end with sū. 260 (IV. 66) of the present edition and, indeed, the fresh mangalācharaṇa at the beginning of the fifth Pada of the latter would probably indicate a later addition of the rest by a different hand. We shall refer to the Bengali edition with the letter B in the following notes, which may help to improve the text in a later edition.

The editor has invariably spelt the name Durgasimha as Durgasimha (° सिम्ह) in Roman and Durga-

sihma (° सिद्धा) in Devanāgar. It is curious how this anomaly could have escaped his notice, considering how many times the name is repeated. [Sū. 17] dakārānto guṇaś cha: unintelligible and not found in B; a corruption for akārānto'gunas cha (which certainly the pratyaya is)? [18] mankura- in Vrtti: makura- in Sū... mukura- in B. [19] B has śāvaśe- in Sū. and tālavyādirayam in Vr., which agrees with Pan. Un., Mahabhāṣya, and use. [20] natādyarthah and natāditvāt in Vr.: for nadā° as in B, since the gana that takes the feminine suffix ī is called nadādi in Kātantra, cf. sū. 106, below. [34] kaserūh trnavišesah mūlam: for ... trņavišesamūlam, as in B. [46] palala- in Vr.: for palvala-, as in Sū. and B. [51] dhṛñ in Sū. and dhṛñ ādhāre in Vr : for dri and dri ādare respectively, as in B; since there is nothing in Sū. or Vr. to indicate a change of db to d. [53] patantab: for patatab. [55] śyāmā: for śyāmah. [65] varnuh nādaviśesah: for ... nada°. [68] pātha-, read also in B.: for pītha-, cf. Kātantra, Ākhyāta -Vr. 152 and Nārāyaṇa and Ujjvala, II. 7. [70] udapūrvah: for utpūrvah. [71] prothah asvaghosāntaram: for ... aśvaghonā°; B has aśvanāsā. [72] rodatīti: for rodi°. undrah: for udrah, as in B. [104] (januh) jarjārih: unintelligible, B has januh jananam instead. [114] prathih: for prahih, cf. 203. [123] isikā viruņīšalākā: for ... vīraņa°, cf. Ujjvala IV, 21, iṣīkā śaraśalākā vīraņakā ṣṭhikā cha. B has iseh kīkah as the Sū. and iṣīkā as the example. [124] tintidīkā tilavṛkṣaviśeṣaḥ: should be simply ... vṛkṣaviśeṣah, as in B, which reads tintīdīkādayascha, -kīka being considered the suffix. [137] naṭāditvādiḥ: for nadāditvādīḥ. [138] for phanasaḥ, B has the usual form panasaḥ. [139] valabhiḥ. naṭāditvādiḥ:

for valabhī, nadāditvādīh. B omits śali and vali from the Sūtra. [141] yathāsamkhyam is out of place. B has yathāvidhānam instead. [142] Sū. grnāmnyupadhāt kvih should be grnāmyupadhāt kih. B has gr nāmyupadhāchcha kih. Nāmin- is a technical term, svaro'varnavarjo nāmī, Kāt. Sandhi. 7. Similarly in Vr. nāmnyupadhāchcha dhātoh kvih should be nāmyupadhāchcha dhātoh kih, nāmni upadhā yasya should be nāmī etc. and gr nigaraņe should be gr nigarane. [146] B has another Sūtra, sringāra-bhringāra-kuñjarāh, after this. The explanation of these forms in the Vrtti without any remark seems to indicate that the Sūtra has been dropped here. Nvātvāgamo is unintelligible (corruption for māgamo?). [149] striyāmādā is Kāt., Chatustaya-Vr. 255, and there should be no query mark after it. [151] The Sūtra should be isyaśibhyām takah as in B. [161] avih and tarih: for avih and tarih, respectively, since the suffix is i. [164] B reads krgr and gives krvih, grvih as examples, which should be kīrvih and gīrvih respectively, according to Akhyātavrtti 418. Kurvih and girvih, found here, are also impossible. Pān. Un. has krvih $\langle \sqrt{kr} \text{ and } jirvih \langle \sqrt{jr}, \text{ but cf. Mugdhabodha 1132,}$ kṛgṛjāguḥ kiḥ (according to the reading of Durgādāsa; Rāmatarkavāgiśa has jṛśṛo.). [168] (aratniḥ) kaniṣṭhikāngulih should be vistrtakanisthikāngulir hastah as in B. [170] kanīchih kalāvišesah should be ... latāvišesah as in B. Nārāyaṇa, IV. 72, also has latā. [172] dușe kālite: for duseh kārite, Kāt. Ākhyāta 187. [174] rjīsam paśwachanam seems to be a mistake for...pistapachanam found in B and Amara. [182] hateh in Sū. : for hanteh, as in B and the Vr. [186] vahatram: for vahitram. [191] Probably before ... tīti kundah we have to supply

'kuna śabde' (found in B) kuna°. [193] śo nūkarane: for so tanūkaraņe. [199] sarīramadhmam: for °madhyam. [204] dhrñ in Sū. should be dri or dr as in B. Compare the Vrtti and the example. [206] rk in Sū. and Vr of this as well as the following two Sūtras is a mistake for vuk and rh in 209 for vub, found in B. Vu = aka, according to Kat. Krt. 484, which has been wrongly quoted in 208 as yurjhāmanākāntāh for yuvu°. [216] With this Sū. ends the fourth Pāda in B. [227] \/vāsi in the Sū. seems to be out of place, since vāsaracannot be regularly formed with the suffix -sara. B has neither the root nor the derivative. [230] da: for drat, and dakāro nadādyarthah: for takaro etc. [252] gr nigarane: for gr etc. [260] Here ends the fifth Pāda in B and along with it the whole work, the total number of Sūtras being 267. [292] sihma-: for simba-. [297] srnāteh in Sū. and Vr. and sr in Vr. appear to be mistakes for srnāteh and sr and therefore also sūrpah for śūrpah. [308] tavasa wargāditi utvam: for tavargasya satavargād (Kāt. Ākhyāta. 409) iti tatvam. [310] muhūrtam dinapanchadaśo'ntah: for ... dinapanchadaśāmśah. [316] athavā ... = athavā vikalpenantāś churādayah and there should be no query mark. [332] samūhamandalam : for samūhah mandalam. [339] dr: for dr. Read 'rdantasyer' 'nāminorvor' iti dīrghah for krdantasya "āraminorvi" iti dirghah, for Kāt. Akhyāta. 258 and 418 are being quoted here. [345] Correct kṛdantasyo ... etc. to 'ṛdantasyer' (Ākhyātā. 258) 'svarādāvivarņovarņāntasy' (Akhyāta. 178) etyādinā uv. [361] nayanti should be na yanti. 'Nasya tatpuruse lopyah' is a complete Sütra (Chatuṣṭaya. 280). Māmātyavivakṣāyām appears to be a corruption for sāmānyavivakṣāyām,

which should go with the next sentence, not the previous one. [388] asi in Sū.: for aśi. "Kaṣa saṁyoge" kṣaḥ: for "kaṣa saṁyoge" kakṣaḥ?

T. Chowdhury

VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE SEXCENTENARY ASSOCIATION

Commemoration Volume Section

Dharwar 12.6.1936

To
The Secretary
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
Sir,

I have great pleasure in inviting the cooperation and advice of your Institution in the publication of the Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume due to be published under the joint auspices of the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Celebrations Committee and the Karnatak Historical Research Society in December, 1936.

I have to request you to communicate this request to all members of your Society and we shall deem it a favour if members of your Institution can contribute on some aspect of Vijayanagara History to the Commemoration Volume.

I am herewith appending a note on the probable contents of the Commemoration Volume.

Thanking you in anticipation of an early reply.

I remain
Yours faithfully
(Sd.) D. P. KARMARKAR *Jt. Secretary*Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume

N. B.—The reply may please be sent to:—

The Secretary, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.

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- 54	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

No.	Name of member	Year of elec- tion	Address
I	2	3	4
	M		
55	Mackenzie, W	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
56	McPherson, Sir H., K.C. I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, s.w.i.
57	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Sa- mantri.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balsore.
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-	yan. Majumdar, Bimanbehari	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
60 61	Majumdar, Dr. R. C	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
62	Malaviya, Pandit Bala-	1924	Patna City.
63	govinda. Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-	1920	Advocate, High Court. Patna.
64	Mehta, N. C., I.C.s.	1927	Muzaffarnagar.
65	Miller, Sir F. Dawson,	1919	Temple, E. C., London.
66		1927	B. N. College, railia.
67		1933	Librarian, Benares Hin- du University.
68	M.A. Misra, Umesha, D.LITT.		Allahabad University
/-	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L.	1920	D I College, Monghyr
69 70	lar i ii Daal A	1929	

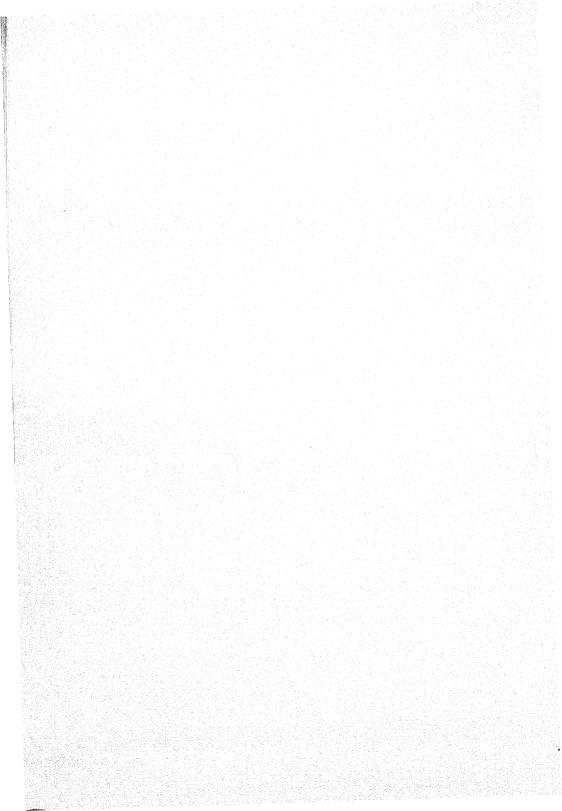
		Year		
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	N			
71	Nagar, Madan Mohan,	1933	Curator, Sarnath Museum, Benares.	
72	Nahar, Puranchand,	1917	1/8, Indian Street, Calcutta.	
73	Noor, Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khawaja Mu- hammad.	1915	Patna.	
	O			
	Nil.			
	P			
74	Pantulu Garu Sriniwas Rao M.A., L.T., M.R.RY.	1928	Principal Hindu College, Masulipatam.	
75	Perier, Most Rev. F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta	
76	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A.,	1928	Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.	
77	Prasad, Krishnadeva,	1929	Langertoli, Patna.	
78	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L	1926	Pleader, Chapra.	
79	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A.,	1928	Advocate, Patna.	
80	Prasad, Surya Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.	
	Q			
	Nil.			
	R			
81	Rajaguru, Hemraj Pandit.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.	

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82	Ramdas, G., B.A	1924	Sri Ramachandra Vilas,
83	Ranganathan, S. R	1927	Jeypur, Vizagapatam. Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
84	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Diwan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P. O., Orissa.
85	Richards, F. J.	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.
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87	Roy, Rai Bahadur s.c. M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
	S		
88 89	Sahay, S. N	1935 1926	Barrister-at-Law, Patna. 69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
90	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
91	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
92	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
93	Seppings, E. H. L	1916	Innes Road, P. O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
94	Sham Bahadur	1928	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
95	Sharma, Ram Bahadur,	1934	Advocate, Patna.
96	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A.	1932	D.A.V. College, Lahore.
97	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji,	1923	Patna College, Patna.
98	M.A., PH.D. Shastri, Dr. Harichand,	1918	Principal, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
99	D.LITT., I.E.S. Shastri I. D. Daurgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.

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100	Shaw, Parmanand	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.	
101	Singh, Jaikishore Nara- yan	1934	Pakri State, P. O. Baj- patti, Muzaffarpur.	
102	Singh, Lakhsminarayan.	1933	Advocate, High Court, Patna.	
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106	Singh, Raja Rajendra- lala, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.	
107	Singh R. B. Ramranavi- jaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.	
108	Singh, Sarangadhar	1925	Ditto	
109	Sinha, Mahendra- kishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.	
110	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A.,	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.	
III	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law	1915	Patna.	
II2	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.	
113	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.	
	T			
114	Tandan, R. R., M.A.	1934	Muzaffarpur.	
115	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K	1915	Bishop's House, Chow-	
116	Taraporewaala, Y. J	1930	ringhee, Calcutta. Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.	

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No.	Name of member	Year of elec- tion	Address	
I	2	3	4	
117	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, KT.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.	
118	Tirtha Swami, Veda- nanda	1933	P. O. Dhinga, Dist. Gujerat, Punjab.	
119	Tripathi, Devadatta	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patuli.	
120	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University.	
	U			
121	Urdhwaseshi, W. G.,	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C. I.	
122	Urqhart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT. 1934 Principal, Scottish churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches Calcutta.	
	V			
123	Varma, Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.	
124	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chan- dra.	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.	
125	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.	



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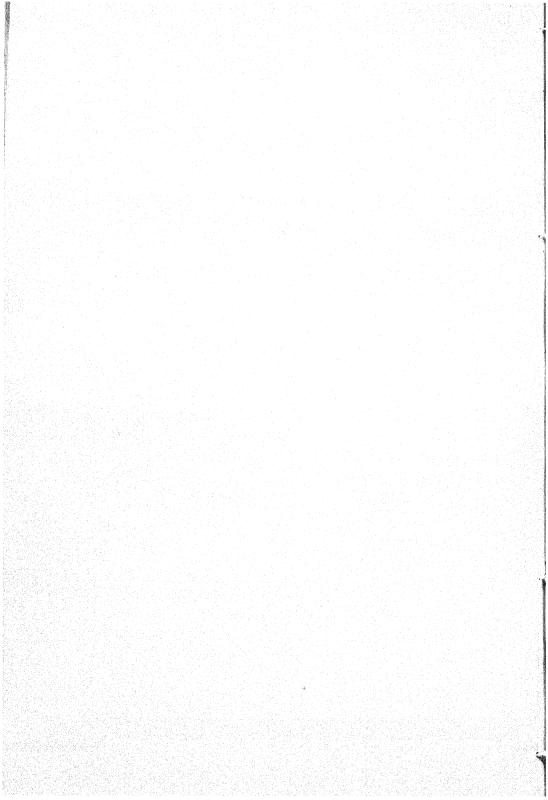
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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY September 1936

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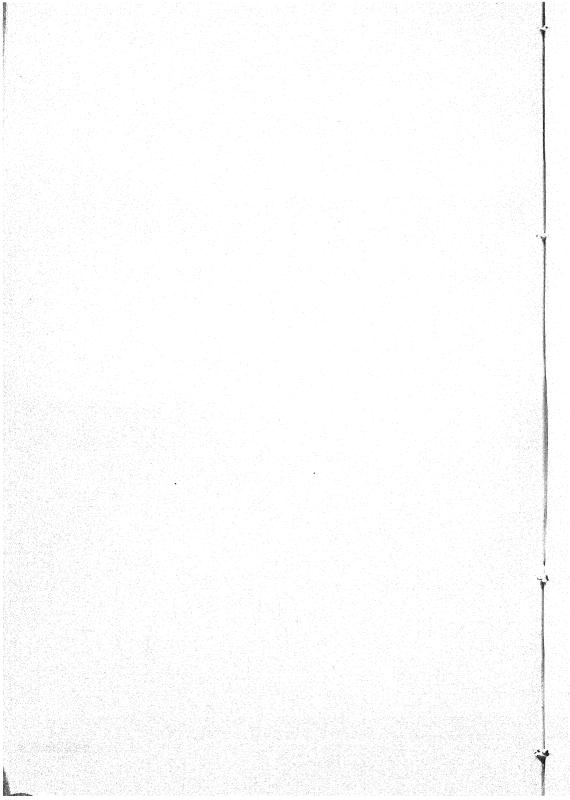
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CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL 600 B.C. TO 880 A.D.

By K. P. JAYASWAL



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 Dynastic Revolution on his death.

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vol. xxII]

1936

PART III

Leading Articles

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL

[600 B.C.—880 A.D.]

By K.P. JAYASWAL

A

LICHCHHAVIS AND THAKURIS 350 A.D. TO 880 A.D.

I.—THE DATE AND ERA OF AMSUVARMAN

In the Nepal chronology the date of A m s u v a rm a n is a pivot, like the date of Chandragupta Maurya, to move up and to move down for several centuries. Amsuvarman's date is therefore an important matter.

His date as 635-650 A.D. was postulated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji on the basis of the Harsha Era, that is, taking the dates in his inscriptions to

be in the Harsha Era; and his view was accepted by Dr. Fleet and has been followed subsequently by Indian writers. That view needs reconsideration.

On the date of this king we have the following materials. From Tibetan sources we know that the Tibetan emperor Strongstanton gestaned ampowhose rule is dated at 629 A. D.¹ (V. Smith, EH., 373, 376 n.), married Amśuvarman's daughter between 628 and 641.² From the account of Yuan Chwang, who began his travels in India in 629 and reached China in 645 (V. Smith, 373, 365), we gather that Amśuvarman, a reputed author, had passed away before the Chinese pilgrim left India, that he was 'a recent king', that is, he had died not long ago. His time is thus fixed as a little before 644 or 645, from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Now according to Nepal inscriptions, he was alive in certain years of an unnamed era, in years 34, 39, and 44 noted in the records of his reign (Dr. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction, pp. 178-180), and he

According to Chinese History he died in 650 A. D. (JRAS,

^{1880, 438),} and according to Tibetan, in 698 A.D.

² According to Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das in 641,

and according to Walder and Sarat Chandra Das in 641, and according to de Milloué, between 628 and 631 (V. Smith, p. 376 n.). The name of the Nepal king, the father of the Princess, is go-cha in Tibetan which has been translated as Prabhā-varman (JASB, LIX. 54), and Jyoti-varman (Sarat Ch. Das, JASB, L. 200). The reference does not necessarily prove that the marriage took place in the lifetime of Arisuvarman.

⁸ Beal and Watters, ii, 84, leave no room for doubt on the Chinese text. Bhagwanlal Indraji tried to doubt the translation (IA., XIII. 419), and Fleet totally ignored the evidence of Yuan Chwang. The opinion of the Sinologues is unanimous on the passage that Amsuvarman is recorded as a past king by Yuan Chwang (IA., 1894, 58).

must have died in or before the year 48 (Fleet, p. 180) in which year the record of his successor I is h n u-Gupta is dated and wherein Amśuvarman is mentioned as a past sovereign. In any case, A m s uvarman's rule, therefore, could not have lasted after the 48th year of this era; and as he died before 645 (Yuan Chwang) the era could not begin after (645-48) 597 A.D. There is, however, yet another reference to A m ś u v a r m a n in the Nepal inscriptions. It is an inscription of Sivadeva I, the Lichchhavi king, whose feudatory A m ś u v a r m a n had been and who mentions him in an inscription dated in the year 316 of an unnamed era (Fleet, 177-78). This era was taken by Fleet to be the Gupta Era, and it is not possible to take it otherwise owing to the known date of Amsuvarman from the external sources discussed above. This era beginning as it did 316 years before the time of Amsuvarman (c. 640) must begin in the first quarter of the 4th century and the only known era which falls to commence about that time is the Gupta Era beginning in 319-320 A.D. The inscription of Samudra Gupta proves the subordination of Nepal to him. There seems to be no room for any doubt that Nepal adopted the Imperial Gupta Era. In the year 316 (635 A.D., 3rd May) Amsuvarman according to the inscription is feudatory and adviser (though dominant adviser) of Sivadeva I. The form "Mahāsāmanta-Amsuvarmmanā vijnāpitena mayā" proves conclusively the subordinate position of Amśuvarman. In his own inscriptions up to the

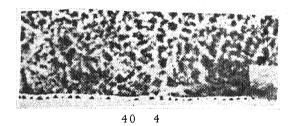
year 34, Amsuvarman calls himself Mahāsāmanta 'Hioh Feudatory'; and in the year 39 he drops that title and adopts 'Srī', 'His Majesty.' A m ś u v a r m a n to start as king would therefore be dated in or about 635 A. D. not much before and his reign [as king] will fall between 635 and 645 A. D. (Yuan Chwang)—a period roughly of 10 years at the highest. It follows, then. that his own inscription of the year 39 would be about 635 A. D., that the years 35 to 44 or 45 while A m ś u v a r m a n was alive would cover his whole reign of 10 years. His reign [as king] is thus to be dated between about 635 A.D. and 645 A.D. And the era of these lower figure years must begin in or before 600 A.D. and not after. It, therefore, cannot be the Harsha Era which began in 606-607 A. D.

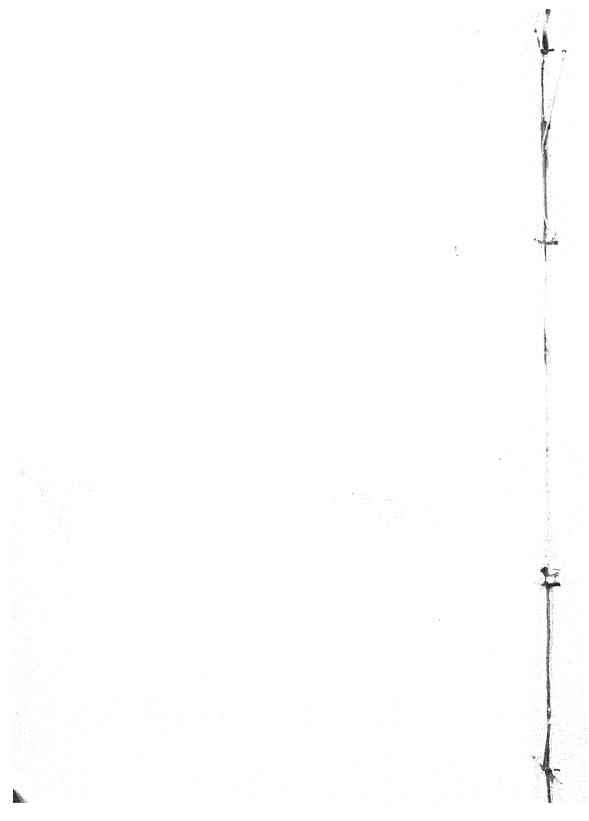
The Initial Year of the Era of Amsuvarman

There is a definite piece of information in Chinese History of the T'ang Dynasty (chapter 221)¹ giving details of Nepal History from contemporary writings which proves that A m s u v a r m a n was dead before the year 643 A.D. In the period 642-647 A.D. when the Imperial Envoy from China—Li Y-piao—was on his way to the court of Harshavardhana, he found on the throne of Nepal 'the king Narendradeva [Na-ling-ti-po].' The father of this king whose name we know from inscriptions to be Udayadeva, eldest son (Yuvarāja) of A m ś u v a r m a n,² had been deposed by N a r e n-

¹ Lévi, JA., 1894, 60, 67; JA., 1900, 304. ² IA., IX. 170, insc. of the year 39.

Beginning of line 30 of Thankot Inscription of Mānadeva and Jishnu Gupta.





dradeva's uncle, younger brother of his father. Narendradeva was restored to throne by the Tibetan king on the condition that the former became his vassal. Several times two Chinese envoys passed through Nepal between the period 642-647 and 657 A.D. while Narendradeva was ruling. It is an ascertained fact from Chinese history that from 643 A.D. to 657 A.D. Narendradeva found on the throne.2 Amśuvarman's death therefore is to be dated before 643 and after 635 A. D. when he was alive in the time of Sivadeva I. The period is further narrowed down by the discovery of a further inscription of Sivadeva I, dated 320 published by Professor Lévi in his vol. III on Nepal (p. 79)3. This is similar to his other charters mentioning the Mahāsāmanta A m ś u v a r m a n, who had conquered all the enemies. He was thus alive in (320 G. E.) 639 A. D., and his death must fall between 639 A.D. and 643 A.D.

Now can we get at the exact date between these two incontestible dates 639 and 643 A.D.? If my reading of the date as the year 44 in the Thānkot inscription of Jishņu Gupta (Lévi, iii, plate

¹ The passage has been several times translated by French Sinalogues commencing with St. Julien (*JA*, 1847).

² See Lévi, JA, 1894, 55; 1900, 297; Le Nepal, i. 155; ii. 164-165; cf. V. Smith, EH, 366, on dates of arrivals of the mission in India.

³ Discovered by Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jang at Khopasi (a village to the east of Bhatgaon). Plate XIII of Lévi has the date in perfect and clearest state of preservation, and reads 320, Chaitra krishna-pañchamyām. Unfortunately Prof. Lévi, under his curious idea of Nepal Eras and of Nepal history which minimised the importance of all Gupta connexions in Nepal, read the figure as 520.

XVII), be correct, we can definitely say that Jishnu Gupta and his puppets, Mānadeva and Dhruvadeva—uncle of Narendradeva and the Lichchhavi succeeding him—ruled for 4 years (yrs. 482 and 44 in Jishnu Gupta's inscriptions), and that the death of Amsuvarman is to be dated (643-4) c. 639.

Fortunately we have an astronomical datum in an inscription of Amsuvarman discovered and published by Dr. Bendall in his Journey into Nepal (IA. XV. 338). This is dated in the year 34, in the intercalary month of Pausha (prathama-Pausha śukla-dvitīyāyām). According to the present system no intercalation is reckoned in Pausha or Mārgaśīrsa, but that such intercalation was reckoned in the earlier period is confirmed by another inscription noted by Dr. Fleet (IA, XV. 338). Now following the system of the old Ārva Siddhānta³ the month of Pausha will intercalate in the period 600-700 A.D. in four years. namely in 629, 648, 667 and 686 A. D.4 As 648, 667 and 686 fall in the reigns of Narendradeva and later, we have to select only 629 A.D. as the date when the year 34 of Amsuvarman with prathama (1st) Pausha [about November, 23] fell. This will give the initial year of Amsuvarman's era to be 595 A. D.5

¹ See plate of the beginning of line 30 (enlarged) from Lévi, iii, 104, pl. XVII. Lévi suggested 500, of which there is no trace.

² IA., IX. 171.

³ See Sewell, Siddhantas and the Indian Calendar (p.x).

⁴ See Sewell's Tables.

⁵ Cf. JA, 1894, 62 (Lévi, On the Chronology of Nepal), where he has taken 594, which is an error. His other astronomical facts are also inaccurate. According to the Brahmasid-

His 44th year will thus be 639 A. D.¹ We have therefore to take his death year to be that if the Thankot inscription is dated in the year 44 and his last inscription to be dated in the year 44, not 45 [the reading was doubtful between 44 and 45, Bhagwanlal Indraji, IA, IX. 171 n. 27; Fleet, GI, I, 180, n. 5]. Otherwise it would fall (in any case) after Chaitra-kṛishṇa-pañchamī, March 639 A. D. and before 643 A. D.

The Chronology of the rule of Amswarman and Dynastic Revolution on his death

The chronology of the reigns of Amśuvarman and Jishņu Gupta would stand thus.

Amsuvarman

- 595 Beginning of Amsuvarman's Era.
- 625 Amsuvarman's Harigaon inscription (Lévi, iii, 85) of year 30, Jyaistha 6, fixing maintenance of his commander-in-chief, his coronation horse and elephants, and others.

dhānta (which, Lévi erroneously says, would give the same result) the intercalation of Pausha will take place in 602, 621 and 640 A. D. The Brahma-siddhānta could not have reached Nepal in 602 A. D. or 621 A. D., for it was published and came into use after 628 A. D. (Sewell, p. X). 660 A. D. = 34 of Amsuvarman will give us 606 A. D. as the initial year of the era, which we have seen to be impossible. 621 A. D. = 34 of Amsuvarman would make him dead in 635 (587 + 48th year when Jishnu Gupta was ruling), while he was alive up to 639, the 320 year record of Sivadeva.

The astronomical calculations given above have been verified by my friend Dr. Gorakh Prasad, the astronomer of the Allahabad University.

¹ Kirkpatrick's Vamsāvalī gives Amsuvarman a reign of 42 years.

- His second Harigaon insc., of year 32, Ashāḍha Ś. 13, (Lévi, iii. 93), fixing charitable allowances. His Sanga insc. of year 32, Bhādrāpada S. 1, giving a privilege to the village [describing Palace Kailāśakūta from which all his charters are issued, as a 'wonder-inspiring' building] Lévi, iii. 99.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (Jyaishtha S.10), IA, IX. 169, on preservation of cocks, pigs, and fishes, etc.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (prathama-Pausha S.2), Bendall, p. 74. Grant of fields for repairs of a building.
- 634 His insc. of year 39, Vaiśākha Ś.10, order issued as king (śrī), for administration in respect of religious (Śaiva) endowments by his sister and her children [IA., IX. 170.]; U d a y a d e v a as ywarāja.

Amsuvarman and Sivadeva I.

- 635 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 316 Jyaistha S.10 (Bendall, *Journey*, p. 72, IA, XIV. 97) granting privilege to a village on the advice of the *Mahāsāmanta* A m ś u v a r m a n.
- 639 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 320, Chaitra, Kṛishṇa 5, at Khopasi; privilege to the village on the advice of Ms. Amśuvarman (Lévi, iii. 79).¹
- 639 Vibhuvarman's insc. in the year 44 (or,

¹ There are two more inscriptions of Sivadeva I where MS. Amsuvarman's advice is cited in the charters, but the dates are gone—IA, IX. 168; Lévi, iii, 62 [Tulachchhitol-Bhatgaon].

45), Jyeshtha S., when he built a conduit by favour of His Majesty (śrī) Amśuvarman.

Jishnu Gupta and Mānadeva

639 (?) Thankot inscription of *Srī* Jishņu Guptadeva, under Baṭṭāraka ['Master'] Srī Mānadeva, 'banner of the family occupying the Lion-Throne,' of year 44 [?], confirming the grant for a tank made by his own great-grandfather Mānadevagomin. Jishņu Gupta had his own *Yuvarāja* Vishņu Gupta, and his dynasty *Soma* [Lévi, iii. 104]

Jishnu Gupta and Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi.

Jishņu Gupta (His Majesty, Srī), at Mîna-Nārāyaņ, in year 48, Kārttika S.2, makes over to a feudatory a water-course which had been dug out by the "Mahārājadhirāja Amswarma-pāda." The order is passed under the over-lord Dhruvadeva. Jishņu Gupta claims his sovereignty by hereditary right and popular approval [IA., IX. 171].

There is another inscription like the above where the date is mutilated. That also is under Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty [IA., IX. 173]. The last known inscription [IA, IX. 174] under the prosperous and victorious reign of Srī-Jishņu-Gupta (Srī-Jishņu-

Guptasya pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye) has also lost its date.

Narendradeva

Narendradeva [grandson of Amsuvarman, son of Udayadeva] found by the Chinese already restored on the Nepal throne.

It seems that 643 A.D. was the first year of the restoration of Narendradeva, when Jishņu-Gupta had been ruling along with Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi whose name we do not find in the Vamiśāvali [unless it is to be taken as identical with the Rudradeva]. The uncle of Narendradeva, therefore must have been Mānadeva who ruled with Jishņu Gupta before Dhruvadeva who is placed in the Vamiśāvalis after Udayadeva and is not called Lichchhavi-kula-ketu like Dhruvadeva but simhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu in the inscription. It appears that Jishņu Gupta wanted to legalise his position by setting up a Lichchhavi at Mānagriha in the place of Mānadeva and sought the popular approval as against the claim of Narendradeva.

The Author of the Era 595 A.D.

What does this era which started in 595 A.D. signify?

The Guptas were expelled by Sivadeva I about this time¹. But then Sivadeva I himself uses the Imperial Gupta era and not a new era. It seems that Amśuvarman counted the era from his own coronation as Mahāsāmanta,

¹ See separate section on the Guptas of Nepal below.

and it is Amsuvarman's own era. He was the founder of a new (the Thākurī) dynasty—an event sufficiently important, especially as it meant the virtual supersession of the ancient and long dynasty of the great Lich chhavis. He counted his original coronation as the reckoning of his new dynasty. That he did not take a formal second a b h i s he k a, at least up to his 34th year, is evident from his inscription where throughout he is styled by the old title Mahāsāmanta, although all the paraphernalia and functions mentioned in the inscriptions are fully royal. Probably he was re-anointed in the very last year of his reign as the full title of sovereignty-Mahārājādhiraja—does appear on one series of his coins.1 This was not a posthumous title given by Jishnu Gupta as supposed by Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Lévi.

A telling argument against the theory of the introduction of the Harsha Era into Nepal is that had it been politically introduced we would have found it also in the inscriptions of SivadevaI, contemporary of Amsuvarman. On the other hand, SivadevaI and his successors never adopted the era which Amsuvarman and his successors used, that is, the era of lower figures—years 30 to 153. It was thus evidently the Thākurī Era, the era of Amsuvarman, counted from his coronation as Mahāsāmanta.

¹ Cunningham, C. A. I. 117. Lévi, Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet have missed this piece of evidence.

A Tibetan Era in Nepal?

Prof. Lévi expounded a theory that A mi suvarman's years were in a Tibetan Era (Le Nepal, ii, 153-54) which, according to the dates 1203 and 1206 in Dalai Lama's letters of 1789 and 1792 A.D., should have begun in 586 A.D. The Chinese register the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period which falls between 581 and 601 A.D. Professor Lévi therefore suggests that there was a Tibetan Era which was also the origin of the Bengali Era called "San." Both these theories are untenable.

The Bengal Era though apparently counted from 593 A.D. as its initial year, has really nothing to do with any era starting in 593 A.D. It was invented in the reign of Akbar by taking the years of Hindu eras [Samvat and others] for the year of Akbar's accession and deducting therefrom his accession year in Hijra. His accession occurred in the Hijra year 963; in other systems it corresponded to 1556 A.D. $(1556-963 = 593 \text{ A.D.})^1$. The origin of the Bengal San is thus a new calculation invented in Akbar's reign, and not a Tibetan era. The speculation of Prof. Lévi connecting it with a Tibetan era and assuming a supposed Tibetan conquest of Bengal is a product of unhistorical imagination and complete ignorance of the history of the foundation of the San-i-Bangálá, the Fasli year of Bihar and the Vilāyatî year of the Deccan, which all have a common origin, as

¹ See Prinsep's Essays, ii. 168; Fleet's Hindu Chronology in Ency. Brit., xiii.

fully recorded by Muhammadan historians1. Prof. Lévi's method illustrates how a pure philologist makes a poor historian. Prof. Lévi, although he does not say so in clear terms, was swayed [ii. 154] by the nameending of Tibetan kings tsan in attributing a Tibetan origin to the San of Bengal, which is not a Tibetan but a Persian word. Tibetans never had any era. that is, a continuous reckoning in their own country. They counted time in cycles and by periods (Prinsep, Essays, ii. 160 'Tibetan Kalendar'; ii. 289, 'Buddhist Chronology of Tibet'; Waddel, Lhasa (1909), 449, Tibetan Year-Cycles). They have a fixed epoch falling in 1025 A.D. which is the year of the introduction into Tibet of the Hindu chronological system called Kālachakra. Csoma translated the Tibetan chronology composed in A.D. 1686 (Prinsep, ii. 289) which clearly admits that there was no Tibetan era up to 1686 A.D., that the whole idea of an era was absent in the Tibetan system. For the period before 1025 A.D. Tibet has a fixed epoch of 403 years (Prinsep, ii. 162). Prof. Lévi not finding a possible date in 586 A.D. for Amsuvarman's era, proposed that this 403 figure must be a mistake for 430 and deducting from 1025 A.D. reached 595 A.D. and said that that must be the beginning of a Tibetan era which was introduced in Nepal. Now apart from the fact that the whole of the Tibetan chronology negatives the idea of there having been an era in Tibet, Prof. Lévi's proposal to change 403 into 430 is based on no ground. The "epoch of 403 years" is not

¹ Prinsep, ii. 169.

rendered in Tibetan in figures but by a chronogram mekha-gya-tso which does not admit of a possible transposition in the process of copying. Further the period "403 years" is too solidly fixed and too well-attested for the interval by noted events to premise a correction (Prinsep, ii. 289).

Now "403 years" before their epoch of 1025 A.D. takes us to 622 A.D. which is really an era, the Hijra era, which Tibet came to know of very early, having come in conflict with the Arabs within the first century of the Hijra—a conflict which continued and lasted for a long time. There is not the least trace in Tibetan books of the establishment of a Tibetan era in 586 A.D., 593 A.D. or 595 A.D.—the dates proposed by Lévi.

It is not possible to hold that the years of Amsuvarman are dated in a Tibetan Era. Prof. Lévi says that the adoption of 'the Tibetan Era' signifies the subjugation of Nepal by Tibet. If so, there is no explanation as to why the real king of Nepal, the Lichchhavi Sivadeva (I), contemporary of Amsuvarman signing his writ in 316 (G. E.) = 635 A. D. does not adopt the socalled Tibetan Era. He and his successors continue to use another and an older era of three figures (the Gupta Era). If a Tibetan Era was politically introduced in Nepal, it would be expected that the Lichchhavi king in 635 A. D. should have used it as Amśuvarman is supposed to have used it. Tibetan influence is assumed on the ground of marriage of the daughter of Amśuvarman with the first Tibetan emperor, Srong-tsan-Gampo,

whose accession date is definitely 629 A. D. But we find A m ś u v a r m a n dating his Harigaon inscription in the year 30 (625 A. D.). If it is in a Tibetan Era the introduction of the Era would be even before the accession of Srong-tsan-Gampo! And if we take 'the Tibetan Era' to commence in 586. A.D. the date of Amsuvarman's year 30 would be 616, i.e., 13 years before the accession Srong-tsan-Gampo! The whole volume of evidence contradicts the possibility.2 There is no room for the assumption of the introduction of a Tibetan era before 629 A.D.. Yuan Chwang who passed through the Muzafferpur district in 637 A.D. and took down notes about Nepal in that year knows nothing about any Tibetan suzerainty over Nepal and treats that kingdom as an independent one. In 650 A.D. when Taosuen compiled his Che-kia-fan-chi3 after quoting the description by Yuan Chwang textually he adds "actually the kingdom is under the domination of the Tibetans." The era of Amsuvarman's inscriptions which go back to 625 A.D., i.e., some years even before Yuan Chwang's account, could not therefore be dated in a Tibetan Era. Then, if in the year 30 of A m s u v a r m a n when he described himself as Mahāsāmanta, Nepal had been already conquered by Tibet, how could Amsuvarman strike his coins later

¹ Lévi, Le Nepal, iii, 85. This inscription was unknown to Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet.

² See below on the data of the Mañjuśri History and the Chinese History which definitely date the Tibetan suzerainty after Jishnu Gupta (successor of Amśuvarman) and between 643 A. D. and 647 A. D.

⁸ Nanjio, Catalogue, (No. 1470; JA., 1894, 60.)

with the full imperial title, that is, the title of an independent sovereign—'Mahārājādhirāja'?¹ Prof. Lévi did not take account of this numismatic evidence at all, otherwise probably he would not have put forward his theory of a Tibetan conquest or suzerainty over Nepal and of introduction of a non-existent Tibetan Era into Nepal.

II.—Constitutional Position of Amsuvarman

The constitutional position of Amsuvarman can be gathered from certain Nepal inscriptions and his coins; and that position when ascertained throws some light also on the question of the Era used by him and his successors.

There are nine dated inscriptions on him, giving his titles, which may be compared with the titles on his coins.

¹ Cunningham, CAI, XIII, 5.

Years and Eras	Record of	Titles of Amsu- varman	Corresponding titles on coins of Amsuvarman
¹ 316 (635 A.D.)	King Śivadeva (Bhaṭṭā-raka mahā-rāja Śrī Śiva deva)	"Mahāsām a n t a (High Feuda- tory) Amsu- varman	Nil.
² 320 (639 A.D.)	2)	?	39
³ 30 New Era	Amśuvarman	"Śrī mahāsā- manta Amśu- varman"	22
4 32 5 34 6 34 7 39))))))	"Srī-Amsuvar- man"	", 'Srī-Aṁsuvar- ma' (CAI, Pl. XIII. 4,6)
⁸ 45 or 44 New Era	private indivi- dual	"Śrī-Aṁśuvar- man"	93
⁹ 48 ,, ,,	King Jishnu- gupta ("Śrī- Jishnugupta")	Bhaṭṭāraka-mahā- rājādhirāja Śrī Amśuvarman	"Mahārājā- dhirājasya Sryamsoh (Śrī- Amśu's)

¹ Golmādhitol, Bhatgaon insc. Fleet, GI, Intro. 177-8; I. A.; XIV. 97; Dr. Bendall was the first to suggest the obvious conclusion from the known date of Amsuvarman that the Eramust be the Gupta Era.

The inscription is by King Śivadeva I where Amśuvarman is adviser and his sister's son Bhogavarman is the Dūtaka.

² Khopasi, outside the valley, E of Bhatgaon, Lévi, Le Nepal, iii. 79 (date misread as "520" for "320").

⁸ Lévi, Le Nepal, iii, 95, Pl. XIII; Harigaon insc. I.

4 Ibid, p. 93, Ĥarigaon.

⁵ IA, IX. 169; GI, Intro. 178; Bungmati insc.

⁶ GI, Intro. 179.

7 IA, IX. 170; GI. I 179; Devapāṭan insc.

8 IA, IX 171; G I, I. 180; Kathmandu conduit insc.

The above analysis would show

- that the title *Mahāsāmanta* is given up after the 34th year by Amśuvarman, [though the Lichchhavi king still applies it to him up to 639 A.D.];
- 2. that $Sr\bar{i}$ is used as title of full sovereignty, which according to books on constitutional forms and precedents may alone denote 'His Majesty.' The same $Sr\bar{i}$ alone we find on the coins of Māna and Guṇa (CAI, XIII, I, 2);
- 3. that the higher—the imperial—title of mahārājādhirāja must have been assumed by A m ś u v a r m a n after or in the year 44/45 and before the year 48, and that he had died before the inscription of J i s h n u G u p t a of the year 48;
- 4. that A m ś u v a r m a n was never a subordinate of the Tibetan king even up to his death (between years 44 and 48). If A m ś u v a r m a n had given his daughter to the Tibetan king, so had done the Emperor of China. The alliances prove the importance of Tibet but not suzerainty in either case;
- 5. that A m s u v a r m a n adopted full kingship between the years 34 and 39, and the imperial title after 320 GI [= 639 A. D.]

श्यंशुवंम्मंत्रसादेन कारिता सत्त्रणाली विभुवम्मंणा. There is a doubt as to whether the figure after 40 was 4 or 5. [Nepal Government has extended the parade grounds over this water work; the insc. is lost probably buried under ground.]

9 IA, XIV. 171; G I, I. 180; Lalitapattana (Chhinnamastikā

Temple).

Chaitrakrishna 5¹ in or after and the 44th year; 6. that the era of the 44th year would therefore (639-44) begin in 595A. D., not later.

If we take into account that he must have been alive in the year of the marriage of his daughter with the Tibetan king (641) and must have died before the year 48—and at least a year before 644 (not later, when Yuan Chwang left the plains of Mid-India), we get the same result, namely, that he died between 639 and 643, and his era was counted from 595 A.D. which he ushered in or about 625 A.D. his 30th year (30th year of his birth or his rule as *Mahāsāmanta*).

If the real position of Amśuvarmanis realized, it becomes clear that Amsuvarman is registering his own regnal years as a subordinate ruler in his inscriptions. The Harigaon record of the year 30, which is the earliest known record of this ruler, shows his exact status. It announces maintenance grants to a number of his officers, his (old?) animals and some idols, after the fashion of 'old kings' पूर्वराजानुब्त्या यथोचितप्रदानानि. The record is in form a royal writ (the donor samājñāpayati, 'commands'). The grants are in favour of, amongst others, 'the Commander-in-Chief' (Mahābalādhyaksha), 'the coronation elephants,' 'the coronation horse' (abhishekahastinah; abhishekāśvasya), 'the standard-bearer,' 'the confidential leaders at the time of undertaking an invasion (or, procession? Yātrā). The writ is made known to

¹ Khopasi insc.

the 'Royal Palaces' (rāja-prasādeshu), and it is laid down in the end that "future kings" were not to neglect this favour of their ancestor (न कैश्चिदयम प्रसादोन्यथा करणीयो भविष्यद्भिरिप भूपतिभिर्ग्रुकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भाव्यमिति। to emphasize which the Donor says that this he personally commands 'iti svayamājñā' (as opposed to, through the medium of a dūtaka, agent). This of course, amounts to the Donor's own signature. The date he himself puts down along with the subscript svayam ājñā, 'samvat 30 Jyaishtha śukla shashthāyām.' He is thus talking in terms of a full sovereign, and is directing 'kings' who are to come after him. His title mahāsāmanta had ceased to bear its ordinary meaning and had acquired the elevated position of a royal epithet though denoting the origin, like the Senāpati with the name of Pushyamitra, 'the sacrificer of two asvamedhas' (i.e. an emperor: Ayodhyā inscription) where Pushyamitra though already an emperor is still styled as Senāpati by his old title. After the style of a full sovereign A m ś u v a rm a n claims the title of his throne from his respected father (बप्पपादपरिगृहीतः), not from a liege-lord. In other words, any idea of being a feudatory is excluded. And it was to punctuate this that he dates the order in a New Era.

Naturally the old dynasty of the Lichchhavis does not recognise this era of their rival and ex-feudatory and they date as usual in the old Gupta Era. He counts this New or Thākurī Era from his birth or accession as Mahāsāmanta.¹

¹ He is given a reign of 42 years by Kirkpatrick's authority.

The inscription of the year 30 is evidently the first donation on assuming sovereignty. Two years later in another writ of gifts—which is a long list of pious donations (Harigaon Insc. of the year 32: Lévi. iii-92) he says that he was anxious about the happiness of his subjects: कथं प्रजा मे स्खिता भवेद...In the Bungmatī inscription of again two years later (year 34), he issues a charter to a village community through a dūtaka and refers to himself, addressing his successors, as 'a former king', पूर्वराज-कृतप्रसाद, (IA, IX. 169). He meditated at the feet of his father, that is, as formerly, there is no mention of an overlord. In the Devapātan inscription (IA, IX. 170) of the year 39, he is a powerful king, a reformer and has his own ywarāja ['crown prince'—Udayadeva] as dūtaka, giving a pious privilege to a foundation of his sister; but he has no title except Srz, just as on several issues of his coins.1 Similarly in the inscription of the year 4[4] which is a private record he is referred to only as 'Srī-Amsuvarman.' These two records mean that Srī here stands, as observed above, for 'king' ('His Majesty') and was considered quite sufficient to denote his full sovereignty.

Now let us take the inscription of Sivadeva I, the king who refers to Amsuvarman. In the Bhatgaon writ of the year 3162 (Gupta Era) Sivadeva, Amsuvarman is highly praised and described as a great conqueror (प्रस्याता-मलविपुलपराक्रमप्रशमितामितविपक्ष-प्रभावेन), and "to honour

¹ See CAI, XIII; Walsh, JRAS., 1908, p. 669. ² See Fleet, GI, p. 178 (*Intro.*) on the date; IA, XIV. 97; Bandall (Journey.)

his request" (एतद्गौरवात्) the privilege was granted to the village. Evidently here Amsuvarman is not treated in reality as a subordinate but as an equal sovereign whose request was to be respected and a privilege granted to a village in Sivadeva's part of Nepal on the recommendation of Amsuvarman. Sivadeva's inscription at Buddha Nīlkantha¹, wherein the date is now missing, shows still more pointedly that more honour and fuller royal honour is accorded to Amsuvarman than to Sivadeva himself. A m ś u v a r m a n 's great and complete successes in war (यथानेक-पृथुसमरसम्पात-विजयाधिगत-शौर्य्यप्रतापाहत-सकल शत्रपक्ष-प्रभावेन,) and his success in kingship (सम्यक प्रजा-पालन-परिश्रमोपार्जित-शुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन) prominently described that it seems certain that Amśuvarman was treated as king in these inscriptions of Sivadeva. Although Améuvarman was ruling over the 'West', as guessed by Fleet and now confirmed by the Mañjuśrī Imperial History (p. 20), he was practically the real sovereign of Nepal and the position of Sivadeva had been reduced to that of a nominal, courtesy king of the 'East.'2 Thus in the Gupta year 316=635 A. D.

¹ IA, IX. 168.

² He acts as Dictator in the Eastern part of the kingdom, and as sovereign in the Western part. The grant of privilege to the village of Kurppāsī which is to the E. of Bhatgaon is made 'with the king's approval' by Amśuvarman himself, who had dispelled ignorance by the rays of his own virtues, had established welfare by his devotion to Lord Bhava (Śiva), and had uprooted the whole lot of enemies by the strength of his own arms [विदित्तमस्तु वो यथानेन स्वगुणमणिमयूबालोक-ध्वस्ताज्ञान-

A m ś u v a r m a n was a full sovereign, and that he had been so for some time. This position he had assumed with his inscription and grants of the year 30, whereby he fixes salaries and allowances for his royal officers. His reference to his coronation horse and his coronation elephants evidently means the animals of the time of his coronation as mahā-sāmanta, as there is no indication in the proclamation of any subsequent or recent coronation. His year 30 must be counted from his coronation as mahā-sāmanta. This year 30 being the year of assumption of his ruling powers, must, precede 635 A.D. the date in Sivade va I's panegyric of A m ś u v a r m a n.

III.—Confusion In the Chronological Order of Vamsavali Explained.

The Vamsavalis note in the first place the Mānadeva whom we know to have flourished after Amśuvarman, and whose date is known from the inscriptions (GI, 189, I.)1; but the Vamsavalis by a confusion register two Mānadevas before

तिमिरेण भगवद्भवपाद-पङ्कजप्रणामानुष्ठानतात्पर्य्योपात्तायतिहितश्रेयसा स्वभुजयुगबलोत्खाताखिलवैरिवर्ग्गण श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्गणा]

¹ About one Mānadeva who flourished in the Lichchhavi dynasty we have it on the basis of inscriptions that he was the son of Dharmadeva, grandson of Śankaradeva, and great-grandson of Vṛishadeva, and that he lived c. 705-733 A.D. (IA, IX. 163; GI. I, 182; the Changu Narayan Pillar inscription which Mānadeva himself dated 386 = 705 A.D; IA, IX. 166; the Pasupatinath Temple inscription of the reign of Mānadeva, dated 413 = 732-33 A.D.; IA, IX. 178: insc. of Jayadeva II of the year 153 at Pasupati Temple mentioning Mānadeva in the genealogy giving his descendants Mahīdeva and Vasantadeva, son and grandson).

Amsuvarman. If we look into the list [in IA, XIII 412] we find that Mānadeva is first placed after Dharmadeva, two steps above Vasantadeva, which is his correct position in the inscriptions. Then the name is reported (as No. 25) once more after Vasantadeva (no. 23) and Udavadevavarman (no. 24) and one step above Sivadeva (no. 27), predecessor of Amśuvarman. We have evidence for the existence of this second Manadeva. According to the inscription of Jishnu Gupta at Thankot¹ a Mānadeva who was not a Lichchhavi, ruled as the sovereign (Bhattāraka) of Jishnu Gupta. According to the Mañjuśri History, Udavadeva succeeded Amsuvarma and was succeeded by Jishnu Gupta. This is correct, as Udayadeva is Yuvarāja of Amsuvarman in his inscription. Udayadeva came after Amśuvarman, and not before him. After the list-Vrishadeva to Vasantadeva-which agrees literally with that in the Vamsavalis, the inscription of Jayadeva II gives, as unconnected with the above in the direct line, (1) Udayadeva, (2) Narendradeva, Narendradeva's son (3) Sivadeva II and the latter's son (4) Jayadeva II (inscription dated 153 = 748 A. D.) Against this the Vamsavalis have two different data:

¹ Lévi, Le Nepal, iii. 104.

(1) IA, xiii. 413; Lévi, ii. 92, 112

- 24. Udayadeva, son of 23.
- 25. Mānadeva varman son of 24
- 26. Guṇakāmadeva varman, son of 25
- Sivadeva varman, son of 26, made Devapāţana his capital
- 28. Narendradeva varman son of 27
- 29. Bhīmadevavarman, son of
- 30. Vishnudeva varman, son of 29
- 31. Viśvadevavarman, son of

[Viśva Gupta— Lévis' V.] father-in-law of Amsuvarman. (2) Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī

- 28. Bhīmadevavarman—In his reign the Ahīr D y n a sty of the Guptas restored, who were
- 29. Vishņu Gupta
- 30. Krishna Gupta
- 31. Bhūmi Gupta

New Dynasty
32. Sivadeva varman
expelled the Guptas
and restored the Sūrya-

New Dynasty: Thākurīs 32. Amśuvarman

33. Amśuvarman

It is evident that Kirkapatrick's Vamśāvalī here accords with the facts known from inscriptions that S i v a d e v a [I] who is said to have restored the Sūryavamśīs (i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty, supposed to be a branch of the Ikshvākus—Sūryavamśa¹) was followed by A m ś u v a r m a n. It inserts V i s h n u G u p t a (varmā of other Vamśāvalīs), K r i s h n a G u p t a, etc. before Sivadeva I, as interlopers. They, as a dynasty, are called "the G u p t a s," and Ahîrs by

¹ See IA, IX. 178, inscr. of J a y a d e v a II, where descent is traced from Sūrya.

caste. They were the Later Guptas of Nepal1 and evidently they claimed suzerainty. They are not in the line of the Lichchhavis. 'Bhīmavarma' is also described as 'Bhīma Gupta' in an earlier list of "the Guptas" wherein Harsha Gupta, Vishnu Gupta and Jaya Gupta (as the last) also figure (Lévi, ii 73)2. These are all Later Guptas. Jaya Gupta is known from his coins of c. 600 A. D.3 Excluding this list of the Gupta interlopers—Bhima (28 or 29), Vishņu (30 or 29), Krishna and Viśva or Bhūmī (31 or 30)—we get the Vamśāvalî list as

- 1. Udayadeva
- 2. Mānadeva
- 3. Gunakama deva
- 4. Sivadeva
- 5. Narendradeva
- 6. Sivadeva
- 7. Amsuvarman

In the light of the inscriptions, the succession is Udayadeva

Narendradeva

Sivadeva (II)

We know the time of Sivadeva II, as he was the father of Jayadeva II who dates his inscription in 153 (748 A.D.). This Sivadeva thus

¹ See below.

² The List of the Guptas is given in two places, once in the beginning where Nepal history begins and then under the Lichchhavis, in its proper setting. See below. ⁸ CMI, II, 3; CIM, p. 121. See below.

will not be the Sivadeva contemporary of Amśuvarman, and has been rightly designated by Fleet as Sivadeva II. The Vamśāvalīs hence have fallen into a confusion in putting Amśuvarman below Sivadeva II owing to the identity of the names of the earlier Sivadeva [II] and the later Sivadeva [II]. The Vamśāvalīs have copied two independent lists:

T

II

Udayadeva Narendradeva Sivadeva II

Sivadeva I Amsuvarman

In the second list which is certainly of earlier kings they had two more names above Sivadeva I—namely Mānadeva I and Guṇakāmadeva. That list of earlier kings will thus be:

Mānadeva Guṇakāmadeva Sivadeva I Aṃśuvarman¹

Was there, then, an earlier Mānadeva, a Mānadeva I, who flourished before Sivadeva I and Amsuvarman, and was he succeeded by a Guṇakāmadeva?

According to the inscriptions there is no room for Gunakāmadeva either in the succession later than Sivadeva I, as Mānadeva of Jayadeva's inscription was succeeded by Mahīdeva, his son, who was succeeded by his son Vasanta-

¹ See further discussion below.

deva (also called Vasantasena). There is also no room for a Guṇakāmadeva in the other list biginning with Udayadeva in the other list biginning with Udayadeva which the inscriptions of Jayadeva II and Jishṇu Gupta fix as Udayadeva—[Mānadeva]—Narendradeva—Sivadeva II—Jayadeva deva II. As we shall see below there is no room for a Guṇakāmadeva to come in between Udayadeva and his son Narendradeva. Here coins help us. The Mānānka and Guṇākna coins are twins, one follows the other. We have thus the most positive evidence for the existence of Guṇa (kāma) deva¹. Mānadeva, predecessor of Guṇakāmadeva has to come earlier than Amśuwarman and Sivadeva I.

Let us see if we have any other proof for the existence of a Mānadeva I, that is, a Mānadeva I eva before Sivadeva I.

IV.—MANADEVA I.

There is good evidence for the existence of an earlier Mānadeva, earlier than Amśuvarman, who should be called Mānadeva I. Amśuvarman man himself mentions a 'Mānagriha gate' to his palace, a god Māneśvara, a vihāra Māna-vihāra. Sivadeva I issues his charter from Mānagriha. This would show that there was a Mānadeva before Amśuvarman and Sivadeva I.

This is again confirmed by the Mañjuśrī Imperial History (p. 20)². It introduces the Lichchhavi line

¹ The style Mānānka and Gunānka has been imitated from the Guptacoin legend Vikramānka of Chandra Gupta II and other Guptas (Cf. Garudamadanka and Parākrāmānka of Samudra Gupta. Lévi, ii 108.)

² See extract below, § VI.

with Mānavadeva which has been rightly taken by Lévi to be a mistake for Mānadeva. He is placed there definitely before V rishadeva. He is placed there definitely before V rishadeva and as his predecessor. In the Vamśāvalī there is no Mānavadeva above V rishadeva. Vrishadeva's time is about 650 A.D. (G. I., p. 189, Intro.). The whole succession of 6 generations, from V rishadeva to V asantadeva all, is one from father to son. V asantadeva dates his charter in 415^1 (G. E. = 734 A.D.). The inscriptions of Vrishadeva's great grandson V rishadeva are dated 705-732 A.D. V rishadeva In the genealogy of the Vamśāvalīs we have this order:

- 16 Sivadeva varman (Lévi's V, ii. 92).
- 17 Rudradeva varman
- 18 Vrishadeva varman (I. A., XIII. 412).

Here it is evident that the Sivadeva I of the inscriptions is the Siva (deva) varman of the Vamśāvalīs. Rudravarman is omitted in some Vamśāvalīs (Lévi, ii. 92), probably he is the same as Dhruvadeva of the inscription of Jishņu Gupta under whom Jishņu-Gupta grants privileges (I. A., IX. 171).

Exact Date of Manadeva I

We have now, thanks to the researches of my revered and learned friend the Rājaguru Srī 6 Pandit Hemarāja Sarmā, C.I.E., a material on the exact date of this Mānadeva, i.e., Mānadeva I has come to light. It is contained in a

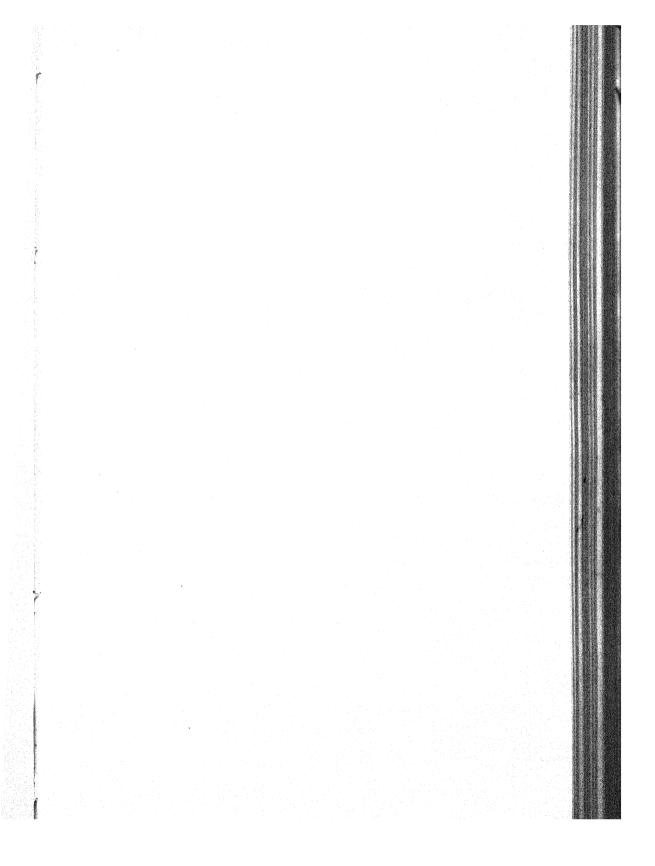
² I.A., IX. 163, 166; Fleet, G.I., I., 182.

¹ See below, the date is 415, not 435 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 167).

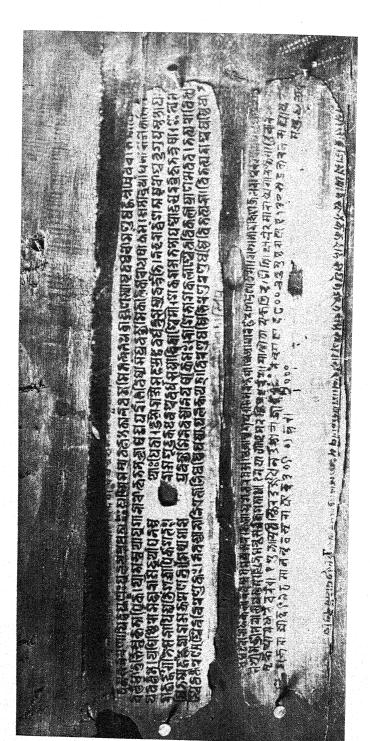
palm-leaf manuscript which gives his date as equivalent of 576 A.D. The Rājaguru, when he gave me his datum, was of opinion that this Mānadeva for whom he supplied the date from the manuscript was the Mānadeva of the inscription of Changu Nārāyan and that it proved a Mānadeva Era which was the era used by Amśuvarman. While I do not accept those views on account of Mānadeva eva's (III's)¹ dated inscriptions at Changu Nārāyan and Paśupatināth and the other dated inscriptions discussed above and the cross-checks for Amśuvarman's years, I gratefully utilize the datum in establishing the time of an earlier Mānadeva, Mānadeva I.

There is a manuscript of a book on Hindu Astronomy called Sumati-tantra, which belongs to the State Library of Nepal. The manuscript is in characters what are locally known as the Gomo lipi. From its script the date of the palm-leaf manuscript would be the 12th century. I reproduce the pages from a photograph very kindly given to me for that purpose by the learned Rājaguruji. I am told by that scholar that, in the body of the work, in giving examples of calculations the author uses as a pivot the equivalent of the Christian year 576. This would indicate that the author lived very near that date. The author by a chronogram which is contained in the first folio photographed gives the following chronology in verses in Sanskrit of the type of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and other Buddhist works. These verses I

¹ Mānadeva II is the Mānadeva of Jishņu Gupta's insc.



Leaves of the Sumati-tantra



reproduce below from the photograph. Beginning with the Kali Era, i.e. 3102 B. C., 'the reign of Yudhishthira and Duryodhana,' the author roundly puts 2000 years for the pre-Nanda period and 800 years more for the pre-Chandragupta (Maurya) period. He gives further 132 years to the Maurya kingdom; then 247 years to that of Sūdraka, that is, the Sātavāhanas. This brings us to the era of Saka. Then there is an interval of 498 years. On the next page, a subsequent annotator has noted at the end that this interval of 498 brings the chronology to the reign of Mānadeva, and the kingdom of Mānadeva is brought down by 304 years i.e., down to the Nepal Era. The initial year of the Nepal Era falls in 879-880 A.D. (the year beginning on the 1st Kārttika Sudi—G.I., Intro. 74). 498 years before it will take us to 576 A. D. as the year of Manadeva I. Knowing as we do the initial year of Saka-78 A.D., 498 years after it brings us to the same year (78+ 498 =) 576 A.D. These three dates are the only definite dates which the Nepal astronomers—the author of the Sumati-tantra (the 'Sumati system') and the annotator-knew: the Saka era, and the initial year of Mānadeva I, and the Nepal Era. The annotator could calculate it from both the eras if he knew the correct interval from either. In the 12th century when the book was copied it is very likely that the astronomers of Nepal knew the correct date of Mānadeva I. I have myself seen a number of hand-written books in possession of the Rājaguru which are note-books of the past centuries of Nepal astronomers, recording chief contemporary events,

made and left as heirlooms, for future use by their successors. Documents four and three hundred years old both on paper and palm-leafs are commonplace in Nepal families even today. I found one family possessing two hundred palm-leaf sale-deeds of the time of the Malla dynasty. They bear the original royal seals intact.1 I saw a whole book—a long paper-roll folded as pages—which was originally written in 721 N.E = 1601 A.D. by the builder of the Mahābodhi temple at Bhatgaon, noting in full the description of the process of building the temple as a guide for future repairs. The book is being used today for repairing the damages caused by the earthquake of 1934. The habit of valuing old records and the climate are both in favour of this fortunate circumstance. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the annotator of the Sumati-tantra actually had reliable records before him for the date of Mānadeva I.

The chronology before the Saka Era is not reliable, but its dates about Chandragupta Maurya and the dynasty of Sūdraka (Simuka = Sūdraka Sātavāhana) are interesting, being very near the true marks.

¹ Three of these I have brought and deposited at the Patna Museum. We have discovered in British India thousands of sealings of Hindu times but not a single example of a document with a sealing attached. Now we can see from the Nepal documents, discovered for the first time, how the seals were actually attached to documents by the royal office. They were clay (unbaked) sealings of a very cementing composition. A strip of palm-leaf tied the document after the fashion of inserting strips of leather in our leather shoes and then the joint was sealed. I hope to publish these examples in this Journal.

The text is as follows:—

- L2.) · · · · · · यातास्तथा युगाना () वा कृत मन्ता (?) थ द्वापरं । भिवष्यं संप्रवक्ष्यामि कालिकं वा यथाक्रमं । जातो दुर्योधनो राजा किल (. .) (L3.) प्रवर्तते । युधिष्ठरो महाराजो दुर्योधनस्तथाऽपि वा । उभौ राजौ सहस्रे द्वे वर्षन्तु सम्प्रवर्त्तति । नन्दराज्यं शताष्टं वा श्चन्द्रगप्तस्ततो पर (म) ।
- L_4 .) राज्यङ्करोति तेनापि द्वात्रिशक्वाधिकं शतम् । राजा शूद्रकदेवश्च वर्षसप्ताब्धिचाश्विनौ । शकराजा ततो पश्चाद्वसुरन्ध्रकृतन्तथा । इत्येते (भा) $(L_5$.) षितं महां सेया राजा कमेणतु

The translation is:

(Line 3) Duryodhana was born in Kali.

Yudhishthira and Duryodhana: "the two kings last for 2000 years."

"Nanda's kingdom (rājya) lasts for 800 years."

"Chandragupta is after that. He also rules for 132 years."

"The king Sūdraka for 7, 4 (abdhi) and 2 (aśvinau) (i.e. for 247) years.

"After that, similarly, king Saka, 8, 9, 4 (that is, for 498) years."

For the Nanda-rājya, it gives the year (3102 B. C.—2000 =) 1102 B. C., and for the beginning of the Maurya kingdom it gives (1102-800 =) 302 B. C., for the Sātavāhana kingdom, (302-132 =) 170 B. C., and for the Saka kingdom, (247-170 =) 77 A. D.

(elapsed) i.e. 78 A.D. The dates for the commencement of the Maurya kingdom and the Sātavāhana kingdom are short by about 22 years each. The year for the commencement of the Nanda-Rājya is hopelessly wide off the mark.

It is clear that the author of the chronology took chief reigns as land-marks, and not always eras. There were Yudhishthira, Nanda, and Saka Eras, but there was no Chandragupta Era, there was no Sūdraka Era. There is no trace of an Era of Mānadeva I, for we find Sivadeva I the Lichchhavi using not a recent era but the Gupta Era in 635 A.D. Nor could the Era of Amśuvarman be a Mānadeva Era, commencing from 576 A.D., for in that case Amśuvarman must be dead in (576 + 48 =) 624 A.D. but he was alive in 635 A.D. (the date of Sivadeva I's inscription and later (see above). Evidently the author was a contemporary of Mānadeva I and used his coronation year for his calculations.

We are on firm ground in taking 576 A.D. as the first year of Mānadeva I, as it receives corroboration not only from the script on the Mānānka coin, which Dr. V. Smith assigned to the 6th century A.D. (C. I. M., p. 281) but also from the dates of Vṛishadeva and Sivadeva I, before whom Mānadeva I must come.

Another copy of the Sumati-tantra is in the British Museum Library. It is a palm leaf manuscript dated in Nepal Era, 476 (1356 A.D.). The copy is much later than the one to which reference is made above. With its help we have to read Kali-sandhyam in our line 2. It reads śatāshṭañcha against śatāshṭam vā

(line 3) of my manuscript¹. While these are minor improvements, the two important figures for Sūdraka and Saka-rājā are clearly wrong in the British Museum copy which reads राजा शद्रक देवरूच वर्ष सप्ता द्वि चारिवनौ in place of and शक राजा ततो पश्चाद्रस् चन्द्र कृतन्तथा, in place of रन्ध्र ,, 22

22 22 22

These two figures would date the Saka era twenty years earlier than its true date which the other manuscript gives correctly. The interval between Saka and Manadeva, read by it as of 418 years as against 498, is proved to be wrong by the next interval of 304 years which brings the chronology to 880 A.D., the beginning of the Nepal Era. The British Museum Ms. will put Mānadeva at 496 A.D. (418—78 A.D.) or at 476 A.D. taking its other mistake (of 20 years placing Saka at 58 A.D.). The last interval of 304 will then bring the chronology to 800 A.D. or 780 A.D., that is, there will be a discrepancy of 80 or 100 years. The two mistakes in the British Museum copy are produced by simple misreadings in Nepal scripts: dvi (द्वि) for bdhi (ब्वि) and chandra (चन्द्र) for randbra (रन्ध).

The British Museum copy has a prose line after the text ending with kramena tu which is not to be found in the older manuscript-

सेषा युतारच कृत अम्बराग्नि ३०४ श्रीमानदेवाब्द —प्रयुज्यमाना एतानि पिण्डकलिवर्षमाहुः॥

¹ Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum by Cecil Bendall, (1902), pp. 193-94, 467. No. 3564. Although the opening passage quoted gives the name as Sumati-tantra, it is wrongly catalogued as Sumata.

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"The rest (of the kings), added together, employ the year (era?) of Mānadeva for 304 (years)—these years are called the collective Kali reckoning."

Dr. Bendall, not following the chronology of the text, added the figure 418 (after Saka) to 304 and obtained 800 A.D. as the date of Mānadeva, while Mānadeva begins, according to the system followed in the chronology, when the 498 or 418 period after Saka ends.

V.—LICHCHHAVI KINGS

The complete list of the Lichchhavi kings as in the Vamsāvalīs may be divided in three parts.

T

Serial numbers according to the order in the Vamsāvalīs. (I.A., XIII. 412; Lévi, ii. 91-92, 122).

Names noted in Jayadeva II's inscription.

And other inscriptions.

¹I. Bhūmivarman (capital at Bāṇeśvara). Names Nos. 1,2, 4-16 purposely omitted in Jayadeva II's insc. (I.A., IX. 178).

¹Kirkpatrick's authority gives five more names to this dynasty which is unanimously called Śūrya-Vaṁśī. These five names are given separately by the Vaṁśāvalīs, other than Kirkpatrick's, under Somavaṁśī Dynasty. This is a wrong division, as the Vaṁśāvalīs themselves note the connexion between Bhāskaravarman (no. 5 and the last) of the so called Soma vaṁśa and Bhūmivarman (no. 1 of the Sūryavaṁśa) as that of adoptive father and son. How could then the Vaṁśa change?

2. Chandravarman

 10.25 m 	Tanadanal T	T 1 T
3.	Jayadeva ¹ I	Jayadeva I according
4.	Varsha-varman	to J.II's insc. he was
	[Vṛishavarman	founder of the Ne-
	Ĭ K.]	pal dynasty. An
.5.	Sarva-varman	earlier king Supu-
6.	Prithvi-varman	shpa is noted as hav-
7.	Jyeshtha-varman	ing flourished at
8.	Hari-varman	Pushpapura; "omit-
9.	Kuvera-varman	ting 23 Kings" there
10.	Siddhi-varman	comes Jayadeva I
II.	Haridatta (built	'the victorious.' Then
	4 Nārāyana Tem-	omitting in the inter-
	ples including	val eleven kings,
	Changu Nara-	there comes the
	yan and Nīlak-	12th according to the
	antha Jalasaya-	inscription but the
	na ² Temples)	18th Vrisha-
12.	Vasudatta	deva, according to
13.	Śrīpati	the Vamśāvalīs
14.	Śivavriddhi-	Śivadeva I³
•	(varman)	(I. A., IX.)
15.	Vasantadeva I	Dhruvadeva

1 'Jayavarmā' in the Vainśāvalīs which have throughout for nos. I to 14 name-ending varman. Kirkpatrick's Vainśāvalī has deva from no. 15 onwards, while other copies occasionally add varman to deva. Inscriptions have always deva. I have followed generally K.'s list for name-forms. His copy is the oldest and more valuable.

I.A., IX. 173

² Jalaśayana, a colossal, lying figure of Vishņu, is a magni-

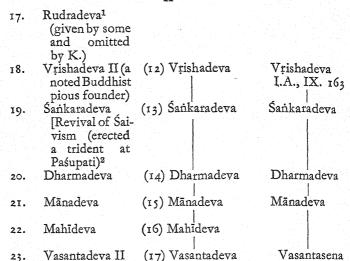
ficent stone image in Gupta style.

Sivadeva I

т6.

3 I.A., XIV. 97 (Bendall); I.A., IX. 168 (Bhagwanlal Indraji); Lévi, iii, 61, Dātaka-Bhogavarmagomin, mentioning the request of A m ś u v a r m a n; the date is wholly gone. Prof. Lévi insists on reading all figures in Ś i v a d e v a 's records as 500 (+) instead of 300 (+) as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bendall and Fleet. The last record has no trace of the date, yet he sees here also 500. The reading 300 (+) is corroborated by the figures in records of subsequent kings—of Mānadeva II, Vasantasena, etc. (386, 413, 435) (G.I., I. 180) and by the new, Khopasi, insc. of Ś i v a d e v a I published by Lévi himself (iii. 79) where his plate (XII) reads clearly 300 (+20). This also mentions A m ś u v a r m a n.

TT



Jayadeva II omits the first two names of the list and he counts 17 as against (23-2) 20 successions³ down to Vasantadeva II. There are therefore 3 extra names in the V. list, or, rather 5 if we transpose Mānadeva and Guṇakāmadeva from the part III (see below, and SIV above). These extra names fall between no. 3 Jayadeva I, and no. 18 Vṛishadeva, the later names being confirmed by inscriptions. And as the existence of nos. 16 and 17 (Dhruvadeva) is certain from contemporary records, the excess has to be adjusted between no. 3 and no. 15 taking account of Mānadeva I

¹ Lévi, ii. 92, 95-96, regards him as identical with Śivadeva and thinks that the name is transposed from the Malla list.

² The trident is still existing. The big metal Nandi, attributed to him by some Vamśāvalīs to his son, is also still there.

³ The Vamsāvalīs regard the successions as from father to son in each case, which is to be ignored unless confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions or contemporary writers.

and Guṇakāmadeva. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II and the evidence on Mānadeva I and Guṇakāmadeva the kings have to be numbered thus:

- 1. Jayadeva I (c. 350 A.D.)
- 2-7. Six kings (which should include Haridatta, see below), against 11 of the Vamśāvalis
- 8. Vasantadeva I
- 9. Mānadeva I, 576 A.D. (see § IV)
- 10. Guņakāmadeva
- II. Sivadeva I—635-639 A.D. (Khopasi insc. 320 G. E.)
- of yr. 48) not taken into account probably owing to his being an unlawful successor
- 12. Vrishadeva
- 13. Sankaradeva
- 14. Dharmadeva, 705 A.D.
- 15. Mānadeva II, 705, 732 A.D.
- 16. Mahīdeva
- 17. Vasantadeva II, 735 A.D. [G.E. 4151; dead in 732 A.D., yr. 153, āsit]

Out of Nos. 4 to 14 of the Vamsāvalīs (wherein the extra five names must fall), Haridatta, no. 11, must be a correct name. Vaishnavism was introduced into his reign and his Vaishnava monuments can still be identified. Although the present temple of Changu Nārāyan is much later but that the shrine must go back to about his time is proved by the inscription

¹ The reading of the figure is 415, not 435; cf. plate 2 in I.A., IX, with plate 3.

of Manadeva II on the dhvaja standard at Changunārāyan, which is in early Gupta style¹, and, by the grand Jalasayana figure at Nīlakantha which is again typically Guptan, and which is mentioned by Amsuvarman in his Harigaon inscription of year 32.2 As to the other names we have at present no means to check and to accept or reject. But there should be a presumption of correctness in their favour, as a very high percentage of data in the lists of the Vamsāvalīs is proved to be correct. The number of 11 princes of the list as against 6 out of the unnamed 11 of the inscription of Jayadeva II means that between Jayadeva I and Vasantadeva I (no. 1 to 8 of my list above) the first eight kings, there were two contemporary lines ruling as in the later period. This system of double rule seems to have been borrowed from the home constitution of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālî.

The Vamśāvalīs after their no. 23 present a great confusion, which has been already solved with the help of the inscriptions to some extent, and the solution can be carried further with the help of new data.

III

This portion of the so-called Lichchhavi list I am marking as part III. The list is a mixture of the names of the EARLY ṬHĀKURĪ Dynasty with some names of the Lichchhavis transposed and

¹ It is also mentioned by Amsuvarman at Harigaon (Lévi, iii. 94).

² Lines 14-15 (Lévi, iii. 95).

names of one more dynasty, 'Gupta-Ahīr', that is, the Later Guptas of Nepal (see § 6—7).

Vamśāvalī list

Kirkpatrick, 260; Bhagwanlal Indraji, 13I.A. 413. Wright, 124—130; Lévi, ii. 92, 122.

- 24. Udayadeva
- 25. Mānadeva
- 26. Gunakāmdeva
- 27. Sivadeva ('transferred the seat of government to Devapāṭana')
- 28. Narendradeva
- 29. Bhīmadeva varman

According to K's V.,
Gupta
Dynasty of
Ahīr caste

- 30. Vishņu gupta (K) (Vishņudeva varman—others)
- others) gave his daughter in marriage to Aniswarman, founder of the Thākurī Dynasty. K's Vani. gives after no. 30—
- 31. Kishnu Gupta
- 32. Bhūmi Gupta
- 33. Sivadeva expelled the Guptas; and restored the Sūryavamsī (the Lichchhavi) dynasty (K.)

Amśuvarman [595-539+(?) A.D.]

Against this we have the following succession from inscriptions (I.A., IX. 170, 174, 178).

[Vam.] Inscriptions

- [24.] Udayadeva, (*Ywarāja* in yr. 39) deposed by his younger brother (Chinese History).
- [25.] Mānadeva (III) (evidently brother of 24, as 27 Narendradeva, restored by Tibetans, was son of 24).

- [28.] Narendradeva [ruling from 634 to 657, according to Chinese (Thang) History].
- [29.] Sivadeva II., yr. 119.
 Jayadeva II, yr. 153 (Vamsavalis omit him).

The order in V. between 27 and 28 is transposed, and Guṇakāmadeva is brought down from below Mānadeva I (above Sivadeva I) to be placed below no. 25 Mānadeva III, above Sivadeva II.

These are all later than Amśuvarman whose last date in inscriptions in the year 44 (or 45). These are all, as we shall see presently, Thakuri names. Jayadeva II, son of Narendradeva, is neither in the Thakuri list nor the Lichchhavi list of the Vamsāvalīs. The reason for this is explained in the Thākurī section. A m ś u v a r m a n has been placed in the V. list after Sivadeva II who lived about the year 119. There is fortunately only one A m ś u varman and we easily detect the mistake. There have been two mistakes. No. 25 and 26 have been removed from their place above Sivadeva I to be placed, above Sivadeva II. Amsuvarman's history is transferred to the time of Sivadeva II from Sivadeva I which is evident from K.'s copy. In the eighteenth century, Vamsavali copies still preserved the close association of the history of Sivadeva I and Amsuvarman, and Kirkpatrick's copy for that reason introduced even a third Sivadeva (no. 33). But later editions noting (correctly) only two Sivadevas, cut Amsuvarman off from Sivadeva altogether owing to their insertion of several names (nos. 30, 31,

32) above Amsuvarman's, which fortunatly for us Kirkpatrick's copy specially notes as names of an intervening family who were defeated by Sivadeva I. That Sivadeva II can not be a contemporary of Amsuvarman is clear from the dated inscription of Sivadeva II (of the year 119) and from the date of his father known to us from Chinese History based on contemporary writings.

Now as to the "Guptas" who were expelled by Sivadeva I according to Kirkpatrick's Vamsāvalī, is there any trace of theirs in the inscriptions?

These Guptas seem to be the ancestors of Jishņu Gupta whose inscriptions we have as nos. 9, 10, and 11 of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 171, 173). A new inscription of his is published by Lévi (Nepal, iii. 102, pl. XVII; Thankot inscription). The last one bears the date (samvat) 44(40 + 4)¹ the figure for 40 is distinct (line 30th). The writ was dated while Bhaṭṭāraka (Sovereign) Śrī Mānadeva [II] was 'the banner of the enthroned family' at Mānagṭiha; it was issued by Śri Jishņu GuptaDeva from Kailāsakūṭabhavana².

¹ It is difficult to imagine how could Prof. Lévi read 500! I am giving an enlarged copy of the portion (beginning of line 30) from his plate. See my plate VII.

² Kailāsakūṭa was the seat of the Dictator, and Mānagriha was the seat of the nominal king. Athsuvarman built this famous Palace K a i lāsa kūṭa, of which he is very proud in his Sanga insc. (Lévi, iii 99). His family after him ruled from it (we have reference to it in inscriptions down to the time of Śivadeva II (9I.A. 174), while the Lichchhavis lived at their Palace Mānagṛiha, (G.I, I, 188-189) built evidently by Mānadeva I (576 A.D.—) as Amsuvarman named one of the gates of his own palace after Mānagriha. In this inscription we have the novel position that Mānadeva (II), a younger son of

It confirmed a donation, the document of which had been lost; it was orginally made by the great grandfather (prapitāmaha) of Jishņu Gupta, whose name was Mānagupta Gomin. It refers to certain taxes payable in kārshāpaṇas and one of the taxes was Malla-kara. This had been evidently imposed to meet the incursions of the Mallas which were put an end to by Mānadeva III who in his Changu Nārāyan inscription says that he crossed the Ganḍakī with his cavalry and elephants and conquerred the Malla towns (Lévi, iii, 14)1.

Māna gupta Gomin must have been a subordinate ruler having Thankot, i.e. the beginning of the valley, under his jurisdiction. The title gomin meant in Gupta times 'honourable'

Amsuvarman and a younger brother of Udayadeva (§IX) is installed by Jishņu Gupta (who calls himself 'king,' 'deva') at Mānagṛiha and he himself takes his residence at Kailāsakūṭa. This shows that Kailāsakūṭa

was the official seat of the official Dictator.

For the time being by the above arrangement the Lichchhavi Dynasty was wholly dispossessed on the death of A m ś u v a r m a n. But this was only for a year or so, for soon after we find the Lichchhavi king Dhruvadeva at Mānagriha once more during the Dictatorship of Jishnu Gupta. Jishnu Gupta in both cases was the real ruler, and although the Vamśāvalīs ignore him, he is noted as king by the Mañjuśrī History (§ VI).

The family emblem of the Thakuris was Nandi seated

on Kailāsakūṭa—see plate 12, I.A, IX.

The latest mention of Managriha is found in the Isapaligaon inscription of the year 489—808 A.D. published by Lévi in his volume iii, pl. VIII, p. 59. [This inscription, where the writing is distinctly much advanced, most effectively destroys the theory of Lévi to read the date figures in Sivadeva I's inscriptions as 500 +, instead of 300 + as read by Bhagwanlal and confirmed by Fleet and Bendall].

1 This text (lines 22-25) was recovered from the buried

portion of the pillar, not available to Bhagwanlal Indraji.

and is used as a name-ending in respectable names—e.g. Chandra gomin, the Grammarian, Bhogavarmagomin in Amsuvarman's inscription. Māna Gupta is not described as a king, or given any title. The two generations before Jishņu Gupta would cover the two names Vishņu Gupta (no. 30) and Viśva Gupta (31), the latter being the father-in-law of Amsuvarman, whose place in K.'s Vams. is given to Bhūmi-Gupta (32). Viśva Gupta and Bhūmi-Gupta were the last of the Nepal Guptas, and Sivadeva I defeated them and "restored" the Lichchhavi dynasty. Evidently the Lichchhavi dynasty had suffered an eclipse at the hands of these 'the Ahir' Guptas, probably in the time of or just after Gunakāmadeva I, as no coin is struck by Sivadeva I.

Jishņu Gupta described himself (under Mānadeva II) as an ornament of the moon dynasty (Somānvaya-bhūshaṇa) and as having succeeded to a hereditary throne. Kirkpatrick's authority relates that these 'Aheer' Guptas were a branch of the Goalā Guptas. But the Nepal Guptas claimed to be Kshatriyas of the Moon Dynasty. The Moon Standard on the coins of the Imperial Guptas implies the same claim. Jishņu Gupta is not mentioned in the Varinśāvalīs or the inscriptions of the Lichchhavis or the Ṭhākurīs. Officially he was the Dictator; his Yuvarāja Vishņu Gupta did not come to the throne. The way he refers to Amśuvarman [śrī Amśuvarmapādaiḥ, IA, IX. 172] shows that he was related to him, evidently through the latter's marriage

with Viśva Gupta's daughter. Jishnu-Gupta seems to have been the son of Viśva Gupta. He to make room for himself in the Lichchhavi constitution—for the position which had been occupied by A m ś u v a r m a n, and which lasted up to the year 320 (639 A.D.) when Sivadeva I inscribed his last known order—seems to have removed Mānadeva II, the usurper, the second son of Amsuvarman, and set up Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi in the brief period of his total dictatorship of 3 or 4 years. In the inscription under the sovereignty of Dhruvadeva (IA, IX. 171) he protests that he belongs to a pious family (punyānvaya) and that his rule is supported by the Pauras (paurā śritaśāsana), which probably implies commotion about the year 48 (643 A.D.) when very soon he was going to be dispossessed by Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. Both he and Dhruvadeva are ignored in the Vamsavalis and Thakuri inscriptions, as usurpers. Except for the Mañjuśrī History¹ we have had no reference to him in literature. He imitates the coins of Amsuvarman.

Dhruvadeva did not belong to the direct Lichchhavi line and his selection as king must have been at the cost of Vrishadeva. There is no coin of Dhruvadeva; the right of coinage was exercised by JishņuGupta.

We can date the order of succession of this part thus, taking Udayadeva the Ymarāja as the eldest son of Amśuvarman:

¹ See below, § VI.

Lichchhavis	Guptas	Ţhākurīs		
Dhruvadeva	JishņuGupta	Udayadeva		
$(643 \text{ A.D.})^1$	with his Yuvarāja	Mānadeva II		
Vrishadeva	VishņuGupta	(between yrs.		
	(yr. 48)	44 and 48)		
Sankaradeva				
Dharmadeva [upto 705,				
defeated and killed the				
Tibetan in 705 A.D.,				
(JRAS, 1880, 438) and				
set up four Pillars of				
Victory]				
Mānadeva III, 386 GE.		Narendradeva		
(=705-732)		(643-657) ¹		
Mahideva (after 413GE. =		Sivadeva II,		
732 A.D.)		yr. 119 (7 14		
		A.D.) ²		
Vasantadeva 415	GE.	Jayadeva II,		
(=734 A.D.)		yr. 153		
		(748 A.D.)		

Jayadeva II after detailing the Lichchhavi family from Vrishadeva to Vasantadeva II gives 'within' (asya antare) the period of this dynasty (vamsasya) his own genealogy contemporary with those Lichchhavi kings. He naturally omitted the interlopers Jishnu-Gupta, Mānadeva III, and Dhruvadeva. Owing to Dhruvadeva intervening between

² His reign (714 A.D.) falling 57 years after his father's, he must have been a baby on the death of his father.

¹ Lévi, ii, 164. Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva, succeeded with the help of the Tibetans and was ruling in 643, while the year (48) in which the reign of Dhruvadeva is dated, also corresponds to 643 A.D.

Sivadeva I and Vṛishadeva, the Lichchhavi kings are taken up from Vṛishadeva, the Lichchhavi kings are taken up from Vṛishadeva, and after finishing that line the contemporaries—the Ṭhākurīs—are given, which necessitates the omission of Aṁśuvarman probably imply a claim to be Lichchhavis by the inscription of Jayadeva II. This is explained by the statement in some Vaṁśāvalīs (cited in Landon's Nepal, ii. 315) that Aṁśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I. This seems to explain the anomalous position of the Ṭhākurīs both in the inscription of Jayadeva II (IA, IX. 178) and the Vaṁśāvalī list. This also explains the revolutions in the time of JishṇuGupta, Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva.

When Jayadeva II wrote his inscription in the year 153=748 A.D. the Lichchhavi dynasty had already become extinct with the death of Vasanta-deva II who is mentioned as a past king [āsit]. In the reign of Jayadeva II, the Ṭhākurīs alone come to possess the whole kingdom solely. We do not find any trace in inscriptions or in the Vamśāvalīs of any successor of Vasantadeva II in the Lichchhavi line.

The mysterious reason for omitting 11 Lichch-havi kings between Jayadeva I and Vrisha-deva is the well-established Hindu historical custom (as in the Purāṇas) to omit names of kings in a dynasty when they cease to be independent. The Guptas exercised dominion over Nepal from Samudra Gupta downwards. Hence we find only Jayadeva I mentioned, who according to the chronology set out above and

calculated also by Fleet, flourished in the time of Samudra Gupta. For the time of Samudra Gupta we have his Allahabad inscription proving that Nepal was one of the tributary states in the class which were in close touch with the Imperial Government, paying regular tribute (kara). There is nothing to indicate that there happened any change in that condition under Chandra Gupta II and his immediate imperial successors. Either in the reign of Kumāra Gupta I or Skanda-Gupta, we find Haradatta establishing Vaishnavism in Nepal and actually copying Gupta architecture. His pillar of Garuda has the exact formula of Gupta pillars¹ and the Garuda is a copy of the Guptan Garuda²—a human figure with wigs, -which implies that Haradattadeva was owning the imperial Gupta suzerainty. When the Gupta Empire breaks up on account of the rise of the empire of the Maukharis (c. 550 A.D.—570 A.D.) we find Mānadeva I (576 A.D.) striking his own coin in Nepal. But this attempt was short-lived, for we

¹ See description in IA, IX. 163. "Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round." It is about 20 ft. high.

An inscription was inscribed on it later by Mānadeva III, while the pillar stood. It has no reference to the pillar itself. The shrine existed before Amsuvarman who made a provision for it in his Harigaon writ of year 32 (Lévi, iii. 94, line 7; the original name was Dolasikharasvāmin, the hill being called dola, 'swing').

I found fragments of Gupta sculptures there and have brought one piece to the Patna Museum.

For Gupta writing of the fourth and fifth centuries in Nepal, see Bendall's Journey, p. 5.

² That is the Garudamadanka.

find the Nepal Guptas asserting sovereignty in the last quarter of the 6th century—an assertion which lasted down to the time of Sivadeva I and Amsuvarman.

Out of this list these names mark changes in the religious history of Nepal:

Haridatta (deva)—about 450 A.D., like the Imperial Guptas in the plains made Vaishņavism the royal cult of Nepal.

Mānadeva I to Vrishadeva—Buddhism reigned supreme after the Imperial Gupta influence, disappeared in the reign of Manadeva I (576 A.D.). Coming after the Saiva Amsuvarman who patronised Buddhism merely as a ruler, Vrishadeva about 660 A.D. made Buddhism again popular (Sugataśāsana-pakshapātī, I.A., IX. 178). But his son Sankaradeva, about 680 A.D., is regarded as a second Sankarāchārya for having revived Saivism at the cost of Buddhism. He has left his monuments at Pasupati and is universally credited by the Buddhists to have abolished monasticism in Nepal Buddhism (Mahāyāna), forcing every Bhikshu to lead married life. There have been no wifeless Bhikshus Nepal ever since; the vihāras are occupied by married Buddhist priests.

After Sankaradeva the Lichchhavis remain markedly Saiva and Vaishnavite.

The greatest figure in the period is Dharma deva. His son Mānadeva III, who in the very year of his accession (705 A.D.) marched against the Mallas, to meet whom since the time of Sivadeva I (yr. 320, Lévi, iii, 69, 107) there had been a

Malla-kara impost in Nepal, records that his father had set up four Pillars of Victory. The reason for this we get from Tibetan History as recorded by the Chinese (translated in JRAS, 1880; 438, 456). The king of Nepal snapped the Tibetan suzerainty brought over Nepal by Narendradeva (643-657 A.D.). He gave battle to the Tibetan king (Ch'inush silung) and killed him (705 A.D.).

We find Sivadeva II employing imperial title in his inscription of 714 A.D., which means that Mānadeva III in his later years was reduced to the position of a rājan (as in his inscriptions), the real power passing to the Ṭhākurī line. It was during the minority of Sivadeva II that Vṛishadeva, Saṅkaradeva and Dharmadeva revived the Lichchhavi line and its prestige.

VI—Data of the Manjusri History on Nepal

On the history of Nepal we have a valuable source in the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* in its book on Indian History. The text, edited with the help of the Tibetan translation [my *Mañjuśrī Imperial History*, § 12, p. 40] is as follows:

भविष्यति तदा काले उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रतः।

नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते ॥५४९॥

राजा मानवेन्द्रस्तु लिच्छवीनां कुलोद्भवः।

सोऽपि मन्त्रार्थ-सिद्धस्तु महाभोगी भविष्यति ॥५५०॥

विद्या भोगवती नाम तस्य सिद्धा नराधिपे।

अशीतिवर्षाणि कृत्वासौ राज्यं तस्करवर्जितम् ॥५५१॥

ततः प्राणात्यये नृपतो स्वर्गलोके जजग्मसु।

तत्र मन्त्राशु सिद्धचन्ति शीतला शान्तिकपौष्टिका ॥५५२॥

तारा च लोकविख्याता देवी पण्डरवासिनी।
महाश्वेता परिहतोद्युक्ता अखिन्नमनसां सदा ॥५५३॥
इत्येवमादयो प्रोक्ता बहुधा न्यतयोस्तदा।
अनेकधा बहुधाश्चैव नानारूपिववर्णिताः ॥५५४॥
शास्तुपूजकास्तेऽपि म्लेच्छराजान् है।

T.453 b. विवषः सुवृषश्चैव भावसु शुभसुस्तथा ॥५५५॥
भाक्रमः पदक्रमश्चैव कमलश्चैव कीर्त्यते ।
भागुप्तः वत्सकश्चैव (भास्वाँश्चैव) पश्चिमः ॥५५६॥

[§ 12 b. Fall of Nepal]

G.६२२ उदयः जिह्नुनो ह्यन्ते म्लेच्छानां विविधास्तथा । अम्भोधेः भ्रष्टमर्व्यादा बहिःप्राज्ञोपभोजिनः ।।५५७।। शस्त्रसम्पातविध्वस्ता नेपालाधिपतिस्तदा । विद्यालुप्ता लुप्तराजानो म्लेच्छतस्करसेविनः ।।५५८।।

५४९, देववन् (ल्ह-ल्दन्)।५५०. मानवदेवस्तु। ५५४. नृपतयस्तदा। ५५५. हिमवद्वासिनः। वृषः। भूभासः सुभूभासस्तथा। ५५६. पराकमः (फ-रोल्-ग्नोद्-ञिद्)। भूगुप्तः (स-स्रुङ=भूपालः)। ५५७. ङङ-छुल् (शीली, जिष्णुः)।ततः परं (दे-ऽोग्)। परपुरुषोपसेविनः (पिय-रोल्-स्क्ये द्गुप्सत्-ञो-वर्-स्प्योद्)। ५५८. विलुप्तास्तत्र राजानो । ५५९० देव-द्विज-प्रियाः।

[§ 12 c. Revival of Nepal]

अनेका भूपतयो प्रोक्ता नाना चैव द्विजिप्रया । भविष्यन्ति तदा काले चीनं प्राप्य समन्ततः ॥५५९॥

The Mañjuśrī History (§ 12, text, p. 40) says:

(1) At that time in the North, in Nepāla-maṇḍala, in the valley of the Himālaya, there will be king Mānavendra (read Māna-deva) born of the dynasty of the Lichchhavis. He would be very prosperous (mahābhogī)—the Vidyā Bhogavatī will be established in that king. For eighty years he ruled and made the country free from robbers (549-551) (Here follow the names of certain goddesses (552-53).

- (2) Then there will be various (bahudhā) kings (dynasties) several and various (anekadhā and bahudhā), of various castes (? nānā-rūpa-vivarṇitāḥ)—they will be all Buddhists, and foreigners (mlechcha-rājānaḥ; Tibetan: Himālayan races or residents).
- (3) Vrisha; Suvrisha; Bhāvasu (T.—Bhūbhāsa); Subhasu (T.— Subhūbhāsa); Bhākrama (T.—Parākrama); Kamala; Bhāgupta (T.—Bhūgupta); Vatsaka; [Amsuvarman, T.— Bhāsvān] the Western (535-56).
- (4) Udaya and Jishnu in the end. After that (Tibetantatah paran) there arose several kings under the Mlechchhas who broke all rules (bhrashṭa-maryādā) and were dependants of outsiders (T.) (557).
- (5) Then the overlord of Nepal (Nepaladhipatil) was defeated and killed in battle (by arms); the kings who had lost Vidyās, servants of the Mlechchha robbers, disappeared. There will be several kings, lovers of (Hindu) Gods and Brahmins, having | China (Tibet) on their frontier (558-559).

The above data are highly important, as they give a tale different from the Vamśāvalīs, and in accord with Chinese history and inscriptions. Section (1) gives the successful rule of Mānadeva I. His goddess Bhogavatī is undoubtedly the Srī-Bhoginī on the Mānānka coin. Section (2) mentions various contemporary dynasties which rose to power in Nepal after Mānadeva I. One of them is headed and represented by Vrisha in whom we may recognize the Lichchhavi Vṛisha de va. Bhāvasu Subhasu, Bhākrama and Kamala seems to represent some Kirāta family, while Bhūgupta corresponds to the Vamśāvalī Bhūmigupta, the last of the 'Aheer Guptas', who was defeated by Sivadeva I credits with victories on his

enemies. Vatsaka is unrecorded otherwise, but seems to be connected with Bhūgupta. Another contemporary is Aṁśuvarman (of the West) whose name is lost in the Sanskrit text but is supplied from the Tibetan translation. We find Aṁśuvarman in his inscriptions ruling over the Government (adhikaraṇa) of the West. It seems that apart from the Guptas there arose at least one more local family to power, and the kingdom after Mānadeva I was sorely torn to pieces, and that it was reunited by Aṁśuvarman under Sivadeva. Aṁśuvarman set up the government of the West with full powers of sovereignty. Vṛishadeva and Aṁśuvarman are treated as contemporaries.

(4) Udaya and Jishņu (Gupta) are placed at the end of this list and noted to have been the last independent sovereigns of Nepal. After Jishņu the country passed under the domination of the Mlechchhas, i.e. the Tibetans, until the overlord of Nepal, that is, the Tibetan king, was killed in battle. Then followed Brahmanical kings—a description fully true of the kings from Dharma deva to Vasanta [sena], Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II. The defeat and killing of the Tibetan overlord (705 A.D.) is borne out by Chinese History (JRAS, 1880, 438; V. Smith, EH., 381).

Who was Vatsaka?

We have seen that the two Gupta lists in the Vamsāvalīs really constitute one series. The first

¹ See section VII of this study.

list is from Jaya Gupta I to Jaya Gupta II—8 rulers (Lévi, II, 72; IA, VII. 89). Jaya Gupta II settled down, according to Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī, near Janakpur (Tarai). His name is omitted in the Nepal list by other Vamśāvalīs, where Yaksha Gupta is the last Nepal Gupta. We find base gold and copper coins of Jaya Gupta II (in characters of circa 600 A.D.), and a mould to forge his gold coins has been discovered in Nālandā excavations this year. This verifies the truth of the Vamśāvalī datum about the Gupta dynasty of Nepal. The Vamśāvalīs have the following kings in the two lists:—

(Bhagwanlal, Wright, Lévi)

(Kirkpatrick)

[within the Lichchhavi list]

Bhīmadeva Bhīmadeva (displaced by Aheers, IA, VII. 90)

Vishnudeva Vishnu Gupta which corresponds with the Gupta list

- 5. Bhīma Gupta
- 6. Mati (or, Mani) Gupta
- 7. Vishnu Gupta

It seems that up to Bhīma Gupta there was one line of the Guptas who were displaced by the other line beginning with Vishņu Gupta. Mati-Gupta or Maņi Gupta was a prince of the displaced line.

Kirkpatrick's Vamsāvalī gives two more names after Vishnu Gupta

Kisnu Gupta Bhūmi Gupta These names are not found in the other Vamśāvalīs, probably Kishnu Gupta is a misreading and duplication of Vishnu Gupta, but Bhūmi Gupta is supported by the Mañjuśrī History which has

Bhū Gupta Vatsaka

In the other list the Vamsavalīs after Vishņu Gupta have

Yaksha Gupta

It seems that after Vishnu Gupta there were probably two branches:

Vishņu Gupta

Yaksha Gupta Bhūmi Gupta

That is, Yaksha Gupta of the Vamsavalīs would correspond with the Vatsaka of the Mañjuśrīmūla kalpa. Vatsaka seems to be a nickname.

Now we are helped here by Nepal coins on the identification of Yaksha Gupta. We know from the description of Nepal coinage in the Chinese History that in 643 A. D. the Chinese noticed the coin which agrees exclusively with the coin of Vaiśravaṇa—'man on one side, and bull on the other.'¹ This coin therefore must belong to a king who flourished before 643 A. D. He thus would be either a contemporary or a predecessor of Amśuvarman. There is no doubt that Amśuvarman imitates this coin by adopting Kāmadobī² (Kāmadhenu) with the calf at udders on his

¹ See below sec. VIII. The reading on the Vaiśravaṇa coin is *Vaiśravaṇaḥ*—see plate I. 4 of Mr. Walsh, JRAS, 1908, 669.

² Not *Kāmadehī*, as formerly read. The corrected reading is by the Rājaguru Pt. Hemarāja Śarmā. *Kāmadohī* = Skt. *Kāma*-

coin. The coin must therefore belong either to Sivadeva I or some other contemporary. The legend on the coin *Vaiśravaṇaḥ* suggests that it was struck by Yaksha Gupta. '*Vaiśravaṇa*' may very well stand as rebus, as Vaiśravaṇa is the king of the Yakshas. His nickname *Vatsaka* ('little calf') probably originated from his representation on the coin as the little calf attached to the Kāmadhenu. It is also possible that he had a second official name as *Vaiśravaṇa*.

The Gupta list would stand thus-

NEPAL

5 Bhīma Gupta	c. 575 A. D.
7 Vishņu Gupta	
8 Bhūmi Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
8a Yaksha Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
[Tarāi]	
8b Jaya Gupta II	c. 625 or 640 A. D.

VII—THE GUPTA DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

There are two Gupta Dynasties noted in Nepal histories, and both are confirmed by coins and other evidence. The coins establish their connexion with the Imperial Guptas.

All the Vamśāvalīs state that the history of Nepal begins with the 'Gupta Dynasty' who were of the Goālā caste [Sanskritised in some as gopāla]¹.

dhuk. It represents the country [of Nepal]—cf. the political maxim:

राजन् दुघुक्षसि यदि क्षितिघेनुमेनां तेनाद्य वत्सिमव लोकमम् पुषाण ।

¹ Wright's History of Nepāl, 107-109; Bhagwanlal Indraji,
XIII, IA, 411-12; Lévi, Nepal, ii. 72, 74; Cf. Kirkpatrick,

This dynasty which is specifically given the name of the Gupta Dynasty, consists of eight names and its first name is lost which is replaced by a phrase bhuktamānagata meaning 'the elapsed years of the reign.' After this dynasty the Vamsavalis introduce a dynasty of three names and call them the Aheers (Ahīrs) 'from the plains of Hindustan.' The oldest authority, namely the one cited by Kirkpatrick in 1793 A. D., definitely says that they were Rajpūt descendants from Mahīpa Gopāla (King Cowherd), that they levied their army in the country situated between Simraongarh and Janakpur (Tarai) and and subjugated Nepal. This authority therefore states that the so-called Ahīrs were only a branch of the dynasty which Kirkpatrick has left unnamed and which is officially designated as the Gupta Dynasty in the Vamsavalis. There is thus no distinction historically between the Goalas and Ahirs, as there is none between the two terms—Goālā and Ahīr. The descendants of these so-called Ahīrs are once more given in the Lichchhavi list above Sivadeva I and Améuvarman, by whom they were finally driven out of Nepal. There are therefore practically two lists of these Guptas (the Goālā-Ahīrs). Their chronology may be calculated back from the known date of Amsuvarman and Sivadeva I. When the Nepal histories say that the Gupta-Ahīr line was broken by the Kirātas it should be taken to refer to a Kirāta revival three generations above Amsuvarman. The introduction into the Gupta-Ahīr-Amśuvarman

Historical Sketch of Nepal in his Account of the Kingdom of Nepal (1811), 255-257.

chronology, of the long line of the Kirātas who flourished before and after Asoka is a result of confusion. The two Kirāta lines—(1) the pre-Christ Kirātas and (2) the pre-Amśuvarman Kirātas—have been mixed up together. Nepal History should have and would have begun with the Kirāta Dynasty and not with the Guptas but for that confusion. The Kirātas who intervene just before the line of Amsuvarman are called "Yellung Kirāta" in Kirkpatrick and Ya-lamva in Lévi's edition which is treated as the proper name of the first king. Ya-lamva is most likely the ethnic name Limbu, a well-known division of the Kirātas still on the eastern frontiers of Nepal. The next name Pavi of the Vanisavali is noted in the Mañjuśrī History (p. 40, text)² as Vavi-sha, placed between Mānadeva I and Vrisha (deva), as a Himālayan Mlechchha and Buddhist by religion.

The Gupta lists and their chronology should be arranged as follows:

(A)

- 1. Jaya Gupta I
- 2. Parama Gupta
- 3. Harsha Gupta
- 4. Bhīma Gupta
- 5. Mati [or Mani] Gupta
- 6. Vishņu Gupta
- Yaksha Gupta
 Jaya Gupta II [K.]

¹ Lèvi, ii. 78, corresponding to Ya-Lambasa of Wright.

² See extract in § VI above.

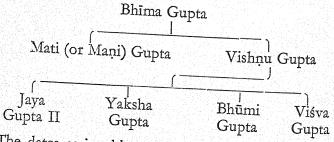
(B) Branch of the above

- 1. Vara-simha
- 2. Jaya-Mati simha [Jaya-Simha K.]
- 3. Bhowany (K.) or Bhuvana-simha.

(C) Their descendants, mentioned in the Lichchhavi list1

- 1. Bhīma (deva)
- 2. [Vishnu Gupta (K.); Vishnu deva-others] [Kishnoo Gupta (only in K.)]
- 3. Viśva Gupta (L.) (Viśva deva-others; father-in-law of Amśuvarman)
- 4. Bhūmi Gupta (only in K.) but confirmed by Mañjuśrī History, whih gives Bhū Gupta as a contemporary of Amsuvarman

It seems that from *Bhīma Gupta* (A, no. 4; C, 1) lines branched off. No. 6 of A corresponds with no. 2 of C; and no. 5 of A corresponds with no. 2 of B.



The dates assignable to the Gupta dynasty of Nepal, composed of section A and C, would be:

¹ 13 IA 413; 2 Lévi 122; Wright, 130; Kirkpatrick, 260-61.

¹ Bhagwanlal Indraji, XIII, IA, 412, ii. Lévi 74, Wright, 109, Kirkpatrick, 256.

Jayagupta I 6. 500 A.D. Parama Gupta c. 525 A.D. Harsha Gupta, c. 550 A.D.

Bhīma Gupta c. 575 A.D. dispossessed by the Lichchhavis [probably by Mānadeva I who succeeded in 576 A.D.]

Jaya Gupta II] Yaksha Gupta Viśva Gupta Bhūmi Gupta

Vishnu Gupta c. 600 A.D. He actually reigned in the valley; his endowment Vishnu-nātha still exists 8 miles north of Kathman du^1

> c. 625 A.D. the time of the conquest of Amsuvarman under Sivadeva I who is noted to have expelled them

As to the position of Section B, it is certain that they had their seat in the Tarai. There being no room for them from 500 A.D. to 600 A.D.—they, —another branch of the same family—the Mahīpāla gopāla i.e. the 'Imperial Guptas'—must come after Jaya Gupta II, when the family was dispossessed in Nepal, in other words, after 625 A.D.

VIII—COINAGE

Coins of Nepal Guptas

This is confirmed by the gold coins of Vara s i m h a which have been assigned to the seventh century, Allan opining that they 'cannot be before the

¹ Kirkpatrick, 191.

seventh century; nothing is known of their attribution? The coins are illustrated in V. Smith's Catalogue of the Indian Museum, pl. xvi. 14. and Allan's Gupta Coins (British Museum) pl. xxiv. 11. legend is read doubtfully by Rapson as "Vîra [sena or simba]".1 It has "Kramādityah" on the reverse. On the obverse there is a cow in the style of the Kāmadhenu of the Nepal coins of Vaiśravana and Amsuvarman. Dr. V. Smith could not decide between "bull? or cow," an uncertainty which will be caused to everyone who would be introduced first to the Nepal Kāmadohī. The name is śrī Vara [simba]. Although certainly related to the Imperial Gupta coinage, the coin of Varasimha, has the weight not of the Gupta system but of Nepal coins, the weight of the three gold coins of Varasimha being 162.3, 162.5, and 169 grs. which as Smith says is 'abnormal' and 'not easy to explain' (p. 98). It is explainable only on the weight system of Nepal which we find there in vogue in the coinage of Vaiśravaņa and Amsuvarman (Cunningham, CAI., xiii, 3, wt. 172; xiii, 6, wt. 169 grs.).

Varasimha in dispossessing Jaya Gupta II must be taken to have dispossessed him in the Tarai. Only three coins of Varasimha have been found up to this time, and one of them was obtained by Col. Rivett-Carnak at Benares. His coins should be looked for in Champaran. We know now about Jaya Gupta II's coins that they were current

² p. 122.

¹ JRAS, 1900, 131.

near Magadha, as a mould to forge his gold coin has been just discovered (dug out) at Nālandā.¹ His principality must have been near Nālandā wherefrom the coin could be passed into the territory of its circulation or it could be discounted even in Magadha as that of a recognized feudatory. Jaya Gupta's coins are the most debased gold coins of the whole of the Gupta series, having only ⅓ gold, which shows that he was in terrible financial straits. We have both his copper and gold coins. His title on his coins is Prakāṇḍayaśaḥ. His copper coins have the Imperial Garuḍa, proving that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta family. His coins have been assigned by V. Smith to c. 600 A.D.

VIII-LICHCHHAVI COINAGE

It seems that on the weakness of the Gupta imperial organization [c. 500 A.D.] a branch from Magadha or North Bihar entered into Nepal and took direct possession of Nepal. The Lichchhavis then naturally became direct subordinates to the local Guptas. About 576 A.D. Mānadeva I reasserted the independence of the Lichchhavi dynasty and struck his coins. He was followed by Guṇa de va (or Guṇa-kāma-deva) of the Guṇānka coins. They are a twin system of [Mānānka-Guṇānka] coinage. The names Mānadeva and Guṇa-

¹ This was brought to me by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Supdt. A.S., C.C. to be deciphered. This is exactly of the type illustrated by Cunningham in CMI, pl. II. 3. The mould is made from a coin.

² V. Smith, CIM, p. 121; Cunningham, CMI, pl. II, 3; Allan, 153.

kāma-deva were transferred from between Vasantadeva I and Sivadeva I to a position below Vasantadeva II and above Sivadeva II in the Lichchhavi list. The confusion was caused by the appearance of Māna-deva II (contemporary and sovereign of Jishņu-Gupta) there between Vasantadeva-Uda-yadeva and Sivadeva II. This lead to the transposition of Mānadeva I and Gauṇakāmadeva as nos. 25 and 26 of the Lichchhavi list from their original position between nos. 15 (Vasantadeva I) and 16 (Sivadeva I).1

On the evidence of coins there seems to be an assertion by the Lichchhavis in the time of Mānadeva I who coins his money. Now the Mañjuśrī Imperial History supplies the numismatic identification of the female figure on the coins of this king: Srī-Bhoginī. It says that the Vidyā worshipped by Mānadeva (who lived before Vrishadeva) was Bhogavatī. Mañjuśrī's Imperial History begins the Lichchhavi line with him, for he was the first to become independent of the Imperial Guptas. The coin of Guna follows immediately Mānadeva's coin. But we gather from the coin of Vaiśravana that the family had again a set-back. There is no room for this last coin after Amsuvarman and the coin of Amsuvarman and that of Vaisravana are so connected that one must follow the other. The design of Kāmadohī (the reading as corrected from Kāmadehī by the Rājaguru Pandit Hema-

¹ 13 IA, 412.

rāja Sarmā) appears on these two coins only. Amsuvarman's successor Jishņu Gupta abandons it, and the Paśupati series which follows Jishnu Guptal abandons it. If it came after the Pasupati series—its date would be c. 800 A.D. which will be too late for the script of the Vaiśravana coin. The coin should therefore come before Amsuvarman and after Mānānka and Gunānka coins, where it has been already placed by numismatists (see Cunningham, C. A. I. 116). But as there is no name in the Lichchhavi list to whom it can be assigned, it has remained unassigned. We may take it to belong to 'the revived (Ahīr) Gupta dynasty,' where it can belong either to Yaksha Gupta or Bhūmi Gupta. 'Yaksha' corresponds to 'Vaiśravaṇa,' the king of the Yakshas. The legend acts as the rebus, if not the actual regnal name of the king. It may be safely presumed that the line of Vrishadeva, Sankaradeva, Dharmadeva, etc.—strikes the Pasupati coins under the new Saiva influence, in the name of their Deity, Pasupati, with changing symbols—the Trident probably signifying the reign Sankaradeva who dedicated the large trident noted in Nepal history and come down to our time. His son is accredited to have donated the copper Nandi at Pasupati. The Sun symbol on the Pasupati series denotes the Sūryavamsa of the Lichchhavis. The Pasupati coinage has 'six distinct types'1 and from Vrishadeva to Vasantadeva we have 6 kings.

¹ E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

In weight the Vaiśravaṇa coin does not belong to the series of Paśupati, but to that of Mānāṅka, Guṇānka and Amśuvarman. The Paśupati series is subsequent to Vaiśravana.¹

Chinese History on Nepal Coinage

The Chinese have described the coinage of Nepal about 643-651 A.D. Wang-Hiuen-t'se, in his description² of the kingdom of Nepal under king Narendradeva, relates that Nepal "has copper money which bears on one side the figure of a man and on the reverse a horse." In the other edition of the Thang history (called The New History), the description of the money is "on one side it bears the figure of a man and the reverse a horse and a bull, and has no hole in the middle" (that is, unlike Chinese coins).

This description is only applicable to the following coins:

(1) Coin of Vaiśravaṇa (Cunningham, C.A.I., pl. XIII, 3; Walsh, JRAS, 1908, p. 669, pl. I. 4). Here there is on the obverse what Cunningham describes—"The types [of Nepal coins] are few in number. The principal type shows the king seated on a throne holding a flower in his right hand" (p. 114) also further—"Deity or Raja, seated to front" (p. 116). The reverse has a cow (not bull). The very small calf is mostly very indistinct—e.g. on the coin illustrated by Mr. Walsh where letters and other features of the coin are all clear but the calf is difficult to distinguish. The cow

¹E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

² Preserved in the History of the Thang Dynasty; J. A., 1894, 66. The passage has been translated several times. See Lévi's citation, Nepal, i. 163-64; n2 at p. 164.

is so drawn that by a man in the street it may be taken as a bull.

- (2) Coin of Mānadeva I (Mānānka) where the figure of the goddess Bhoginī may well be mistaken for that of a man (see Mr. Walsh's plate, fig. 1). The griffin on the reverse has the perfect appearance of a horse.
- (3) Amśuvarman's series having on one side the cow [which can be mistaken for a bull] and on the other the 'horse' (really griffin) (CAI, xiii. 4; Walsh, I. 5) is the only other nearest approach, but probably it has to be ruled out for not having any human figure. Jishnu Gupta's coin has similarly to go out, because it has the griffin on one side but no human figure or the cow on the other side but vajra in a decorative style.

Hence the Chinese party who saw Nepalese copper coins in 643 to 651 A.D. based their description on the coins of MānadevaI, Vaiśravaṇa, and also possibly of Aṁśuvarman ('New History': 'horse and bull'). It seems that Mānānka, Vaiśravaṇa and Aṁśuvarman's coins had been largely minted and they mainly supplied the needs of currency up to c. 650 A.D.

The value of copper in the Madhyadeśa (Madhes of the present-day Nepalese) was 16th of silver, but probably in Nepal it was still more dear. Jishņu-Gupta's inscription at Thankot¹ calculates all

¹ Lévi, *Nepal*, iii. 104 (lines 23-25, p. 107 : kare cha yena kārshāpaṇan deyan tenāshṭau paṇā deyā yenāushṭau paṇā deyaṃ tena paṇa-chatushṭayaṃ Malla-kare cha paṇa-chatushṭayan deyam.

taxes in kārshāpaṇas, which confirms the Chinese testimony of a copper currency. So does also the fact that we have found no silver coin of the period in Neapl. But Amśuvarman's inscription of the year 30,¹ mentions both pu. (i.e. purāṇa = silver punchmarked pieces) and pa. i.e., paṇa. It is possible that the reference is only for the purposes of calculation into Kārshāpaṇas. In any case silver was rare in Nepal.²

On the vexed question of the date of Nepal coins, the Chinese description is evidence of that the age of the Mānānka and Vaiśravaṇa coins cannot be later than 643 A.D. and that Paśupati coins had not come on the scene yet and that they have to be dated after 651 A.D.

It is not possible for the Mānānka coin to belong to Mānadeva II, contemporary of Jishņu Gupta, as he ruled for a year or so, and could not leave so numerous a series, nor of course can it belong to Mānadeva III [of the Changu Narayan inscription] who came half a century later.

[On the absence of Nepal coinage between c. 800 to 1300 A.D., the discussion is to be found in this thesis in § XII].

¹ Lévi, *ibid*, p. 93 (Harigaon insc.).

² The T'ang History mentions silver in Tibet in the same period. See Bushell's translation, JRAS, 1880, p. 442—"They bave abundance of gold, silver, copper and tin."

IX—Dynastic Revolution on the death of Amsuvarman

The Line of Udayadeva

The line of Udayadeva is a puzzle. It is given both in the inscription of Jayadeva II, great grandson of Udayadeva, as if it belongs to the Lichchhavis. It is given in the Vamsavalīs as the concluding portion of the Lichchhavis line. The puzzle is solved by Chinese datum to be discussed below and the Thankot inscription of Jishnu Gupta mentioning a Mānadeva, not as 'the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty' the usual dynastic description, but as 'the banner of the dynasty seated on the throne' (singhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu).1 It is necessary to remember throughout these discussions that according to one view-e.g. Lévi's-A m ś u varman married the daughter of Sivadeva (the name Viśva supposed to be a corruption of Siva), and according to the other as noted in a Vamśāvalī in possession of the Badā Kāzi of Nepal (cited in Landon, ii, 315) Amśuvarman was adopted by Sivadeva as a son, who was some sort of a nephew to him. The inscriptions do not however show that Sivadeva treated Amsuvarman as his son, but this by itself is not sufficient. The name ending-deva in the name of Udaya-deva, who was in every event the immediate successor of Amsuvarman need not trouble us, as Amsuvarman's admitted descendants did adopt the deva-ending.

¹ Lévi, iii. 107.

What happened on the death of Amsuvarman we gather from an unexpected quarter-Chinese history of the T'ang Dynasty. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II, King Udavadeva's son was Narendradeva. About this Narendradeva there is a volume of information in the Chinese history. His dress, his palace [Kailāsakūṭa], the coinage current in his time. and his international status are all described in detail. That account says that the father of the king Na-ling-ti-po (N a r e n d r a d e v a), whom the Imperial Ambassador met in Nepal in 643 A.D., had been deposed by his (Narendradeva's) uncle, the younger brother of his father; whereupon Narendrade va sought the help of the Tibetan king (Strong-tsan-Gampo) who restored him to the throne of Nepal and made him his vassal. In 651 A.D. Srī Narendra (Chi-li-Na-lien-to-lo) sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor. This was a year later than the death of Strong-tsan-Gampo. Narendradeva was still ruling in 657 A.D. when a Chinese ambassador passed through Nepal².

We thus get the definite news that U dayadeva, father of Narendradeva was deposed by his younger brother who became king. Naturally the name of this collateral and usurper is not to be

² J.A., 1894, 63ff; 1900, 302.

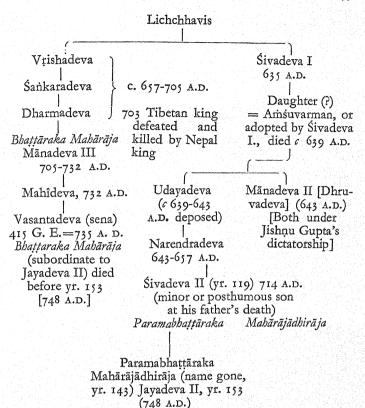
¹ The reading and interpretation of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX, 178) has been corrected by Fleet (G. I., I., 187) which correction I have verified in Nepal. The learned Rāja-Gurn Pt. Hemarāja Śarmā who has gone deep into the matter is of the opinion that it is not possible to maintain the reading trayodaśa of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.

found in the genealogy given by the grandson of Narendradeva, Jayadeva II. But we know his name from the inscriptions of Jishnu Gupta who, three or four years after the last inscription of Amśuvarman (dated 40 + 4 or 5), was ruling from the Kailāsakūta Palace of Amśuvarman as the Viceroy of Dhruvadeva who was residing at Mānagţiha, the palace of the Lichchhavi kings. Before that time Jishnu Gupta ruled also as the viceroy of Mānadeva (who should be called Mān a d e v a II as opposed to the later Manadeva, greatgrandson of Vrishadeva, who should be called Mānadeva III). The date in the inscription at Thankot wherein Mānadeva II is king, is not distinct now1 but it is not difficult to decide whether Dhruvadeva was the uncle of Narendradeva, Mānadeva II who dispossessed his father. For Dhruvadeva's date being the year 48 (= 643 A.D.) he must be the latter of the two, as Narendradeva had succeeded by 643 when he was on the throne. Then Dhruvadeva is specifically described as a Lichchhavi, while Mānadeva II is significantly described by a new appellation—'the banner of the enthroned family'—i.e., the family of Amsuvarman as opposed to that of the Lichchhavis. That also proves that Amśuvarman had also assumed full sovereignty in his last year. This is also certain that in the short period between the year 44 of Amśuvarman

¹ Lévi reads it doubtfully as 500? But I do not find this figure. On the other hand the date reads like 44, see plate XVII, last line (Lévi, iii)—See my enlarged reproduction herein.

and about 48, and before 643 A.D., Udayadeva was dethroned by Mānadeva between Udayadeva and Narendradeva (with the addition of one more name, Guṇakāma-deva, after Mānadeva, as a mistaken transposition from his place below Mānadeva I, for there is no room for Guṇakāmadeva here). Taking four years (the difference between Amśuvarman's date 44 and of Jishṇu Gupta 48), Udayadeva at the earliest must have succeeded Amśuvarman four years before Narendradeva, and latest in 642-643 A.D.

Now the line of Udayadeva when dated from Chinese data and inscriptions exhibits the ups and downs in the political position of the Lichchhavi-Thākurī line and the pure Lichchhavi line in the following manner:



Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva both had their residence at Mānagriha, hence there was no room for Vrishadeva from 6639 to 643. Narendradeva was the king of the whole of Nepal in 643 and he was such a king up to 657 at least. Hence Vrishadeva and his line rose to power after Narendradeva and during the minority of Sivadeva II, whose record we find 63 years later than his father's. During this interval Vrishadeva, Sañkaradeva, Dharmadeva, and Mānadeva III succeeded.

Dharmadeva's position seems to have been great, he set up four Pillars of Victory according to the Changu Narayan inscription of his son Mānadeva III. This is confirmed by Chinese sources. The king of Nepal killed the Tibetan king in war in 703 A.D. or 705 A.D.¹

Mānadeva in the beginning of his reign (386 G. E. = 705) carried war against the Mallas and reached the Gandak (North Bihar).² But in 732 his position is that he is merely described by a subordinate of his as *Srīmānadeva-nripati* (I.A., IX. 167) while his contemporary Sivadeva II (119 = 714 A.D.) is styled with Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* (I.A., IX. 174). And 24 years later, evidently in the reign of Jayadeva II the same imperial title still continued in the line, the family employing the Ṭhākurī era, year 143, (I.A., IX, 176); while Vasantadeva (sena) in 415⁸ G. E.=735 A.D. is only *Mahārāja* and a simple (not parama) Bhaṭṭāraka.

Vasantadeva must have been dead when Jayadeva II in the year 153=748 A.D. said about him 'āsit Vasantadeva b' (I.A, IX, 178).

The Mañjuśrī History correctly records the situation that after Udaya came Jishņu

² See Changu Narayan inscription, lines recovered by

Lévi (iii, 14).

3 I.A., IX. 167. The figure is 415, not 435; cf. plates 3 and 2 for the figure 10 (I.A., IX), and chart of figures in Bendall's Cambridge Cat. and Bühler's chart for 30.

¹ In 703 A.D. according to E. H. Parker, Journal of Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 129-52, cited by V. Smith, EH., p. 381; 705 A.D. according to Dr. Bushell, JRAS, 1880, 438.

and that Jishņu was the last independent king of Nepal, that the kings after him became subordinate to the Mlechchhas (Tibetans), and that the overlord of Nepal (Tibetan king) having been killed by arms, there arose several kings, lovers of 'Devas' and 'Brāhmaṇas.' These latter were the Lichchhavis of the line of Vrishadeva. Although Vrishadeva was a patron of Buddhism, Sankara, Dharma, Mānadeva III and also probably Vasantadeva, and certainly Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II were distinctly Brāhmanical, devotees of Vishņu and Siva, to whom their dedicated monuments still survive.

There is no trace of any Tibetan overlordship after 703 A.D. which is a landmark in their international relation—a point entirely missed by Lévi. Their imperial titles of *Paramabhatṭāraka* and *Mabārājā-dhirāja* from 714 to 738 fully establishes their independent position.

The T'ang History, bks. 256—257, gives the contemporary history of Tibet, which has been translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell, physician to the British Legation at Peking, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 435ff. According to it, Strong-tsan-Gampo (Chinese—Ch'it-sung-lungtsan) died in 650 and was succeeded by his grandson, aged 8, whose son Ch'inush hsilung was killed in his expedition against Nepal and was succeeded by a minor son aged 7 in 705 A.D. It was not until 755-756 (two successions later) that the Tibetan king once more rose to military greatness by attacking China and taking her capital in 756 A.D. Between 740 and 769 A.D. Tibet

was defeated by Muktapîda Lalitaditya of Kashmir.¹ Between 822 and 842 Tibet again goes down and a civil war ensues (842), and in 849 Tibet becomes a broken vassal of China. It becomes thus evident that in Dharmadeva's time (703) Tibet is defeated, and down to the time of Jayadeva II (748 A.D.) Nepal was absolutely her own master, there being weakness in Tibet up to 755.² C. 800 Nepal was strong enough to defeat the great Jayāpīda.

It is noteworthy that the family of Mānadeva II is not named by Jishņu Gupta at Thankot as the Lichchhavi-kula-ketu, but as singhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu (Lévi, iii, 105). This fully confirms the view that Udayadeva and his brother were not technically Lichchhavis, but Ṭhā-kurīs. It should be noted however that Yuan Chwang regards the kings before Aṁśuvarman and after him (even including Aṁśuvarman) as Lichchhavis. That is, in the Ṭhākurī family the predominant element was the Lichchhavi affiliation.

The date of Narendradeva (643-657) definitely contributes to the ascertainment of the correct date for Amsuvarman. He must have

¹ Mon. Lévi has not noticed the Nepalese victory over Tibet of the year 703 A.D. and has gratuitously held Nepal to have been subject to Tibet from the time of Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman down to 880 A.D., while the Chinese historians themselves state the Indians states that used to approach China against Tibet ceased to do so at 760 A.D.—S. Julien, J.A. 1842. 2.
² V. Smith, EH., 386-87.

died not later than 643, or minus 4 or 3 years of Jishņu Gupta's rule, c 640 or 639 A.D.

It was in the time of Narendradeva that Nepal for the first time became a vassal of Tibet, that is, about 643 A.D. This is definitely stated by the Chinese history. This happened as a result of Narendradeva's seeking help of foreign intervention and not as a result of any military invasion. It was Narendradeva who furnished 7000 cavalry to the Chinese ambassador along with the Tibetan force of 1200, to dislodge Arjuna or Arunāś va, and not Amśuvarman as erroneously stated by Fleet. Narendradeva's name is specifically noted by the Chinese writers in this connection.

It is likely that the marriage of the alleged daughter of A m s u v a r m a n with S t r o n g t s a n - G a m p o took place, if in 642 A.D. the agreed date, not in the lifetime of A m s u v a r m a n but after him and in the period when the Nepalese king was seeking the help of Tibet. If the lady was a sister of U d a y a d e v a, she was the daughter of A m s u v a r m an. If she was a sister of N a r e n d r a d e v a, she was U d a y a d e v a 's daughter. The Tibetan word translated as prabhāvarman may stand either for Amsuvarman or Udaya (deva) varman. In the closing years (about the year 44) Amsuvarman was Mahārājādhirāja. That title, the chronology, and the Chinese records are all against A m s u v a r m a n's having accepted the

¹ GI, I., 190.

suzerainty of Tibet. And so is also the express authority of the Mañjuśrī History which definitely dates the foreign domination of Nepal after Jishņu-Gupta.

X-Architecture, Epigraphy and Constitution

Chinese account of Nepal, 643-651 A.D.

[History of the Thang Dynasty, c. 2211] People, Currency, Arts, Sciences and Worship

"The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet. The inhabitants have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of the eye-brows. pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of cattle. It is a mark of beauty to have ears hanging upto the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse [New History: They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which have no hole in the middle]. They do not pierce the noses of their bulls. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelopes the body. They bathe themselves several times a day. Their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic plays, they take pleasure in blow-

¹ J. A. 1894, 65ff.

ing trumpets and beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are equally clever in the art of the Calendar-maker. They adore five celestial spirits, and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it in sacrifice."

The King

"Their king, Nalingtipo (Narendradeva) adorns himself with true pearls, rock crystal, mother-of-pearl, coral, and amber; he has in the ears rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of the Buddha. He seats himself on a seat of lions.¹ In the middle of the hall one spreads flowers and perfumes. The nobles and the officers and all the court are seated to the right and to the left on the ground; at his sides are ranged hundreds of soldiers having arms."

Kailāsakūţa Palace in 643-657 A.D.

"In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams, and every thing therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a waterpipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through runnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden Makara."

¹ Cf. Thankot inscr.—simhāsanādhyāsi-kulaketu.

The Vamsavalis throughout mention the construction of palaces of nine storeys and seven storeys and of copper-roofing temples. The art of Nepal excited the admiration of the Chinese, themselves highly artistic.

Architecture and Temples of Nepal in 657 A.D.

The following passages from Chinese History (translated from French by Dr. Banerji-Sastri) prove that in the year 657 A.D. when the Ambassador Wang Hiuentse passed through Nepal once more (in the reign of Narendradeva whom he had known since 643 A.D.) his companions saw a petroleum spring in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu, which might be rediscovered with profit.

The architectural style which is now known as the pagoda style was already in vogue in Nepal in the middle of the seventh century. The Chinese saw there then such temples and secular buildings, the like of which they had not seen or known in their own country. The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not vice versa. The style was not known in China before, while every house in Nepal in its essentials is composed in that style. It was a Nepalese invention, and such is also the opinion of Mr. Landon (ii. 257-58) who can speak on the subject with authority as he studied the question in China also. Throughout Tibet and Mongolia the style is unknown. This shows that in China it was an importation, at first as a Buddhist religious architecture from Nepal.

The passage bearing on the palace of Narendra-

deva which was no other than the Kailāsakūṭa, of which Amśuvarman was greatly proud (inscription of the year 34), is cited above. The Vamśāvalīs too note the great Palace and Secretariate built by Amśuvarman (Wright, p. 133).

Wang Hiuen-ts'e on Nepal

I.—"The Si-kouo-hing-tchoan of Wang Hiuen-ts'e says: In the second year of Hien-king (657) an imperial order sent Wang Hiuen-ts'e and some others into the kingdoms of the West to offer to the Buddha a Kaṣāya. They went to Ni-po-lo (Nepāla) towards the South-West. Arrived at Pouo-lo-tou, they came to the east of the village at the bottom of a depression. There was there a small lake of water on fire. If one takes in hand some lighted fire to illuminate it, suddenly on its surface appears a luminous fire which emerges from the very bosom of the water. If one wishes to extinguish it by drenching it with water, the water changes into fire and burns. The Chinese envoy and his followers placed thereon a cooking vessel and thus prepared their nourishment by heating. The envoy interrogated the king of the country; the king replied to him: Yore, in striking strokes with a staff, one made to appear a chest of gold; order was given to a man to drag it out. But each time that one pulled it out, it replunged. Tradition says that it is the gold of the diadem of Mi-le P'ou-sa (Maitreya Bodhisattva), who is due to come to complete the path. The Naga of fire protects it and defends it; the fire of this lake

is the fire of the Naga of Fire."1

II.—"To the South-East of the capital, at a small distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one li towards the East, one finds the fountain A-ki-po-li2 (the Fa-youen-tchou-lin bears: A-ki-po-mi; the same alternations in the two redactions of the History of the T'angs). Its circumference is of 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry time as in the season of the rains, it is deep; it does not dissipate but keeps on steaming always. If one holds in hand some lighted fire, the entire tank takes fire; the smokes and the fire rise several feet high. If one drenches this fire with some water, then the fire becomes more intense. If one launches therein powdered dust, the flame ceases and what one throws therein turns to ash. If one places a cooking vessel over the water to prepare the food by heating, it is wellheated. There was in olden time in this fountain a coffer of gold. A king ordered to drag this coffer out. When one had brought it out of the mud, the men and elephants pulled at it without succeeding in making it come out. And in the night a supernatural voice says: Here is the diadem of Maitreya Buddha; creatures could not assuredly obtain it, because the Nāga of Fire guards it."

"To the South of the town, at more than 10 li, is found an isolated mountain covered with an extraordinary vegetation; Temples are disposed there in numerous storeys which one would take for a crown

¹ Missions of Wang—Fragment IV, drawn from Fa-youen-tchou-lin, chap. xvi, p. 15b, col. 17.

² Agni-purî, or agni-pushkarî—K. P. J.

of clouds. Under the pines and the bamboos, the fishes and the dragons follow man, tame and confiding. They approach the man and come to receive what to eat. Who does them violence causes the ruin of those his own."

"Recently the orders of the Empire passed by this kingdom and thence extended far. Now it depends on T'eu-fan (Tibet)."¹

III.—"In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 tch'eu of height and 80 peu (400 feet) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces² and each terrace is divided in seven storyes. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them."

Epigraphy of Nepal of the 7th and 8th centuries

Epigraphy of Nepal is a peculiar matter—it is puzzling, especially when one first takes to it. Writing in Nepal is very stationary, the result being that epigraphs of the seventh century appear to be older by several centuries, judged from the standard of the plains. This lead Professor Lévi to assign records dated in Gupta Era to Saka Era and a supposed Lichchhavi Era. The best authority on Nepal paleography is Dr. Bendall who made a very deep study of manuscript paleography of Nepal and with that knowledge he had no hesitation in

¹ Fragments II and III.

^{2 &}quot;Court-yards" in the Vamśāvalīs (Wright, 133).

³ Cheu-kia-fang-tchi. Cf. Le Nepal, per S. Lévi, vol. I, pp. 157-9.

assigning correct dates to Nepal lithic inscriptions. He found Gupta characters of the fourth and fifth centuries which were distinct from the Amsuvarman group (*Journey*, p. 5). Outside the Kathmandu group of towns no search has been made at sites of the old seats of governments. The Kailāsakūṭa mound is yet to be excavated.

In the meantime I may emphasize the archaic nature of Nepal epigraphy by citing one example. There is a copy of the law Digest Kalpataru of Lakshmīdhara, which was written in the time of the author—12th century. I was anxious to see it, but as the owner General Kaisar Shamsher Jang was away from Nepal I could not see it. My friend the Rājaguru told me that the manuscript which is (on palm leaf) in Nāgarī has notes on the margin of leaves in Gupta characters. Similarly the Rañjana script still current in Nepal is only a variety of Gupta letters. It is so common that ordinary engravers made seals for me in this script.

As Gupta writing persisted in Nepal, so did Guptan and post-Guptan style in sculpture in Nepal. At every step I was deceived by sculptures, a few centuries old, giving an impression of the 9th century and 8th century technique.

Origin of Dual Sovereignty in Nepal

Dual Sovereignty is a bad working hypothesis to the modern political theorist. But it is fully attested and authenticated by the history of Nepal—not only of the period reviewed above but also of the subsequent periods—fully borne out by colophons of manuscripts noted by Bendall (Nepal Catalogue, i, Introduction), by inscriptions [e.g., Bendall's Journey. p. 15] and notices in the Vamsavalis of "joint rule" down to our own time. It is in the very soil of Nepal and works well, wonderfully well. Its origin lies in the dual constitution of the Lichchhavis —of the Rājā and Upa-Rājā—which they carried from Vaiśāli into Nepal. Even in their Monarchical days they could not shake it off. The curious sight of two sovereigns in the new Svayamabhū nāth inscription and in the Early Thakuri history puzzled me until the Lichchhavi constitution of the republican Vaiśāli was recalled. This Dvairājya system which was fully known to Ancient Hindus and which the Jaina sūtras ask their monks to avoid, is suitable for a constitutional oasis like Nepal. It, at the same time, put a limit to her power of expansion.

Nepal in the past, as to this day, has been mainly oligarchical and never purely monarchical. Therein lies both her strength and weakness.

XI-THAKURIS AFTER JAYADEVA II

The list of the Vamśāvalīs² for the period 880 A.D. to the present dynasty has been confirmed³ by the researches of Dr. Bendall based purely on dated

¹ JBORS, XXII. 81.

² Bendall's Vamsāvalī, *Nepal Cat.* i, p. 21; Bhagwanlal Indraji's ed., I.A., IX. 413, other Vamsāvalīs in Lévi's *Nepal*, ii. 131-132; Kirkpatrick, 261-262.

³ Only the Third Thākurī Dynasty—I.A., IX, 414—6 names—Jayachandra Malla to Aśoka Malla coming before Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1354 A.D.), never ruled and are to be excluded. They must have been subordinate rulers.

manuscripts of Nepal (Cat., p. 21ff). It is therefore not necessary for me to deal with the list after Rāghavadeva (880 A.D.). The names from Rāghavadeva to the end of the dynasty in the Vamśāvalī cited by Bendall (14th century) are:

```
Jayadeva (III) (10 yrs.)

Vikramadeva (8 yrs. 9 months)

Narendradeva (III) (1 yr. 6 months)

Guṇakāmadeva (II) (65 yrs. 5 months)

Udayadeva II (1018¹ A.D., according to the total of the above reign-period; (5 yrs. 5 months)

Nirbhaya (MS., 1008; A.D.) (K., 7 yrs.)

Bhojadeva (dated MS., 1015 A.D., not in Bendall's V. list)

[Rudra not in any V.]

Lakshmīkāmadeva (1015 A.D., dated manuscript) (21 yrs.)
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Rāghavadeva 880 A.D. (46 yrs. 6 months)

Jayakāmadeva, 1039 A.D., MS., 'reign over half the kingdom' (20 yrs.) (Bendall's V.; at first joined with the two above).

Against this we have in the other lists:

```
[Rāghavadeva, only in K., 63 yrs.].

12 Jayadeva (III) (15 yrs.)

13 Balārjunadeva (17 yrs.) [in K. he is above Rāghavadeva]

14 Vikramadeva (12 yrs.)

[Narendradeva, only in K., 1½ yrs.]

15 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (51 yrs.)
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¹ There must be a mistake of at least 10 yrs. because the next king's date is 1008 A.D. (Bendall, p. 21).

[Udaya, only in K., 6 yrs.] [Nirbhaya, only in K., 7 yrs.] 16 Bhojadeva (8 yrs.) 17 Lakshmīkāmadeva (22 yrs.)

In the latter list no. 13 Balārjunadeva is extra. But in the list of Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī, which is in age next to Bendall's and earlier than Wright's and Bhagwanlal's, we have Balārjuna above Rāghavadeva who is omitted by other Vamśāvalīs. Hence the correct order seems to be that Balārjunadeva should come before Rāghavadeva¹, i.e.

[12] Balārjunadeva Rāghavadeva

[13] Jayadeva III etc.

The succession of the Țhākurī line before Rāghavadeva, thus corrected, stands in the following order. [Fortunately at this period we begin to get reliable reign-periods. The Vamśāvalīs place these below Amśuvarman, 42 yrs., K., but they come really below Sivadeva II, as Amśuvarman is misplaced from below Sivadeva I to below Sivadeva II; and Jayadeva II (son of Sivadeva II) is omitted. Then the order runs thus:]

- (2) Kritavarman [18 yrs. (K.),654 A.D.²]
- (3) Bhīmārjunadeva I [39 yrs. (K.), 672 A.D.]
- (4) Nandadeva 'introduced the Era of Sālivāhana in Nepal' [13 yrs. (K.), 711 A.D.]

² Dates are calculated back from 880 A.D. for Rāghavadeva

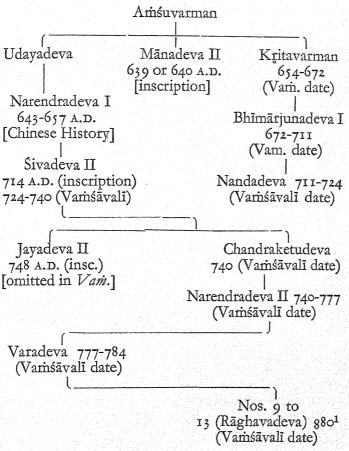
(see above).

¹ In K. the names Balārjuna and Jayadeva have been repeated three times—evidently the composer who was consulting three authorities copied three orders. All this confusion is cleared up by Bendall's authority.

- (5) Sivadeva II (K.) 16 yrs., 724 A.D. [Vîradeva—other recensions]
- (6) Chandraketudeva, [omitted by K., did not complete even a year according to others] 740 A.D.
- (7) Narendradeva [instituted Tibetan Buddhist worship, and several foundations] 37 yrs. (K.), 7 yrs. (W.) 740—777 A.D.
- (8) Varadeva, 17 yrs. (K.), 23 yrs. (L.) 8 yrs. (W.) 777-784 A.D.
- (9) Samkaradeva 12 yrs. (all authorities) 784-796 A.D.
- (10) Vardhamānadeva 13 yrs., 16 yrs., (K.) (Bhīmārjunadeva (K.) 812 A.D.
- (11) Balideva 13 yrs., 16 yrs. (K.) 828 A.D.
- (12) Balārjunadeva 36 yrs., (36 yrs., 7ms. (K.), other 17 yrs.) 844 A. D. Rāghavadeva 46 yrs. (Bendall) 880-926 A.D.

It seems that Kṛitavarman and Bhī-mārjunadeva I did not reign; no reign period is given to them by Wright's Vamśāvalī, nor is any event ascribed to them. They are mere names. They might have been feudatories, or only ancestors introduced here to give a complete genealogy from Amśuvarman. Their reign-periods given in Bhagwanlal's and Lévi's Vamśāvalīs—87 and 93 years—attempt to bridge the time roughly between Amśuvarman and Sivadeva II. The alternative years for them in Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī (18 and 39) will make their branch begin about c 654 A.D.

The line should be counted from No. 5 S iv a deva II, the three names before are probably of feudatories. The descent seems to have been thus:



The omission of Jayadeva II by the Vamśāvalīs in both lists—Lichchhavi and Ṭhākurī—is significant. After Sivadeva II the main authority seems to have passed to Chandraketudeva whose

¹ Kirkpatrick, p. 202.

succession is noted to have been disputed, evidently by Jayadeva II who is not given the full title of sovereignty in his inscription. Probably Chandraketudeva was the elder, and Jayadeva II a usurper. Sivadeva II is given both in the Lichchhavi line (no. 27) after Udayadeva and Mānadeva (with the misplaced Gunakāmadeva) and in the Thakuri line. This confusion resulted in the Chroniclers because they had read the inscription of Jayadeva II, and on account of the claim of the descendants of Amsuvarman to be the true Lichchhavi heirs1. But the chronology adopted by the Vamsavalis2 is correct and agrees with the inscriptional dates and dates from Chinese History. The Thakuri list further proves by the repetition of Sīvadeva II that the line of Udayadeva really descended from Amsuvarman.

Defeat of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (782—813 A.D.) of Kashmir by Nepal

Jayāpīḍa, the Karkoṭa king of Kāśmir, whose history is related at length by Kalhaṇa in his History of Kāshmir, c. iv, verses 402-659, came to throne $48\frac{1}{2}$ years after the accession of Muktā-pīḍa Lalitāditya who had been invested by the Emperor of China in 733 A.D. He therefore became king in or about 782 A.D. and ruled for

² That is, the chronology based on the date 880 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era.

¹One Vamsāvalī cited in Mr. Landon's book Nepal, ii, 315 (Badā Kaji's Vamsāvalī) says that Amśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I.

31 years, up to 813 A.D. He is related to have minted an unprecedented quantity of copper dinnaras (verse 617) which is attested by "multitudes" of his coins surviving today.1 Jayāpīda distinguished himself both as king and scholar. He had great daring and desired to be Emperor of India. His exploits extended from the plains of Hindustan to Nepal. He was utterly defeated by the able tactics, peculiarly Nepalese, of the king of Nepal, and was taken prisoner. He was confined in a high stone-tower over the Kāla Gaṇḍikā (modern Kāli Gaṇḍak) until rescued by his faithful minister Devasarman who pursuaded the Nepal king to promise to release him for a ransom, and obtained an interview with his master on that pretext. This episode has been unnecessarily disbelieved by V. Smith (p. 387). The very details and circumstantial and internal evidence furnished by Kalhana affirm the truth of the account. It should be remembered that it was recent history in the time of Kalhana who wrote his History in 1148-1150 A.D. The account runs as follows:

Jayāpīḍa started on a dig-vijaya with a large cavalry and reached Prayāga (413-417). After establishing his influence by his marriage at Pundravardhana where he went secretly, he defeated the king of Kānyakubja with the help of Bengal and carried away his imperial Lion (simhāsana) Throne (471) and returned to Kashmir after three years, where he was welcomed by his people, who were keen to suppress his traitorous minister Jajja. He made Udbhaṭa, a man of letters, President of his Council, and the famous Dāmodaragupta, author of the Kuṭṭanī-mata, his chief minister. He put up buildings, made reforms,

¹ V. Smith, EH, 387.

blished a 'Moving Bank' to follow his army, and assumed the name Vinayāditya (517).

He went as a spy into the eastern kingdom of Bhīmasena, evidently on his border, and was taken prisoner, from which condition he escaped simulating a contagious disease. On his release he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal, which was under King Aramudi.

King Aramudi, endowed with the art of war and valour. a skilled tactician, planned Jayāpīda's defeat (verse 531). He allowed Jayāpīda to enter the kingdom and retreated to 'a great distance' with his army, occasionally making himself visible to the pursuing Jayāpīda (533-34) who all the time imagined on account of his success in small encounters during the pursuit that he was having a victorious march. J. planted himself on the bank of a river near a large lake, to the east, when on the second or the third day he found to his 'indignation' the enemy facing him with his colours on the other side of the river. The enraged Jayāpīda ordered his army to cross the river which was only knee-deep. [The Nepalese knew their terrain and knew the use of their rivers]. The Kashmir army and their king were swept down by the current which suddenly rose and became irresistible. Cries arose from the bed of the river of distress and that of joy from the opposite bank. Aramudi promptly had Jayāpīda caught at a great distance down the river by the alert Nepalese soldiers with the aid of skins and brought before him with his fine clothes and ornaments of royalty having been deprived by the river. The occasion was celebrated by the Nepalese. He was assigned to a tall tower of stone on the river Kāla Gandikā [the river now called Kālī Gandak in western Nepal] where he was very closely guarded by the trusted men of the 'wise king' of Nepal (546-548). Kalhana notes that ślokas composed by the king Jayāpīda in that confinement, looking down upon the free river, were recited by learned men with pathos even in his own days (550).

Then follows the proposal to king Aramudi by the

Kashmir minister to release Jayāpīḍa on receiving a ransom and on condition to make Kashmir a dependency of Nepal. Devaśarman received permission to meet his master Jayāpīḍa, and affected his escape by ultimately committing suicide and thereby offering his body as a float.

This latter detail may be an exaggeration of an accident in the attempt of the minister to swim across the river with his master. But the rest of the account is a matter of fact narration recorded by Kashmir at the cost of her own reputation—a statement against her own interest.

Prof. Lévi not recognising the name in the Vamśāvalīs, declared with his Tibetan bias, the king called *Aramuḍi* to be a Tibetan. But Kāshmîrîs knew the Tibetans too well to make a mistake like that. Kāla Gaṇḍikā, still called Kālī Gaṇḍak and the western portion of Nepal where the scene is located offer verification of the story.

In the Nepal Vamsāvalīs we have four steps above Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era of 880 A.D. (Bendall, Nepal Catalogue, p. 21; I.A, IX, 413) Vara-deva¹. Vara-deva or 'King Vara', (771-784 A.D.)² suits the chronology to be a contemporary of Jayāpīda (782-813 A.D.). Vara seems to have changed into Ara. Varadeva ruled a second

¹Varadeva Śańkaradeva Vardhamānadeva Balideva [Rāghavadeva] Jayadeva

The chronology from Rāghavadeva downwards is fully detailed and made certain by Dr. Bendall.

² See above the preceding part of this section.

time, having entered a monastery as a Buddhist monk (Wright, 142).¹ Or, Ara [in Kāshmîrî meaning hair (Grierson, Dictionary, p. 41)] and muḍi (muṇḍita) might denote 'monk' king.

There seems to be in the Vamsavalis, which are a record of superstitious Buddhist priests interested in glorification of Tantrika gods and goddesses and their idols, the historical account as degenerated into a fantastic story. Karkota is the name of the dynasty to which Jayāpīda belonged. It is also the name of a famous Nāga worshipped in Kashmir and elsewhere in India. The Vamsavalis note that Gorakh-nath, the saint, arrived in Nepal in the reign of Varadeva and arrested Karkota Nāga and imprisoned him in a hillock (Wright, pp. 140, 143). This caused a great mischief resulting in a draught. Then king Varadeva sought the help of Achārya Bandhudatta who rescued and released Karkota and established happiness in the valley. Bandhudatta had the pleasure of crossing rivers on the body of Karkota all the same.

Fortunately the History of Kashmir has preserved this account which illustrates the successful traditional tactics of Nepal. Throughout the historian of Kashmir has used words of high respect for the Nepal king who defeated the idol of Kāshmir history—a most courageous figure, a most able king, an accomplished scholar, their greatest patron of men of letters and of letters—although his last days were marked with disregard for temple property which he largely

¹ This will fall after 784 A. D.

resumed, and contempt for the Brahmin caste, yet he remained a figure of whom Kashmir has been proud.

There is no reason to transfer from Nepal this chapter of glory to Tibet or to the domain of romance, as done by Lévi and Smith.

XII—Pala's connexion with Nepal and Nepal's later coinage

In the last quarter of the eighth century, that is, in the period after Jayadeva II, the Pāla Paramountcy begins in India, which remained on the increase in the reign of Dharmapāla (c. 800) and Devapāla (c. 850 A. D.) whose paramountcy did reach the Himalayan hill states (Kīra) and their borders The Pala emperors came in conflict (Assam). with a Himalayan people called the Kāmbojas who broke the Pala power for a time and who actually set themselves up at Dinajpur, where one of the routes from Nepal leads down to. This eclipse of the Pālas falls to be in the epoch when Nepal starts her own era in 880 A.D. Under Mahīpāla I the Pāla empire recovered (about 978 or 980).1 During his reign Buddhism in Tibet was revived by new missions from Bihar, and we take it that Nepal was not ignored. Naya Pāla, his successor, who defeated Karna Kalachuri was succeeded by a wicked and weak son, MahīPāla II, who was succeeded by the powerful Rāma Pāla (1084-1130). His rule covered Mithila and Assam (V. Smith, E. H., 416). We have positive evidence, which had been

¹ V. Smith, E. H., pp. 414-415.

missed so far, that Rāma Pāla was the suzerain of Nepal also.

A palm-leaf manuscript—Kubjikāmatam which is a part of the Tāntrika Buddhist work Kulālikāmnāya is in the Nepal State Library (H. P. Sastri, Catalogue, p. 54) which is in Newārī characters. It notes in the colophon that the manuscript was copied under the reign of the Buddhist Emperor Rāmapāladeva:

Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka parama-Saugata-Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad-Rāmapāladevasya

pravardha—(i.e. pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye). The portion in front of parameśvara is read as Rāmadevasya which if it refers to the Nepal king has to be read as Vāmadevasya whose time as ascertained from manuscripts of his reign and his predecessor and successor is between 1077 and 1090 A.D. (Bendall, Nepal Catalogue, Intro. p. 22).

We have thus positive proof of the fact that at least in the time of RāmaPāla Nepal was under Pāla suzerainty. It is very likely that under DharmaPāla and DevaPala a similar state obtained.

We do not find Nepal striking her own coins from about 800 A.D. onwards. This is probably explained by the fact of the Pāla domination, which was immediately followed by the Kārnāṭaka domination beginning with Nānyadeva. At the close of the Kārnāṭaka period we find Nepal imitating the coin of Alauddin Khilji.¹ Then follows a troubled period until stability is restored under

¹ See separate article on the Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal in JBORS., XXII. 81.

Jayasithimalla¹ (1380-1394). Nepal acknowledged nominal suzerainty of Delhi as noted by Travernier.² And naturally we do not find a Nepal coinage until permission for establishing a mint was obtained from the early Moghuls.

Nepal thus from 800 A.D. or at any rate from 1080 A.D. remained as part of the Indian Empire up to Moghul days in international theory, which found a tangible expression in the history of her coinage—the absence of coinage. The same is to be predicated of her in the Imperial Gupta times as well.

B EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

XIII—"NIMISHA DYNASTY" [205 A.D. TO 350 A.D.]
AND KIRATA DYNASTY [590 B.C. TO 110 A.D.]

The Vamśāvalīs³ other than Kirkpatrick's give five names at the close of the native K i rāt a Dynasty and before the Sūryavamása, i.e., the Lich-chavi Dynasty of Nepal—Nimisha (Nevesit—K.)—Manāksha (or Matāksha), Kāka-varman, Paśuprekshadeva (founder of the Paśupati Temple who introduced Aryan population from Hindustan) and Bhāskaravarman (who conquered the whole of India, and being childless adopted Bhūmivarman). They call this

¹ There was a Khasiyā invasion (1328 A. D.—Bendall, p. 10) and to that period must belong the curious clay coins of *Mathi singha Khasiyā*. The legend, in Nāgarī, is on the milled edge.

² II. ch. XV.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji's recension summarised in I. A., XIII. 411 at 412; Wright's copy in his *History of Nepal*, 112; Lévi's copy summarised in his *Nepal*, ii. 83.

Somavamsî dynasty. With Bhūmivarman whose grandson was Jayadeva II (mentioned in the inscription of Jayadeva II) the later Vamsāvalīs begin a new dynasty (the Sūryavamsa). But Kirkpatrick's authority while mentioning this adoption, does not begin a new dynasty and treats the two groups as forming one dynasty 'Nevesit'. It begins the dynasty with Nevesit. This Nevesit is really Nevesit corresponding with Nimisha of the later works, which have really turned *Nivisi into Nimisha. 'Nivisi' represented *Nichivi (*Nisivi) = Nichehhivi (Manu) = Lichehhavi. There was no distinct dynasty of a Somavam's a of the five rulers in the original authorities.

The seven rulers before Jayadeva I were rulers obviously in the plains, that is, at Vaiśālī. They annexed Nepal about 200 A. D. and established a direct government there, marking the event with the installation of Paśupati-which is a Mukhalinga of the style of the Nāga-Vākāṭakas, i.e., of the period. 'Nimisha' being only the dynastic name the first ruler of Nepal would be Mānāksha or Matāksha, and the effective founder, Paśuprekha the third king, who is credited with the introduction of Hindu caste-rules and population (of four varṇas) from Hindustan, and as being the founder of Paśupati's Temple.

His successor Bhāskaravarman, the great conqueror of India, is probably the grandfather of Samudra Gupta, and father-in-law of Chandragupta I. He was still probably the President

¹ See my *History of India*, 150-350 A.D., the plates and description of the Nachnā and other images.

of the Republic at Vaiśālī, for the coins of Chandra Gupta I are struck by the "Lichchhavis." He seems to have defeated Magadha and evidently his dominions were large enough to entitle Chandra Gupta I to call himself Mahārājādhirāja. The seat of government changed from Vaiśālī to Nepal where his adopted son Bhūmivarman succeeded and the plains passed on to Chandra Gupta I and his Queen, the Lichchhavi lady. In Nepal Jayadeva I turned the state into a monarchy or a double kingship.

The succession seems to have stood thus:

Bhāskara-Varmā [or,-Deva]

Daughter=Chandra Gupta I Bhūmi-Varmā (or,-Deva)

Jayadeva I

We may roughly date the Early Lichchhavis:

C. 205 A. D.	Mānāksha	
C. 230 A.D.	Kāka-varman	
C. 255 A. D.	Paśuprekshadeva	
c. 280-305 A. D.	Bhāskaravarman	
c. 305 A. D.	Bhūmivarman	
C. 330 A. D.	Chandravarman [Is he	
현실, 100 전 100 전 	the same as Chandra-	
	Gupta I?]	

c. 340 or 350 A. D. Jayadeva I¹

The Lichchhavi monarchy in Nepal probably retained its original character of divided sovereignty,

¹ This date is calculated on the basis of Jayadeva II's inscription: See Fleet, GI, I. p. 189; and other data in the section on Lichchhavi list, supra.

otherwise the position of Amsuvarman's dictatorship and Sivadeva's sovereignty is not explicable. Probably even before Amsuvarman some similar arrangement obtained.

Nimisha is said to have displaced the Kirāta Dynasty in Nepal—(205 A.D.).

The original Kirāta Dynasty which is the first dynasty of Nepal had 28 kings.1 It was under the 15th Kirāta—Sthunko—that Aśoka visited Nepal. According to the Nepal Chronicles the autonomy of Nepal was maintained by Aśoka under the Kirāta dynasty. This may or may not be correct, as Aśoka's son-in-law Devapāla and his daughter became permanent residents there. After Asoka and Dasaratha the original dynasty would have revived in Nepal Proper. · In the Western part of Nepal in Sunga times we find silver coins of Sunga princes (Sumitra)2, Imperial and local (Sivapālita). It is possible that early Sungas might have exercised suzerainty over Nepal. But the continuous line of the Kirāta House entitles us to assume a continuous autonomy. The succession of 15 kings from the time of A so ka and Sthunko would bring the dynasty to about IIO A. D. [see below].

We have thus a gap between the Kirāta and the Lichchhavi epochs—110 A. D. and 205 A. D.

² Almora coins of alloyed silver; JBORS, XX. 301.

¹ The Gupta and Ahīr dynasties introduced before the Kirātas (600 B. C.-110 A. D.) who are treated again with the kings of the Sixth and Seventh centuries A.D. are really misplaced here; it simply signifies that Hindu history in Nepal begins with the Gupta Period.

—which is not filled up by the written history of Nepal.

Here coins come to our help. Mr. E. H. Walsh has recorded (JRAS., 1908, p. 677) that a hoard of Kushan coins was dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāṭhmāṇḍu. They were coins of Wema Kadphises and of Kanishka. It seems that the Kushan rule might fill this gap of hundred years. Though evidence is not yet conclusive.

The beginning of the Kirāta dynasty (13 generations before A so k a) is to be dated about 600 B. C.

The Kirāta Kings

Omitting Yalamva and Pavi [omitted in K.], as belonging to the Second Kirāta dynasty of the sixth century (§ VII), the approximate dates of the kings of the First Kirāta Dynasty will be as calculated below on the basis of the date of Sthunko, contemporary of Aśoka:

2.	Dhaskam			c. 590 B.C.
3.	Valamva			c. 565 B.C.
4.	Hṛiti			c. 540 B.C.
5.	Humati	•••		c. 515 B.C.
6.	[Tuskhah] K			c. 490 B.C.
7.	Jitedāsti [Sroopast-K.]			с. 465 в.с.
8.	[Galiṁja]	•		c. 440 B.C.
9.	P (T)ushka Pamcham (K.)	•	• •	c. 415 B.C.
10.	Suyarma [King-king-king (K	[.)]		c. 390 B.C.
II.	Parba [Soonand-K.]			с. 365 в.с.
12.	Thunka [Thoomoo-K.]			C. 340 B.C.
13.	Kemke			c. 315 B.C.
14.	Svananda [Jaighree-K.]			c. 290 B.C.
15.	Sthumko [contemporary of A	\soka]		с. 265 в.с.
16.	Gighri [Suenkeh-K.]		.,	c. 240 B.C.
	그렇게 그가 하고 뭐라요 하는 일을 하는 것이 하는 것이 하는 것이 없는 것이다.			

17.	Nane [Thoor-K.]		••	C. 215 B.C.
18.	Luk [Thamoo-K.]		••	с. 190 в.с.
19.	Thor [Barmah-K.]		• • •	с. 165 в.с.
20.	Thoko [Ganjeh-K.]		•••	C. 140 B.C.
21.	Varma [Kashkoon-K.]	• •	•••	c. 115 B.C.
22.	Guja [Teeshoo-K.]	• •	••	с. 90 в.с.
23.	Pushka [Soogmeea-K.]		• •	с. 65 в.с.
24.	Kesu [Joosha-K,]		••	c. 40 B.C.
25.	Suga [Gontho-K.]		• • •	C. I5 B.C.
26.	Sansa [Khembhoom-K.]		• •	c. 10 A.D.
27.	Gunan [Galijang-K.]			C. 35 A.D.
28.	Khimbu		• •	c. 60 A.D.
29.	Paṭuka	• •	• •	c. 85 A.D.
20	Gasti			C. IIO A.D.

It may be noted that the popular tradition in Nepal today is that the first dynasty of Nepal was *Kirātī*, second *Newārî*, and lastly *Gorkhā*.

C

A RETROSPECT

XIV

The history of Nepal is a part of the history of India and of the Hindu Race. The valley was colonized by the Hindus both consciously and by natural process of expansion. Yet it is the history of a colony, with its distinctive features. Those features may be summarised in this way. The ruling dynasties, though mostly Hindus from the plains of India—the Mauryas, the Lichchhavis, the Kārnāṭakas, the Gorkhas—have a tendency to establish a system of divided sovereignty which works happily in that happy valley of Pasupati. There is much less cause

for jealousy in that system on the soil of Nepal than anywhere else. Joint rules and regencies are a familiar problem in the Lichchhavi times, in the Ṭhākurî times, in the Malla times and in the Gurkha times—two kings occupying the same town or contiguous towns afford a picture of a Mitāksharā family agreeing upon, as we say in Hindu law, a 'division for the convenience of enjoyment' rather than upon an actual division by metes and bounds. This divided sovereignty would baffle theorists of political science but has been a familiar, good working system in Nepal.

There is always a sort of internal weakness, but to the outside world Nepal has always shown strength. Throughout her history there has been no case of traitorous betrayal. Internally weak, but externally strong is again a political problem which is explainable by its republican origin noticed above. Nepal's whole history bears out the rule that the little kingdom can defend itself most effectively—it defeated Tibet in her palmiest days when Tibet was the first power in Asia, it defeated Kashmir when Kashmir was the first power in India, it defeated King Shamsuddin, the most brilliant Muslim soldier of the 14th century. Small, and 'internally weak,' Nepal is a successful state against the invader. And why? Its republican Lichchhavi origin explains the mystery. Its strong political sense is a Lichchhavi heritage.

Nepal has been in Hindu times mostly a member of the Indian Empire. But for centuries, being situated between two large empires—China and India—Nepal has evolved a wise international policy,

wherein she has hardly ever taken a false step. Owing to that wise policy, her international position today is such as it had probably never been before. She enjoys and rightly the complete confidence of her powerful neighbour.

AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ (From Sirat-i-Firoz Shāhi)

(In continuation of JBORS XXII. Part II. Page 107.)
By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur

VERSE

(Oh Emperor!)

None conceive that ye should bend down thy head. For the Kayanian¹ crown to cast its shade over thee.

It's humility thou hast shown, for, the people Know, the Jupiter glories not in a mantle!

Aḥmad Ayāz threw open the door of insurrection at Delhi. Having cast aside servitude and laid the foundation of contest and rebellion, he spent the public money and the jewels in drawing up an army. He joined his hands with the forces of the enemies, drew out the sword of malevolence from the sheathe of amity and placed the oppressors and the tyrants to domineer over the inhabitants of the city (Delhi). The disorder and disturbance caused by this rebel were fomented and stimulated during the absence of His Majesty (from Delhi), or else, how could he, in the presence of the Emperor, dare to tamper with the people's safety and extend his hands

and الله "great kings," the surname of the second dynasty of the Persian Kings.

(of oppression) over the life and property of the citizens.

VERSE

The tie (of security) was snapped, so that
To the Almighty complaints were made.
The malevolent seized the gentle,
In life and property none was safe:
Not a vestige of compassion left in the city,
No repose in the city nor peace among people.
In malice their hearts the tyrant scratched,
And for the treasury was no safety left.

The rebel Ayāz led astray the people of the country and placed in confinement the inhabitants of Delhi, in order that, the simple natured and patriotic soldiery who attended the stirrup of the Emperor, might be drawn to his side. Possessing abominable rebellious disposition, he held his head high and took recourse to deception. His Majesty, the refuge of the people, May God his Kingdom perpetuate! On receipt of this information set out with continuous marches towards Delhi.

Verse

(An Emperor such that)
His sword removed the wrinkles from the face of
the Heavens,
His justice removed the curve of the bow

His justice removed the curve of the bow, His scimitar read out the *Khutha* of conquest and victory,

His justice bore happy news of peace and safety.

The pestilential wind of his anger in the thick of battle

Poured like sweat the brain of the enemy into his mouth.

None but ye the crown is becoming,

The country for ever should place its trust on thee! By the Grace of God, the khāns, maliks, amirs, zemindars, title-holders, Hindurajas, nobles and plebeians of Siwistan, Multan, Lahore, the renowned city of Dipalpur, Sāmāna and Sannam drew up their forces and marched out for the purpose of meeting the Emperor.

VERSE

All kings of renown placed themselves before him. Kings of mature judgment entrusted their shoulder to him.

They (the Khāns, the Maliks etc.) put on the ring of servitude on their ears and placed the burden of slavery on their shoulders. When, at the propitious conjunction of the stars, the Emperor reached Fatehābād (Delhi), the well-wishers (of the State) handed over the key of sovereignty to him and with it their good wishes and sympathy. His adversaries were covered with the robes of destruction.

VERSE

(Oh Emperor!)

Each of your enemies in a manner different And at the lapse of time the Age ran down; One died, the other The Lord by thy dagger Cut off the throat, (and) the third with his family mowed down. Sovereigns lie prostrate before (thee) the Jewel (among Emperors).

Because under thy feet God has immeasurably scattered prosperity.

The enemies and the age discarded their foul play When thy destiny cast its fortunate appearance in the world!

Out of fear of the Emperor's anger that victimizes the enemies, disquietude and perturbation came upon the obstinate. Aḥmad Ayāz followed the multitude. Sometime ago, Aḥmad was a well-wisher of His Majesty, but the spacious world appeared to him very small like the point of (the alphabet) Mim or the hole in the precious jewel and he could derive no benefit out of the commerce that he carried on (meaning friendship with the Emperor). Him the intelligent showed the right path (of servitude) but he refused to follow their advice.

VERSE

The court of the Emperor resemble the ocean,
The virtuous are sailors and Virtue a vessel;
He is excellent in this world,
Whose actions make the Emperor smile with merriment.

If thou wishest to share wealth, make effort And place thy ears always on his (Emperor's) mandate.

It behoveth thee not to take leave of his orders Or to turn away from his compact!

Howsoever Ahmad tried to take recourse to flight, the road of deliberation was for him closed,

and it was so on account of the felicity of the Emperor, the refuge of the world!

VERSE

The tone that the country received from you No tulip (ever) received from the river-bank! The enemy who ran away from thee Found not any way of escape on any side.

Those who had joined Aḥmad Ayāz turned themselves away from him out of fear of the Emperor, the world-grasper¹ and placed their hands of obedience upon the dust of the court.

VERSE

Where on the earth are those rebels today
Whose necks are not in the collar of the Emperor's
flat?

The munificent palms of thy hand (oh Emperor!) is a ocean in pouring liberality

Whose confines extend to the shores of *Tasnim*! The Zephyr with its odour of rose bears relation with thy (benevolent) nature,

In thousand tales and with numerous tongues people talk of it.

The partisans of Ahmad Ayaz made a representation of their helplessness to His Majesty and prayed to him for their freedom from confinement.

VERSE

From the withered heart of the oppressed the words of the petition emerged,

¹ The name of a fountain in paradise.

From eyes overflowing of beautiful face its (petition) head line came out.

Thus appeal the jaded heart and the heart burnt— "Oh Emperor! Fortune and Religion are festive and hopeful (on account of thy existence)."

> The Young are discourteous to the old, The Frivolous domineers over the Wise, The Avaricious afflict the Nobles, The Irreligious distress the Holy people.

Oh, Emperor of the world! save the people from such calamity,

Oh, Jewel pure! free the country from such tyranny.

The time is such that retaliation be made at the point of lance,

The place is such that thy sword should take vengeance;

The men of substance have left the country on some plea,

(But) The poor cannot run away; they look forward to you!

Show mercy to those that have been dishonoured, And to those that have been cited in the stories.

Oh, King! from thee there should be battle, and from Fortune help and assistance Oh, Emperor! from thee resolution and from God Victory.

Oh, Sovereign exalted! excessive grace God has blessed you with and the country too!

God, The Glorious and Most High, has entrusted the Sultan with the task of setting the oppressed at liberty and providing a panacea for the ills of the wretched, like us. The nobles are harassed by the miscreants and the generous are oppressed by the workers of iniquity.

VERSE

The nobles scratched their ears

And raised lamentation from grief and distress of
the heart.

The spine of the excellent (people) was broken While the Fools received support!

Meanwhile, Khān-i-Jahān, the chief Vizier of the court, to whom Prosperity was a guide and Fortune an escort, (and a person for whom)

VERSE

The banner of sovereignty reached the celestial globe;

The Vizierate found no other vizier like him. For him melted withered tyranny in the palate of the world.

And the water of life (of the tyrants) trickled at the point of his sword;

For fear of his banner, like the shooting stars Hundreds of (evil) spirits left the country, one upon the other.

accompanied by sons and grandsons made his way to the Emperor, the chosen of God, May He perpetuate his kingdom!

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor!)
Before thy disposition and power, liberality and speech,

The ocean (pales into insignificance) and the tongue stammers.

Tradition runs, (that) it is for thee that there is water in the river,

Story goes, it is for thy power that clouds appear in the rainy seasons.

In Emperor's service proficiency attains excellence, Contact with him makes the jewel precious.

The world the body, thou it's life, and the world is alive for thee,

Thou art to the world as the life is to the body!

VERSE

In the refuge of thy custody, for the safety of the herd,

The wolf in affairs of secrecy speaks with the shepherd.

So long the world does not bring forth fruits of conquest and victory

His (Emperor's) anger plants an arrow on the eyes of the enemies!

The vizier and his party received eminence by licking the dust of the court and thus obtaining felicity in this world and hereafter, and were by special favours made prominent over the other pillars of state.

VERSE

Hark! before thy greatness (oh minister!) conjecture is feeble,
Behold! before thy superiority intellect is astonished.

Like Kisra,¹ Faghfur,² the kings of India³ and Tartary⁴

The Sultan possesses many a slave like thee, For thy excellent conduct (oh vizier!)
The Sultan renders princely honour to thee!

The title of *Khān-i-Jahān*, a designation that had never been conferred on any other vizier since the beginning of the world, was bestowed upon him as a special mark of distinction; he was also made conspicuous by the bestowal of immense kingly favours, presents and compassion upon him.

VERSE

It's for this (oh vizier!) the Sultan loves thee; Thy countenance is for him lucky. None is more sympathetic to thee than he, And none more sincere than thee in the army!

After the (said) incident, (the other) amirs and maliks, for the most part, came out of that accursed body (of rebel).

VERSE

Oh King! thy custody when thou wishest
Bestows safety to brimstone from the fury of fire.
To him really the sovereignty is entrusted
Whom thy ordinance gives shelter under the
(royal) umbrella!

From the heat of excessive fear they (the amirs and maliks) took shelter under the shadow of

The surname of several kings of Persia, like Ptolemy among the Egyptians, or Caesar with the Romans.

² The general name of the Emperors of China.

³ The text reads, عيار

خاتان 4

imperial commiseration and in the refuge of royal protection. Later on Aḥmad Ayāz who had made a show of arms (now) became perturbed and he found no other way than in apologising and submissively going along the imperial train. Thus Time, the skilful physician, while attending to the disease of vanity applied his remedy to the (deranged) brain (of Aḥmad Ayāz) for awakening him from the sleep (of self-conceit) and brought out the cotton of negligence from his ears of understanding and made to trickle the drops of lesson down his overweening nose. Aḥmad Ayāz became ashamed of his evil actions and took recourse to the court with weeping eyes.

The Sultan, May God maintain his sovereignty, blurted out, "I do not intend to cause any material harm to any person and have no other end in view than that of bestowing presents, favour, sympathy and kindness upon the nobles and the common people." "Those who," the Sultan further declared, "regard themselves as being excluded from the (royal) compassion can speak out; their own actions are responsible for their evil fortune and not I!"

VERSE

The star canopus¹ revolves round the earth At some places it makes soft skins² and at others it makes skins perfumed.

¹ The star canopus is also supposed to give red colour to stones.

انبان soft skins (of goats etc.) of the finest kind such as they call Spanish or Cordova leather.

Miscellaneous Articles

PROFESSOR WINTERNITZ ON THE KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma

In the Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume Prof. M. Winternitz contributes a learned paper on 'historical dramas in Indian Literature.' Dealing with the Kaumudīmahōtsava therein he criticises Mr. K. P. Jayaswal for assigning the drama to 340 A.D. and assuming that 'Chaṇḍasena was no other than the king who assumed the name of Chandragupta after his grandfather's name. He gives the following reasons for his views:

- (a) 'It is difficult to see how the worthy Chandragupta I, whose father Ghatotkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line, and the first Mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the cursed 'Chaṇḍasena,' the traitor and usurper.'
- (b) 'A verse which occurs twice (Acts II, 15, and V, 9) alludes to the love of Saunaka and Bandhumatī, told in Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī-kathā, and that of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the Avimāraka ascribed to Bhāsa.'
 - (c) The authoress was well acquainted with Kalidāsa's poetry.

- (d) The drama 'has some points of contact with the Mudrārākṣasa.'
- (e) 'The old viṭa (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras.....reminds us more of the modern Bhāṇas, than of pre-Kālidāsan poetry.'

At first sight Dr. Winternitz's position seems to be the right one. But it is unfortunately vitiated by a number of flaws overlooked by the learned writer while criticising Mr. Jayaswal's thesis. If it could be proved that Chandragupta's father Ghatōtkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pātaliputra, as asserted by Dr. Winternitz, Mr. Jayaswal would have no case, worth the name, left to fight for and substantiate. But as far as my knowledge goes, there is not a single inscription, new or old, to bear out the learned Doctor's statement. Chandragupta's father is invariably mentioned, not as the ruler of Magadha, but merely as Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, and must have been therefore like many others a feudatory sāmanta, owning allegiance to the Magadha family. His son, the future Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I of the Gupta inscriptions, is known to have married into the Lichchhavi family, and increased his political power thereby. The Kaumudīmahōtsava says the same thing about Chandasena. It is, therefore, by no bold flight of sheer imagination but by legitimate historical deduction that Mr. Jayaswal concludes that Chandragupta I and Chandasena of the drama are identical. That Chandasena is the Prākrta form of Chandasena does not perhaps need any demonstration.

It is found as such in inscriptions as well as coins.¹ Further as pointed out by me in the note 'Chaṇḍasena of the Kaumudīmahōtsava,² the Sanskrit name Chandra is itself alluded to in the verse.

वहमाणो रेवइ मुह महुमअणिव्वत्तिअं उदयराअं। साभळवसणकलङ्को सोहइ चंदव्व बळभहो।। (वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वितितमुदयरागम्। श्यामलवसनकलङ्को शोभतें चन्द्र इव बलभद्रः।।)3

To quote from the note 'Here Mantragupta's spy, wandering in the guise of a musician, speaks not only of the moon, but also of Chandra, the Gupta ruler. Both can be described as र्यामलवसनकल्ड्स, the one on account of the dark spots on her surface, and the other on account of the sin incurred by the slaughter of his adoptive father. The phrase वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्विततमुदयरागम् is clear in its application to the moon. But it has also a covert reference to Chandragupta whose उदय 'rise' was brought about (निर्वितित) by his marriage with a Lichchhavi princess.'

We can have other reasons too for the equation of Chandragupta and Chandasena. The drama calls the latter a Kāraskara. Now the Kāraskaras are, as

¹ 'For Chandra becoming Chaṇḍa in Prākṛita see the inscription of Chaṇḍasāti, the Sātavahana King, published in E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 317, and coins of Śrī Chandra Sāti where Chandra becomes Chaṇḍa.'

⁽Jayaswal's History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., pp. 113-114).

The Prākṛita name Chandasena is turned into Chandrasimha by Kṣemendra. Somadeva, however, gives it as Chaṇḍasena in his Sanskrit version of Bṛhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛita Chaṇḍa has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chaṇḍa, but also of Chandra. (See Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 321).

² JBORS, Vol. XXI, 1935, Part I.

³ Kaumudīmahōtsava, IV, 2.

rightly pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, a subdivision of the Madras or Jartikas. So in other words the Kaumudīmahōtsava calls Chandragupta a Jartika or Tat. If inscriptional or literary evidence were to conflict with the statements of the drama, we should have every reason to doubt the truth of the latter. But curiously enough it does not. Chandragomin's illustration 'the Jarta (King) defeated the Hūnas,' proves that the Guptas were Jats. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā gives their gotra as Dhārana. Now these Dhāranas still survive as Dhāraniyā Jāts, or Jats of the Dharanagotra in the Bikaner State. and the adjoining districts of the Punjab. I have sometimes even felt that even the Kāraskarāh are represented by Karavāsara Jāts of these parts. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the Jats here still use the word gotra for these caste-subdivisions of theirs 1

So much about the equation of Chaṇḍasena and Chandragupta would, I think, suffice to prove the reasonableness of Mr. Jayaswal's view. We now turn to the literary allusions and points of resemblance which Prof. Winternitz adduces to prove the late date of the Kaumudīmahōtsava. The reference to the love of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the Avimāraka, ascribed to Bhāsa does not go far to prove the learned Professor's contention. In the first place the thirteen Trivandrum plays are now generally admitted to have been actually written by Bhāsa, the poet whose dramatic works are referred

¹ cf. JBORS, XXII, p. 109 on the caste of the Guptas as recorded in Nepal chronicles.

to in the Mālavikāgnimitra and the Harsacharita. Secondly the story was well known in the time of Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, who is believed to have flourished somewhere in the 4th century. Its popularity in or about 340 A.D. can be shown by Vātsyāyana's statement that 'when a woman shows signs of listening favourably to the proposals of a lover she should be won over by the reciting of the stories of Ahalyā, Avimāraka, Sakuntalā, and other popular heroes and heroines." Thirdly, the story is given in full by the Brhatkathāmañjari, a work based on the Brhatkathā of Gunādhya who is placed in the first or second century A. D. by Bühler.2 We therefore fail to see how the allusion to this story proves the late date of the Kaumudimahōtsava.

Reference to the love of Saunaka and Bandhumatī would be more to the point, if we could be sure that the story occurs for the first time in Avantisundarī. But as pointed out by Dr. S. K. De, it is rather a late work written after the manner and model of the Bṛhatkathā. There is nothing very original about it. It takes its stories from various sources. Many of them are to be found in the Kathāsaritsāgara and Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, and the whole of the story of Kādambarī, as set forth up to the end of Bāṇa's portion of the work, is interpolated in chapter V of the Kathāsāra. It is therefore quite

¹ श्रुणवत्यां चाइल्याविमारकज्ञाकुन्तनादीन्यन्यान्यपि नौकिकानि कथरेद् युक्तानि (Kāmasūtra, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 278).

² See Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 376.

³ Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III. p. 401.

⁴ See Dr. De's article.

probable that it took its story from the same source which had been utilised some centuries earlier by the authoress of the Kaumudīmahōtsava. The way in which the love of Saunaka and Bandhumatī is referred to in the drama shows that in the time of the authoress the story was as well known as that of Avimāraka and Kurangī, and was not confined to the pages of some imperfectly known book like the Avantisundarīkathā. It was most probably one of the 'युक्तलोकिक' stories which according to Vātsyāyana, the lover was to tell a girl whom he wished to win over for himself.

The other arguments adduced by Dr. Winternitz are as inconclusive. The authoress's acquaintance with Kālidāsa's poetry is not to me an evidence of the late date of the Kaumudimahotsava, but of an earlier date than usually assigned for Kālidāsa, the premier poet of India. Kālidāsa's alleged reference to Dinnaga, his knowledge of scientific astronomy derived from the Greeks, his reference to the Hūnas, and other similar arguments adduced to place him in the Gupta Period have been already refuted by Prof. Ksetreśachandra Chattopadhyaya in his 'Date of Kālidāsa (Allahabad University Studies. Vol. II),' and need not be repeated here. The argument from points of contact with the Mudrārāksasa cannot bear out the learned Doctor's contention unless he first proves that it is the Kaumudīmahōtsava and not the Mudrārākṣasa that is the borrower. And as regards the old vita (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras, he is to be found not merely in modern Bhāṇas, but

also in old Sanskrit dramas. The Mrchchhakatika, for instance, makes us familiar with a vita accompanying the courtesan Vasantasenā to the house of her lover Chārudatta. In fact the company of hetaeras is necessary for a vita of the Sanskrit drama. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana defines a viţa as 'भुक्तविभवस्तू गणवान सकलत्रो वेशे गोष्ठचाञ्च बहुमतस्तदुपजीवी' and the Sarasvatīkanthābharana of Bhōja adopts definition with slight verbal changes. Bharata's Nātyaśāstra calls him वेश्योपचारक्शल¹ and provides for his employment in many types of dramas. So the occurrence of a vita having his reminiscences of days passed in the houses of courtesans should remind Dr. Winternitz not merely of modern Bhānas, but also of the old dramas on whose basis the authors of the Kāmasūtra, Sarasvatīkanthābharana, and Nātyaśāstra framed their well-known definitions.

Thus the arguments examined above are not convincing enough to make us assert that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this "Kaumudīmahōtsava" drama to 340 A.D.' On the other hand the prologue makes it out to be a work contemporary with Kalyāṇavarman at whose court the drama was performed for the first time. Now this Kalyāṇavarman was the rival of the usurper Chaṇḍasena, identified with Chandragupta I by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. As long as this identification is not disproved by means of convincing arguments, and really conclusive literary evidence is not adduced to prove the

¹ XXXV, 55 (Kāśī Sanskrit Series edition).

modernity of the drama, there is evidently not much ground for the assertion that 'it is utterly improbable' that the Kaumudimahōtsava belongs to such an early age as the Gupta Period.

Reviews and Notices of Books

VEDĀNGA JYAUTISHA. Edited by Mahā-mahopādhyāya, Arthaśāstraviśārada, Vidyālań-kāra, Paṇḍitarāja Dr. R. Shamasastry, B. A., Ph. D., Mysore, 1936, 8 × 5½", pp. i—xvii, 1—35, 1—61.

In this timely book the veteran scholar has returned to his early love. The Vedāngajyautisha is one of the six Angas of the Vedas, determining the time of the Vedic rites; it is found in two recensions—the Rgvedajyautisha (36 verses) and Yajurvedajyautisha (44 verses). It may be dated about 850 B.C. on the basis of the date of Varāhamihira about 550 A. D. Dr. Shamasastry has adopted the text of Dr. Thibaut excepting a slight modification in the reading of verse 13. Dr. Shamasastry differs from the explanations offered by S. B. Dikshit, Barhaspatya, Sudhakar Dvivedi and Tilak, and utilises new sources in the Sūryaprajñapti, the Jyautishakaraṇḍa and the Kālālokaprakāśa of the Jains.

This *flair* for new sources makes this doyen of south-Indian Indologists more modern and more scientific than the youngest aspirant for scientific modernity. Thus Dr. Gorakh Prasad in J.B.O.R.S., 1935, vol. XXX, p. 136, repeats the orthodox faith regarding the date of the Jyautisha as the 12th cent. B.C. based on its description of the position of the winter solstice as coincident with the first point of

Sraviṣṭhā. Dr. Gorakh Prasad ignores that judging by the location of the solstitial point in his works, Varāhamihira would be in A. D. 332 whereas he actually lived about 550 A.D. The Brahmins immediately following recognised this error by taking to the Siddhāntas, leaving only the roughest calculation to the Vedāngajyautisha in spite of the latter's age and sanctity. As Dr. Shamasastry aptly admonishes—"The modern orthodox astronomers of India who blindly cling to the Siddhāntas may take a lesson from this and reform their calendar in the light of modern scientific astronomy" (pp. iii—iv).

The publication is timely in more ways than one. Recent archæological discoveries in the Indus Valley have brought to light a civilisation as old as 3,000-2.800 B.C. The connection between this civilisation and Vedic literature is still controversial. But any accepted reference in Vedic literature to an astronomical observation datable between 3,000 and 2,000 B.C. will have a direct bearing on the question. In 1894, Jacobi and Tilak put together the various astronomical data. Bühler, in the Indian Antiquary, 1894, pp. 238 ff. gives a very sympathetic résumé of their interpretations by Jacobi ('Age of the Veda') and Tilak ('Orion'). It must be admitted, however, that the attempt to read astronomical evidence in every stray observation of a constellation was not convincing, and Whitney's estimate of Tilak "extracting moon-beams from a cucumber" lacked in courtesy rather than cuteness.

Of late, however, a less ambitious but soberer approach has indicated better results. On the ana-

logy that in the 6th century A.D. the Nakṣatras were made to begin with Aśvinī due to the coincidence of the vernal equinox with the beginning of Aśvinī, it has been suggested that the list of Nakṣatras drawn up in the Satapatha Brāhamaṇa begins with the Kṛtti-kās because the Kṛttikās were coincident with the vernal equinox (Sat. Br., ii. 1, 2, 3; J.B.O.R.S., XXI, p. 126-7).

Dr. Shamasastry in his able Introduction to the Vedāṅgajyautisha has refuted the only serious objection to this analogy. Thibaut had objected on the ground that it would involve "the assumption that the sun and not the moon, was then regarded as connected with the Nakṣatras." (I.A., xxiv, 96). From the Vedāṅgajyautisha, Dr. Shamasastry makes it abundantly clear that the scheme was called a tied lunar calendar, i.e., 'a lunar calendar so constructed that it may periodically fall into line with the solar year (Introd. p. v.). According to the Kṛttikā calculation the date of the observation in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa would be about 2,500 B. C. much nearer to the objective evidence of 3,000—2,800 B. C.

Dr. Shamasastry's Sanskrit commentary is admirable—informing yet precise. It throws into relief the function of the book as an important phase in the evolution of Hindu astronomy.

A. Banerji-Sastri.

A NEW ARTHAŚĀSTRA COMMENTARY

The Jayamangalā commentary on books I, II and part of III of the Kauṭilīya made known by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvāchaspati Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. through the last volume of his Catalogue is going to be published in this Journal.

K. P. J.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, July 26, 1936.

Present

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl Ali

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Council held on March 15, 1936.

2. Resolved on a motion from the Chair that the Council put on record its sorrow and its recognition of the loss that the Society has sustained through the death of Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian of the Society.

Resolved further that the Council on behalf of the Society forward its condolence to the bereaved family.

- 3. Passed the accounts for the months March to June, 1936.
- 4. Passed the annual accounts for the year 1935-36.
- 5. Passed the revised budget for 1936-37 and the budget estimate for 1937-38.

- 6. Resolved that the following sums be put to the credit of the Society in the Post Office Savings Bank when they fall due:
 - (a) the sum of Rs. 717-8-0 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
 - (b) the sum of Rs. 1025 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
 - (c) the sum of Rs. 693-5-3 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 9, 1936.
- 7. Read letter No. 19, dated June 12, 1936, from the Joint Secretary, Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume requesting contributions. Resolved that the request be given publicity through the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal.
- 8. Considered the appointment of a Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian to the Society.

 Resolved that the matter be deferred until after the appointment of a Curator to the Patna Museum.
- 9. On a motion of Dr. Jayaswal, seconded by Dr. Banerji-Sastri resolved that the Council record its grateful thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James for editing the Buchanan Patna Gaya Report.

J. L. HILL Honorary General Secretary 27-7-1936 Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, the 27th September, 1936.

Present

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

Mr. J. L. Hill

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the Council held on July 26, 1936.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts for July and August, 1936.
- 3. Confirmed the payment of the following bills:—
 - (a) Allahabad Law Journal Press:—

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
"	3-1-1936	Printing Journal Sep-			
		tember issue, 1935	316	11	0
,,	14-12-1935	Packing and forward-			
		ding above	2	0	0
,,	25-3-1936	Printing December			
		issue, 1935	388	8	0
"	18-3-1936	Printing of plates	25	2	0
,,	22	Packing and forwarding			
		December issue 1935	2	4	0
"	33	Packing and forwarding			
		December Reprints			
		1935	0	8	0

290		PROCEEDINGS	[]	.в.о.	R.S.
Bill I	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
,, 16-					
	i	ssue 1936	458	14	0
(b)	for prepari galpur Rep United Pres	's bill dated 16-5-1936 ing Buchanan's Bha- ort typescript s Bill dated 25-7-1936	176	10	9
(d)	Manuscrip	g Catalogue of Mithila t, Vol. III to Engraving Co.—	976	3	0
Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
8540	28-8-1938	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936	263	15	0
8475	15-6-1936	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936	28	2	0
4. Pas	sed the foll	owing Bills for payr	nent:-		
All	ahabad Law	Journal Press:—			
Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
.>>		Packing and forwarding Index and Title page, 1935	I	0	0
370	10-9-1935	Printing and forwarding Index and Title page, 1935	ΔI	4	0
369	10-9-1935	Printing Journal		•	,
354	7-9-1936			2	3
		warding issue, 1936	2	٥	0

- 5. Elected Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri to represent the Society during the next session of the Sanskrit Convocation.
- 6. Read letter No. 3075, 14-8-36, of August 21, 1936, from the Honorary Director, Adyar Library.

Resolved that the Adyar Library be informed that the Council regret that the Journals asked for cannot be supplied free of charge.

7. Read letter No. 1045, dated July 27, 1936 from the Curator, the Kesari and the Mahratta Library, Poona.

Resolved that the Curator be informed that the Council regret that it is unable to place the Kesari and the Mahratta on the Society's exchange list.

8. Read letter No. 719, dated August 17, 1936, from the Honorary General Secretary, Indian Library Association, Calcutta.

Resolved that the Honorary General Secretary be informed that, though it is impossible to appoint a special Reference Librarian, all possible help will be given to research workers using the Society's Library.

9. Read a letter, dated August 29, 1936, from the Editor, Indiana, Benares.

Resolved that the Council regret that it cannot comply with the Editor's request to send him copies of the Society's publications.

10. Elected Pandit Dilli Ramanj Regmi M.A. Student, Khatmandu, Nepal, and Mr. M. N. Pal, B.A., B.L., Advocate High Court, Patna, members of the Society.

- 11. Read a letter, dated 27-8-36, from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Kern Institute, Leiden.
 - Resolved that Dr. Goethe be invited to lecture at Patna under the auspices of the Society on "Eastern Elements in European Paintings of the 15th-17th centuries."
- 12. Fixed the price of the Society's edition of Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Report at Rs. 12. Resolved that Government be requested to purchase 50 copies of the Report.
- 13. Resolved to reprint Vol. X, part 4, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal and to reprint 500 extra copies of the Rājanîti-Ratnākara of Chandeśvara.
- 14. Appointed Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri Honorary Librarian of the Society.
- 15. Resolved that Government be approached to increase substantially the grant to the Society's Library.

J.L.HILL
Honorary General Secretary
28-9-1936

JOURNAL

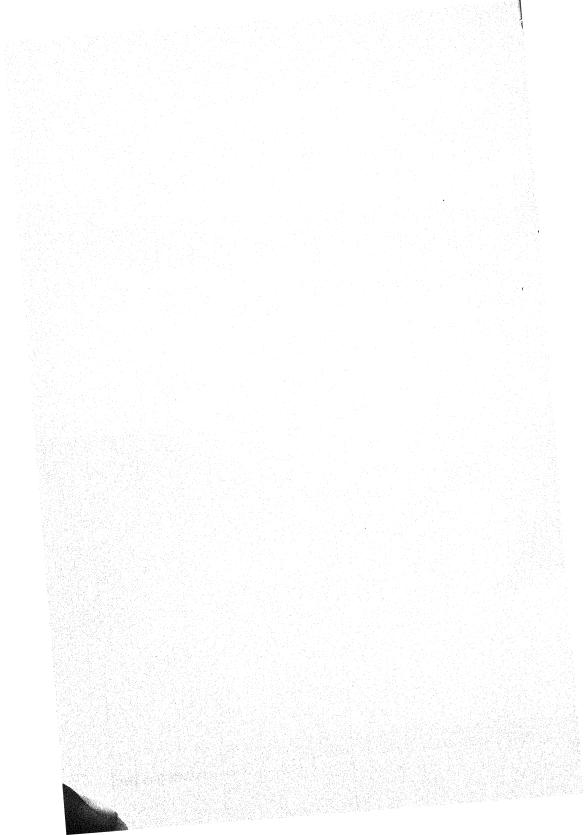
OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

December 1936

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K. P. Jayaswal	1



JOURNAL

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PART IV

Leading Articles

THE CULT OF TĀRĀ AND AN IMAGE FROM PARBATI

By P. C. CHAUDHURI, M.A., I.C.S.

In the Pantheon of the Vajrayāna Buddhists Tārā occupied an important place. It is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, as to when the worship of this deity first arose. It is generally believed that the introduction of the goddess into Buddhism took place some time about the 6th century A. D. when Tantrik ideas began to invade the religion of Buddha. The seeds of the Tantrik cult itself can be traced to the earlier Buddhism where Mudrās, Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Dharaṇīs, Yoga and Samādhi were regarded as a means to attain happiness

¹ L. A. Waddell: The Indian Buddhistic cult of Avalokita and his consort Tara, J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 51.

and prosperity in the world.¹ There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side and the system of Yoga on the other. Tantrism has been called a popularised and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga.² According to Tāranatha, Tantrik doctrines were transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Āsaṅga and Dharmakīrti. During the reign of the Pāla kings Tantrism received royal patronage and found a stronghold in the renowned monastery of Vikramaśilā³ where the superiors were all Mantra-Vajrācāryas. The Buddhist belief is that the great master of Yogācāra, Ārya Āsaṅga,⁴ went up to heaven and brought down the Tantras.

As the Tantrik school developed Tārā began to acquire popularity though she had already appeared in the Buddhist Pantheon in the form of a Bodhisattva. Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A. D. saw a

¹ Bhattacharyya: *Two Vajrayāna Works*, p. 10, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV.

² Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen, Philologie und Alterthumskunde, III, p. 133.

³ Schiefner: Taranath's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, pp. 206, 257. The Pāla kings reigned over Gauda and Magadha from about 750 A.D., when Gopāla I ascended the throne. See R.D. Banerji, The Pālas of Bengal, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 47. The site of the Vikramaśilā monastery has not yet been definitely identified. It was situated somewhere in Magadha on the northern bank of the Ganges. Cunningham, however, thought that it was probably situated at the modern village of Silao in the Patna district. Report of Archaelogical Survey of India, Vol. VIII, p. 84.

⁴ Asariga and his younger brother Vasubandhu, who had originally come to Magadha from Gāndhāra, rank high in Buddhist scholastic philosophy of the 6th century A. D. The approximate date of Asariga is supposed to be 485 to 560 A.D. Max Müller: *India What Can It Teach Us*, pp. 302-312. Asariga is reputed to be the author of Yogācāryabhūmi-Sāstra.

bronze image of Tārā Bodhisattva in a temple of its own at the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery1 which was located at the site now occupied by village Telharha in the Patna district where in 1930 I found the remains of several stūpas and other Buddhistic relics.2 The Chinese pilgrim found another temple of Tārā in Nalanda itself and noted that her image was a popular object of worship. This figure of Tārā was of great height and its spiritual appearance very striking. Large offerings were made to it. Kings and ministers and the great people of the neighbouring countries offered exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resounded in turn, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. The worship of Tārā, on such occasions, went on for several days.3

Tārā was thus originally recognised simply as a Bodhisattva (P'usa) without any indication of sex. It could not, however, have taken a long time for Tārā's transformation into a distinct female divinity for as the consort of Avalokiteśvara she was naturally entitled to a prominent place. Avalokiteśvara was one of the earlier mythological beings to be introduced into Buddhism: in the Saddharma-Punḍarīka, which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 265, he is regarded as one of the greatest Bodhisattvas. Fa-

4 E. Burnouf: Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, 222.

¹ Watters: Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II, p. 105.

² See Cunningham: Reports of Archaelogical Survey of India, Vol. VII, p. 34 and Vol. XI, p. 165.

³ Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 174; also see Watters, Ibid, p. 171.

Hien found the Mahāyānists in Mathura presenting offerings to Avalokiteśvara.¹ The large number of statues of this deity found in Kapiśa, in Udayana, in Kashmir, at Kanauj, at Gaya and in Mahārāṣṭra, indicates that two centuries after the visit of Fa-Hien Avalokiteśvara was venerated all over India.² As the Sakti or female energy of this Bodhisattva, Tārā was destined to figure prominently. Like Avalokiteśvara she became especially distinguished by her efforts for the salvation of men.³

By the time of the later Tantras, ⁴ Tārā had come to be regarded as one of the chief divinities, unequalled in conferring boons or success—"Naiva Tārāsamā Kāciddevatā siddhidāyinī": in Brahmanical mythology, according to Dr. Hiranand Shastri, Tārā became known as the second Mahāvidyā, Kālī being considered the Ādyā, the First.⁵ It is unnecessary to quote from the well-known Tantrik texts the innumerable references to this goddess who excelled even Kāli herself. The search for Maithilī manuscripts, undertaken by the Bīhar and Orissa Research Society, has revealed a considerable store of Tantrik literature. In the *Trailokyavijaya-Kavaca* of the *Gandharva Tantra* Tārā's position is the same as that of Kālī herself.

² Kern: op. cit., p. 96.

¹ Legge: Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 46.

³ Wassijiew: Der Buddhismus, 125.

⁴ The earliest Tantra literature as now available does not seem to be much older than the 6th century A.D.

⁵ Hiranand Shastri: The Origin and Cult of Tara, Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India, No. 20, pp. 1, 8.

यथा काली तथा तारा या तारा सैव कालिका उभयोर्न हि भेदोस्ति कवचस्यास्य धारणे।1

Tārā's Dhyāna is given in another Maithilī manuscript as follows:---

> ध्यायेत्कोटिदिवाकरद्युतिनिभां बालेन्द्रयुक्शेखराम् रक्ताङ्कीं रसनां सूरक्तवसनां पूर्णेन्द्रविम्वाननाम्। पाशङ्क्तंमहाङ्कशासिदधतीं दोभिंश्चतुर्भिर्यतां नानाभूषणभूषितां भगवतीं तारां जगत्तारिणीम् ॥²

As a distinct Goddess, having various forms, Tārā was universally worshipped in Tibet. As the chief and most active supernatural female Bodhisattva Tārā is now the most popular deity in that country both with the Lamas and laity. In fact she is even more popular than Avalokiteśvara himself. A large proportion of the Tibetan people can repeat her services by heart. The Manual of Tārā Worship, is one of the commonest booklets in Tibet and is in the hands of nearly all laymen.3

A bronze statue of Tārā, along with several of Avalokiteśvara, has been discovered at Pegu in Burma. The introduction of Mahāyāna into Upper and Central Burma occurred most probably in the 4th or 5th century A. D. Mons. Duroiselle has found archæological evidence of the existence at Min-nanthu near Pegu of a Buddhist sect, the Ari, who were apparently, Mahāyānist Tantriks and regarded Tārā

¹ I am indebted to Pandit Vishnu Lal Shastri of the B. & O. Research Society for this reference. The passage is quoted in Tārābhakti-sudhārnava of Narasimha Thākur; See Maithilī Ms. Cat. No. 159 and Cat. No. 185.

² Tārā-karpūrastotra of Bhairava Tantra, Maithilī Ms. Cat. No. 140A.

³ Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet, p. 358.

as a Sakri of Buddha. Mons. Duroiselle mentions that whereas the Buddha of the frescoes of Min-nanthu, which belong to the early part of the 12th century A. D., had Indian features, Tārā as his Sakti looked like a Burmese woman standing in a rather voluntuous attitude.1 Dr. Stutterheim describes an image found at Sawah Gunung in Bali as probably representing Tārā.2 Tārā's images have been found in Java: for instance in Chandi Mendut, the Buddhist edifice of the 6th to 8th century A. D.3

In Nepal the Mahāyāna developments and eventually the Tantrik practices were accepted as a part of religion at an early period. Numerous forms of Tārā, a term indiscriminately applied to all the consorts of the Dhyāni Buddhas, are found in the Nepal valley.4 The Syāmā Tārā appears to have been particularly popular in this country. The worship of Tārā had become widely prevalent in Orissa even in the early medieval times as indicated by her numerous images discovered in Nathgiri, Ratnagiri, Kendrapara, Chandaur and other parts of the province.⁵ Tārā is known among the Jains but she does not hold a prominent place in their mythology. She is not even a Sasanādevī or Yaksinī to any of the 24 Tīrthankaras6, though some of her names are more or less identical

¹ Burmese Report of Arch. Survey of India, 1915-16, p. 79 ff.

² W. F. Stutterheim: Indian influences in old Balinese Art, Plate V. ³ Foucher: The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 264.

⁴ Landon: Nepal, Vol. II, App. XV, Notes on Buddhism in

⁵ Rama Prasad Chanda: 'Exploration in Orissa', Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 44. 6 Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, 1881, p. 273.

with those of the Yakṣiṇis, assigned to several Tirthaṅkaras in the Tantrik Jain cult which bears some analogy to Buddhist Tantrism.¹

It is difficult to state precisely when Tara was first represented in sculpture. Dr. Hiranand Shastri thinks that there are no Tārā figures which may be positively ascribed to a period preceding the 6th century A.D.² Mr. S. N. Mazoomdar Shastri discovered in 1923 an image of Tārā at Hilsa in the district of Patna; it bears an inscription of the 35th regnal year of Devapala, the son of Dharmapāla and grandson of Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.3 Devapāladeva is believed to have reigned from about 871 A. D.4 This however does not appear to be the earliest image of Tārā. Several images bearing inscriptions in letters of the same type as those used in the Neulpur Copper Plate grant of the Buddhist King, Subhākaradeva, who reigned in northern Tosali in the second half of the 8th century A.D., have been found in Orissa.⁵ Dr. Bernet Kempers has found images of this deity in the bronzes of Nalanda.6 Though the identification of some of these images, in my opinion, is dubious a few are certainly representa-

⁶ A. J. Bernet Kempers: The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art, p. 40 etc.

¹ For a detailed list of Jain Yakṣiṇīs, see Burgess's Tantrasāra.

² The Origin and Cult of Tārā, Memoirs of Arch. Survey

of India, Vol. XX, p. 19.

3 J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X, 1924, p. 31 f. 'Hilsa statue inscription of the 25th year of Devetola'.

cription of the 35th year of Devapāla.'

4 R. D. Banerji: The pālas of Bengal, Memoirs of Asiatic

Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 53.

⁵ R. D. Banerji: Neulpur grant of Subhākara, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 1-6; Sylvain Lévi: 'King Subhākara of Orissa,' Ibid, pp. 363-364.

tions of Tārā with the characteristic Utpala stalk in the left hand and the right hand in Varada Mudra.1 Waddell speaks of numerous inscribed images of Tārā dating from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. at old Buddhistic sites throughout India and particularly in Magadha.2 Fergusson and Burgess were under the impression that some of the female figures in the Buddhistic cave temples at Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, and Aurangabad were of Tārā.3 I do not however think that the identity has been clearly established. The female deities in these caves have been somewhat loosely described as 'Tārā, Lochanā. Māmuki etc.' The mere presence of a lotus stalk or flower-bud or of a Padmāsana is not a sufficient criterion for identification of a particular deity. The classification of Tārā is a matter of an elaborately detailed study; this is particularly so in the case of representations in stone for the more common classification of the different varieties of this Goddess is in accordance with colour, such as green Tārā, white Tārā, yellow Tārā etc. and this is not applicable to ordinary sculptural work. The danger of not observing images with a critical eye for the minutest details is illustrated by the remark of the late Vincent A. Smith that the image of Buddhistic Tārā is not easily distinguishable from the Hindu Laksmi.4 Though our knowledge of the

278, 298, 371, 384 and 391.

4 V. A. Smith: A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 184.

¹ op. cit., cf. Plate XIII, representing Śyāmā Tārā.

² J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 63.

³ Fergusson and Burgess: The Cave Temples of India, pp. 278, 298, 371, 384 and 391.

earlier sculptured representations of Tara is limited, it may be safely surmised that with the growing popularity of her cult her inages must have also become numerous from about the 7th century A. D. This popularity might well have been due in a large measure to the remarkable renaissance in Indian sculpture at this period. The more sensuous taste of a sceptical age turned from the austere representations of the earliest Buddhist art and sculptors eagerly welcomed the opportunity of emphasizing the graceful and lovable side of the Buddhistic and Brahmanical Pantheon by putting into plastic form this new goddess who was so endowed with attributes to make her a general favourite. The severe dignity of a Bodhisattva however still stuck to her and Tārā developed, as it were, a dual personality; side by side with her beloved aspect of a benign and smiling Goddess, which evoked ideas of mother-love and contributed to her immense popularity, she retained her fearful (Ugra) and irritated (Sakrodha) forms. Just as the work of Praxiteles and other sculptors of the new Attic school in the 4th century transformed a severely dignified Aphrodite, who had so far inspired feelings of religious awe only, into a Goddess of love, in all the bright beauty and sensuous charm of her undraped figure,1 the chisel of the Indian sculptor of the 7th century gradually carved out a permanent place for the more graceful Tārā not only in stone but in the hearts of all men.

¹ Collignon: Manual of Mythology in Relation to Greek Art, p. 136 etc.

The fragmentary image of Tara as described here was recovered from Parbati, in the extreme northeast corner of the district of Gaya, through the good offices of Mr. L. J. Lucas, I. C. S., and is now deposited in the Patna Museum. The fragment was found lying at the foot of the hill which rises in solitary grandeur on the eastern side of a once mighty river. the Sakri. The Parbati hill is of considerable archeological importance. General Cunningham had with some hesitation identified it as the site of the Buddhist Kapotaka or Pigeon monastery visited by Hiuen Tsang.1 In my opinion the hill really represents the site of the famous Indra-sāla-guhā, where Indra propounded 42 different questions to Buddha and which was identified by Cunningham² with the hill at Giriak and by Broadley³ with the isolated rock at Bihar. The present fragment, however, does not appear to be connected with any of the archæological remains on the Parbati hill. The image had evidently been brought over from village Aphsar, which is situated about 3 miles to the south-east of Parbati. Aphsar is singularly rich in Buddhistic Brahmanical relics and there can be little doubt that the image of Tārā originally came from the immense collection of Vajrayana sculptures even now found scattered all over the village.

Unfortunately the image, as recovered, is in a

¹ Grierson: Notes on the District of Gaya, p. 34. Also see

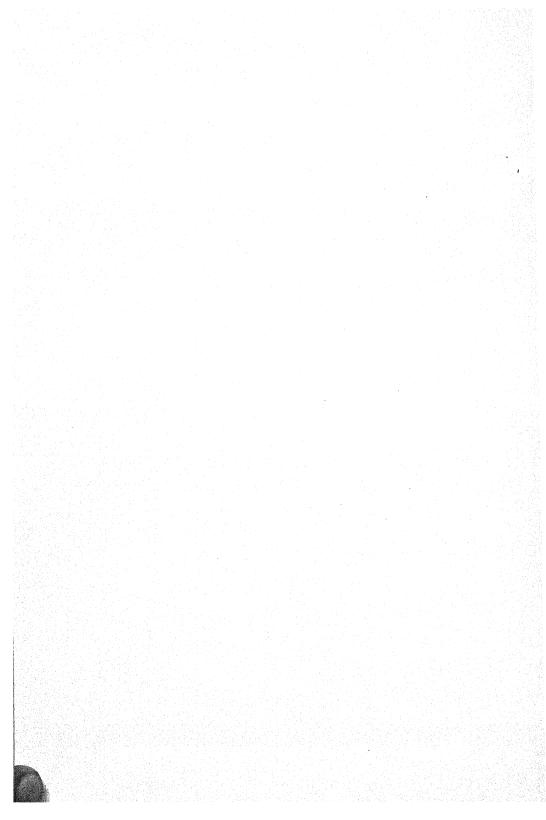
³ J. A. S. B., 1872, Vol. XLI, p. 284 etc.

Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India, p. 473 f.

² A. S. R. for 1862-65, Vol. I, p. 18 and Vol. III, p. 145.
Fergusson challenged this identification: J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 229.



A Tārā Image from Pārbatî.



mutilated condition. Sufficient however has outlived the ravages of time and the destructive fury of man to leave for us an exquisite instance of the highly developed iconoplastic art of about the 10th century A.D. As it now stands the fragment is 21 inches in height and 14 inches wide in the middle. The material used appears to be the "Patharkatti" black-stone which was available in abundance in the natural quarries of the hills in the northern part of the Gaya district.¹ This stone was very commonly used for sculptural work in the time of the Pala kings.2 It had a fine grain and provided an excellent ground for the minute carving of details, for instance, the delicate folds of the drapery, the intricate formation of plaits of hair, or the elaborate ornamentation of the necklace (Hāra) or the headgear (Mauli).

The image is manifestly of the Santa or Saumya type. Tārā appears as a lovable deity with the head slightly inclined to the right and the face pleasant and smiling. This pose is called the Tribhanga. It is the favourite attitude of the standing image of Tārā.³ The perfection of repose is indeed most striking. The tilt of the head balances in a remarkable manner

numerous ancient sites of Bihar. See P. C. Chaudhuri, Ajapura of Skandagupta and the area around, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX, P. 337-43.

¹ Journal of Francis Buchanan: Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812, Ed. V. H. Jackson, p. 24 and Appendix No. 10. ² I have found this stone used for sculptural work in

³ See for instance, Plate V representing a Tārā image from Ratnagiri (Orissa), Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, No. 44 and Patna Museum Collection No. 1578, a Tārā image from Bihar, and No. 3745, another image from Cuttack.

the upward rise of the left shoulder and the sway of the hips towards the right. The relation of the lines of the neck, the shoulders, the left arm and the waist indicates a keen appreciation on the part of the scupltor of the subtleties of balance.

The left arm of the figure holds the Utpala by its stem. The symbolism of the lotus in Indian art is a matter of considerable importance. Havell has appropriately put it:-"The lotus symbol like all other Indian symbols, had a metaphysical, or subjective, as well as an objective significance. Rooted deep in the mud of a lake or river and pushing its way gradually upwards through the water until its fair flower blossomed in the light of heaven, the lotus or water-lily was Nature's own symbol of the spiritual process by which the human mind won liberation in Nirvana." According to the Buddhist classification of Tārās, there are seven main variations in all of which the deity carries the Utpala in the left hand and exhibits the Varada Mudrā with the right.2 In Brahmanical iconography there is no hard and fast rule in this respect: while Pārvatī is depicted in the Vighneśvarānugramūrti of Siva as holding the Utpala flower in her right hand and Siva himself in his Jñāna-dakṣiṇamūrti does the same, Pārvatī in another aspect of Siva, Vṛśavāhanamūrti, carries the flower in her left hand: in the Yajñavarāhamūrti of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī holds the lotus in her left hand while Bhūmidevi

¹ Havell: The Himalayas in Indian Art, p. 11.

² Bhattacharya: Buddhist Iconography, p. 135.

carries the flower in her right hand.¹ The stem of the lotus is held in a most delicate, though conventional, manner. The slender stalk passes through the thumb and index finger and is pressed down by the ring finger. This was apparently a gesture which had become stereotyped as in several other images of Tārā the Utpala is held exactly in this manner.²

The right arm of the image is broken at the elbow joint. The position of the upper arm and particularly the complete ornament above the elbow clearly indicates that the forearm must have extended downwards in the pose known as the Varadā Mudrā, in which the palm is exposed as if granting a boon. The Indian Museum has a complete image of Tārā, in the standing attitude, which has a pose remarkably similar to that of our fragment. There is the same incline from the waist towards the right the equilibrium being gradually recovered by the tilt of the head towards the left.³

This description will not be complete without mention of the five Dhyānī Buddhas at the top of the image. The Mahayānists regarded the Dhyānī Buddhas as a peculiar sort of Buddhas who are eternal and

³ See Plate XXXII c, reproduced in Bhattacharyya's Bud-dhist Iconography, p. 104.

¹ T. A. Gopinath Rao: Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.

I, pp. 99 etc.

² See Plate No. IIIa: Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, No. 20, depicting the Tārā Image in the Lucknow Museum. Plate XXXII/i, Buddhist Iconography, p. 104, illustrating another specimen from the Dacca Museum. Several images of female deities in the Kurkihar collection in the Patna Museum display a similar pose.

have never been Bodhisattvas; they are called Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, while their female counterparts are Tārās or Saktis, namely Vajradhattiśvarā, Locanā, Māmuki, Pāndurā and Tārā.1 The Dhyānī Buddhas are always engaged in peaceful meditation and voluntarily restrain themselves from the act of creation. According to Bhattacharyya, though some of them were known before A.D. 700 the idea of the full number of five such Buddhas developed in the first half of the 8th century during the time of Indrabhūti, the king of Addivini.2 The Dhyānī Buddhas are marked by the different positions of their hands in the form of different Mudrās. They are also distinguished by their various colours. The five deities of the image, from left to right, exhibit the following Mudrās and are:-

- (i) Vairocana in Dharmachakra-mudrā: the two hands are held against the breast with the tips of the fingers united;
- (ii) Akṣobhya in Bhūmisparśa-mudrā: the left hand rests on the lap while the right rests upon the right knee with the tips of the fingers as if touching the ground with the palm downwards;
- (iii) Amoghasiddhi in Abhaya-mudrā: the left hand lies open on his lap and the right is lifted up with the palm outwards in the attitude of assurance;
- (iv) Ratnasambhava in Varadā-mudrā: the left hand rests upon the lap while the right stretches

¹ Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 64.

² Bhattacharyya: Buddhist Iconography, p. 1.

downwards with the palm outwards;

(v) Amitābha in Samādhi or Dhyāna-mudrā: the two hands with the palms open lie on the lap one upon the other.

TWO PROTO-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHĀÑHU DARO

By THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

Chāñhu Daro is the name given to three mounds that rise a little to the south of the village Jamal Kiriyo on the east side of the Indus. The mounds are practically between Nawābshāh and Sākand in the Nawābshāh District. The mounds were explored in February 1928 by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., an officer of the Archæological Survey of India, who soon realized that the remains lying under them belong to the same cultural period as Mohenjo Daro and Harappa¹.

During the last season (October 1935-March 1936) an expedition sent by the American Society of Indic and Iranian Studies, the President of which is Prof. W. Norman Brown, worked at the mounds of Chāñhu Daro. At the head of the expedition was Mr. Ernest Mackay, the last Superintendent of the Mohenjo Daro excavations. This was to our knowledge the first time that a foreign Society conducted excavations in India.

We do not know anything definite about the result of this work. Mr. Mackay returned home without communicating any piece of news to his

¹ Cf. Majumdar, Explorations in Sind (Memoirs of the A. S. of I., No. 48), pp. 35-38.

friends, undoubtedly because he wanted to give an account of the excavation season to the Society that entrusted him with this responsible task; and the Archæological Department keeps, as usual, a sacred silence about the finds at Chāñhu Daro.

Yet, Mr. Majumdar while digging a few trial trenches at Chāñhu Daro discovered three steatite seals of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa type, the inscriptions on which give some interesting details which I am going to explain in this paper.

As said above these seals are of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa square type. Yet there is a striking difference between them and the majority of those found at the other two sites. The latter bear the figure of an animal—very likely the *totem*-like symbol of the tribe—or another scene, and the inscription is carved on the upper portion only. At Mohenjo Daro there are but a few seals which have no other carving than the signs of the inscription¹. Yet all the three seals unearthed at Chāñhu Daro by Mr. Majumdar bear no figure of animal or any other scene at all.

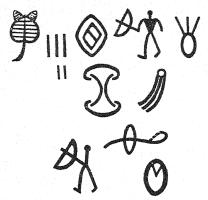
On one of them a tree only is represented. "Pl. XVII, 44 (for 34) probably depicts the *Pipal* tree (*ficus religiosa*)," says Majumdar himself, "but no other example of this type of seal from Mohenjo Daro or Harappa is so far known, although representations of the tree itself are fairly common."² The

¹ Marshall, Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization, III, Pl. CII, n.; Pl. CXII, Nos. 396 and 400.

other two seals bear inscriptions only and are going to be the subject of our study¹.

I

We take first the seal marked No. 38 on Pl. XVII of Mr. Majumdar's monograph. The inscription runs as follows:



The inscription has ten signs, plus an additional sign, distributed in the following way:

1st line ... 5 signs

2nd line ... 2 signs plus 1 additional sign

3rd line ... 1 sign 4th line ... 2 signs

There is much space left free under the first line to the left of the seal.

The script of this pre-Aryan civilization is boustrophedon, i.e., with alternate lines running con-

¹ At the time of publishing this paper all the inscriptions hitherto recovered either from Mohenjo Daro or from Harappa, plus a few from other sites and from Mesopotamia, are already deciphered by the present writer. In all, they are about two thousand. I am actually preparing the publication of all these interesting documents. About the foundation of my interpretation, cf. Heras, Light on the Mohendjo Daro Riddle, The New Review, III, pp. 1-16.

trary ways as in ploughing. Consequently the first line reads from right to left; the second from left to right; the third from right to left again, etc.

Sign No. 1 (first line, from right) is a compound

sign. Its elements are $\lim_{n \to \infty} m\bar{u}n$, three and $\bar{u}r$, \bigcirc

"city," or "country round the city." Therefore the sign reads mūnūr, which is evidently the name of a city, the pre-Aryan rendering of the name Tripura, though at present we cannot identify the place.

Sign No. 2 represents a man holding a bow. He is a Bilava, a member of the pre-Aryan tribe of the Bilavas, represented today by the Bhils and other North Indian tribes.

would be four and the sign \square , which is in the inscription, reads six^1 . Therefore it will read $\bar{a}r\bar{e}l$, "six suns," i.e., six houses of the sun.

Sign No. 4 is mūn, "three."

Sign No. 5 is a very complex sign. It evidently represents the leaf of a tree. Yet the two small appendices cannot be easily explained. A comparison

¹ These pre-Aryan people knew the Zodiac, but they had 8 constellations only in it. Hence the year was divided into eight months of 45 days each. Six houses of the sun would, therefore, perhaps mean three full seasons, or at least three quarters of the year.

of all similar signs in the inscriptions shows that these two appendices in this and in other cases are extremely conventionalized. But some of these signs clearly show that they are two leaves joined together, the one that is behind being turned upside down in this guise:



Therefore the two appendices are the two lower lobes of the leaf protruding from behind the upper lines of the front one. They are two joint leaves. Now, leaf in Dravidian languages is ila, while kalak means "to unite," "to join." Therefore the sign reads kalakila and refers to a tribe which later on, in the historic Āryan period, was styled Kilakilās¹.

Additional sign (second line from left): denotes the participle of the substantive verb, *ire*, properly "being" or "who is" or "who are" (In Dravidian languages there is no personal pronoun).

Sign No. 6 also is a compound sign belonging to the family of).² This sign in Proto-Chinese means "a quarter," an idea which in Dravidian languages is expressed by the word *kāl*. Another sign (is only the opposite of the preceding sign. Hence, if the former is *kāl*, the latter will be *lak*,

 ¹ Matsya Purāna, cf. Pargiter, The Dynasties of the Kali Age,
 p. 48.
 ² Majumdar, op. cit., p. 38, suggests that this sign represents a shield.

which means "to rise." The union of these two signs, either of or of will naturally read kalak, which means, "union," "mixture," "junction," etc. This is precisely the central portion of our sign: therefore the central phonetic value of it will be kalak. Now in front and behind this sign there should be such phonetic complementary values, that would make the whole reading perfectly uniform, as uniform as the sign itself, viz., that read from either side, it would give the same reading. On the other hand there is also some similarity between the two

sections of this sign) (and the two sections of the

complementary sign S. The curvature of the

end in the latter is more pronounced and the relative direction is inverted. This shows that, according to the general system of this script, there must be some similarity between the phonetic value of each section

of) and those of \bigcirc . Now the phonetic

value of the former is $k\bar{a}l$, where the main sound is al.¹ This sound therefore should remain for each section

¹ Cf. Gnana Prakasar, Root-words of the Dravidian Group of Languages, Anthropos, XXX, p. 141; Gnana Prakasar, The Law of Initial Intensive Consonants, p. 4 (Reprint from J. C. G.).

of the latter. Moreover, since we have suppressed the k on account of the slight difference in shape and in direction existing between them, so on account of the same reason we must add a new sound to al in order to arrive at the right phonetic value of the latter. I suggest that we should suffix u in one case at the beginning of the whole sign, and at the the end the two vowels should be interchanged, the full reading ending by ula. Thus the whole sign will read: alukalakula.

Now alu is found in different Dravidian languages thus:

alu ... Ta.alai ... Ta.ala ... Ka.ale ... Te.

The meaning of these words are "to tremble," "to be troubled," "to be shaken."

Ula does not seem to exist in the Dravidian languages, yet in Tulu there exists the word pula (Ta. pulam; Ka. hola, pola; Ma. pula) that means "pasturage," "grazing ground." Now the original p of the Tulu and Kannada words very often drops, for instance,

 $p\bar{u}$ = \bar{u} , "flower" pattu = (b) $attu^1$ "ten" pugi = ugi, "to bury" pana = (b) ana, "a small coin" pacce = acce, "green" pari = ari, "to flow"

¹ The aspiration that substitutes the p in Kannada seems to be totally foreign to the Dravidian languages. Its use, therefore, is equivalent to dropping the initial consonant altogether.

polal= olal"a city, a town, or country
in general"peccu= eccu"to increase"pettu= ettu"blow"pāle= āle"the lobe of the ear"pidisu= idisu"to cause, to seize."

This is a clear argument to prove that this consonant did not form part of the original root.¹ This seems to be the case with our word *ula*. Therefore, *alukalakula* means "grazing ground of the troubled union."

Sign No. 7 found in many inscriptions reads arup, "harvest" or "crop."

Sign No. 8 (third line under No. 7) is the pictograph of a flower, and therefore reads, *alar*.

Sign No. 9 (fourth line from right) reads $\bar{u}r$, "country." The little sign v , added in the interior above, is a grammatical determinative, one of the few grammatical determinatives that appear in this very early stage in the language. It is the determinative of locative case. Therefore the whole sign would read $\bar{u}ril$, "in the country."

Sign No. 10 is the same as sign No. 2: Bilava. Thus the whole inscription reads as follows:

Mūnūr Bilava ārēļ mūn Kalakila ire
alukalakula arup alar ūril Bilava.

That means:

"The Mūnūr Bilava is the Bilava in the country that has the flower of the crop of the grazing ground of the troubled union that was (caused by) the three Kalakilas in six months."

¹ Cf. Gnana Prakasar, The Law of the Initial Intensive Consonants, loc. cit., p. 4.

The inscription therefore shows that there was at Mūnūr a famous Bilava, perhaps a chief of the Bilavas. From an inscription of Mohenjo Daro we conclude that Mūnūr was a city of Bilavas. The inscription reads: Mūnūr Bilava ain vēl, i.e.: "The five tridents of the Bilavas of Mūnūr". This seems to confirm our present supposition that the Bilava so prominently mentioned in this inscription, was the chief of Mūnūr. In Mūnūr there were common grazing grounds². Its crops were then in blossom. Yet this union of the country community³ was in a troubled state caused by three Kalakilas. This misunderstanding lasted six months, i.e. three quarters of a year. Perhaps the Bilava mentioned above restored peace to the community, and that could be an explanation why his name is found in this inscription connected with this social trouble.

II

The other seal is a little smaller and its inscription has two lines only, with five signs in the first line and four in the second. It runs thus:

U□Ø∭II II♠ŬU

¹ Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 3791.

² Common grounds are also recorded in other inscriptions.

Cf. Marshall, op. cit., Pl. CX, No. 311.

⁸ The existence of such village communities is also evident from Marshall, op. cit., III, Pl. CVI, No. 72; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, 8139.

Sign No. 1 (first line from right): $\bar{i}r$, "two." Sign No. 2 is already known from the previous inscription: arup, "harvest."

Sign No. 3 represents some countries which are politically united, a thing which was very common in those ancient days. Sometimes there are two, sometimes three.¹ Some seals show an animal with three different heads, a bull, a unicorn and an ibex which seems to represent the symbol of one of such unions.² It reads kalakūr, "united countries."

Sign No. 4 belongs to a well-known family of signs. Let us take two of them:

III ug

and

dug

By adding a stroke to ug, the phonetic value of the new sign has become dug. Similarly if we add one more stroke to dug sign (as in the sign under study), we shall obtain its phonetic value, by adding another sound to dug. I suggest that we should add o, thus becoming odug. Now this word is found only in two languages:

> oduku Ta. adu Tu.

¹ Marshall, op. cit., III, No. 99; Pl. CVIII, No. 146; Pl. CIX, No. 205, 215, 230, 257, etc.

CIX, No. 205, 215, 230, 257, etc.

² Marshall, op. cit., I, Pl. XIII, No. 24; III, Pl. CXII, No. 382. Cf. Photo, 1930-1, 12688.

A middle sound between these two forms would be odug, which is precisely the value suggested above. Now the meaning of these words are: "to keep close to," "to follow," "to pursue," "to accrue to," "to obtain," "to turn the water to a field."

Since the inscription speaks of a harvest, this latter meaning very likely will be the best.

Sign No. 5 reads ru, an onomatopoetic word meaning "noise." If repeated twice or thrice may mean "thunder" (rumbling)¹.

Sign No. 6 (second line from left): $\bar{\imath}r$, "two." Sign No. 7 represents a leaf of the *pipal* tree, and stands for the whole tree which may be read *aramaram*.

Sign No. 8 is the suffix of possession, adu.

Sign No. 9 is the same as sign No. 5, though this sign in particular is roughly carved.

Consequently the inscription reads as follows:

Ir arup kalakūr odug ru Ir aramaram adu ru

which translated into English means:

"The noise of the water turned (to water) a field of the two united countries that have a harvest (is like) the noise of the two *pipal* trees."

The inscription evidently compares the noise of the water passing through the canals on the fields with the noise of the leaves of the *pipal* tree when they are agitated by the breeze.

This inscription seems to be a couplet of a popular song. In Dravidian languages rhyme is

¹ Heras, Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle, op. cit., p. 13.

found in the beginning of the verse in the second syllable and in popular songs also at the end, as in the present case.¹

III

These two inscriptions are specimens of the variety of subjects contained in the inscriptions of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa period. The former of these two inscriptions gives us an insight into the social and economic life of those days; while the latter is a popular couplet sung very likely by those early people.

Among the signs of these inscriptions there is only one which has not been found in the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This sign is



which nevertheless supposes the sign)(

very often found in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.

Two other signs are a little different from the ordinary signs of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa vocabulary, as the following table will show:

Chāñhu Daro

Mohenjo Daro-Harappa.









¹ Other inscriptions of that type have been found among the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. Cf. for instance, Marshall, op. cit., III, Pl. CXVI, No. 16.

According to some press reports the result of the excavations conducted by the American Society have been very fruitful. It is expected that they will soon be published and the inscriptions found there will increase the amount of information we possess about the Proto-Indian nation and its wonderful civilization.

THE

RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

BY

CHANDESVARA

EDITED BY

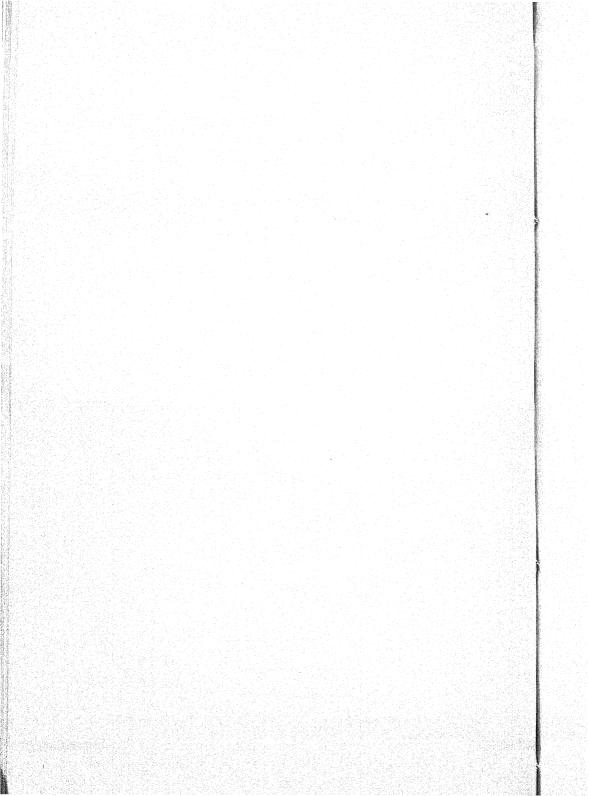
KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL

M.A. (OXON.), HONY. Ph.D. (PATNA)

Of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Sometime Hon. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford; University (Davis) Chinese Scholar, Oxford (1909); Author of Tagore Lectures (1917) on "Development of Hindu Law in Manu and Yājñavalkya," "Hindu Polity," etc.

SECOND EDITION

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1936



रा ज नी ति र ला कर:

श्रीचएडेश्वरेग् विरचितः

^{विद्यामहोदधिना} श्रीकाशीप्रसादजायसवालेन संस्कृतः

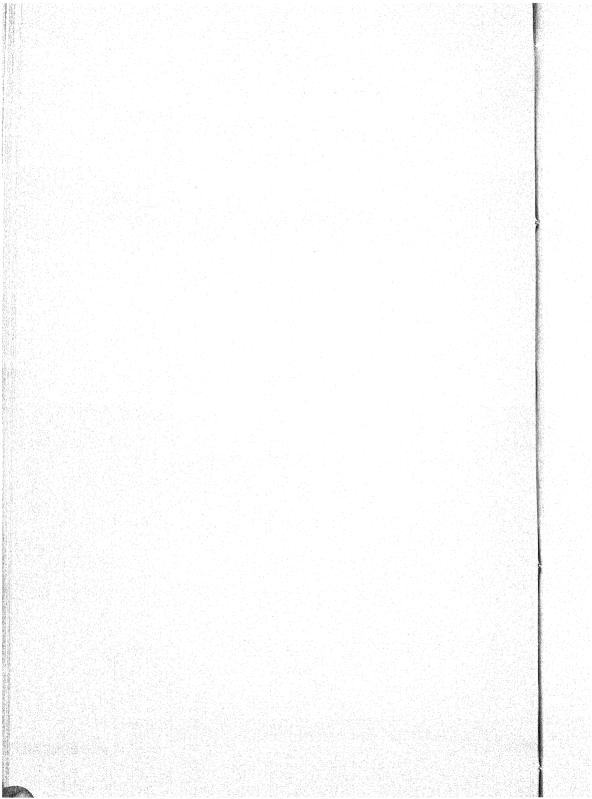
विहारोड्-रिसर्च-सोसाइटीति परिडतसमित्या

प्रयागस्थ-लॉ-जर्नल-मुद्रणयन्त्रालये मुद्रापयित्वा

प्रकाशितः

विक्रमाब्दाः १९९३

[द्वितीयं संस्करणम्]

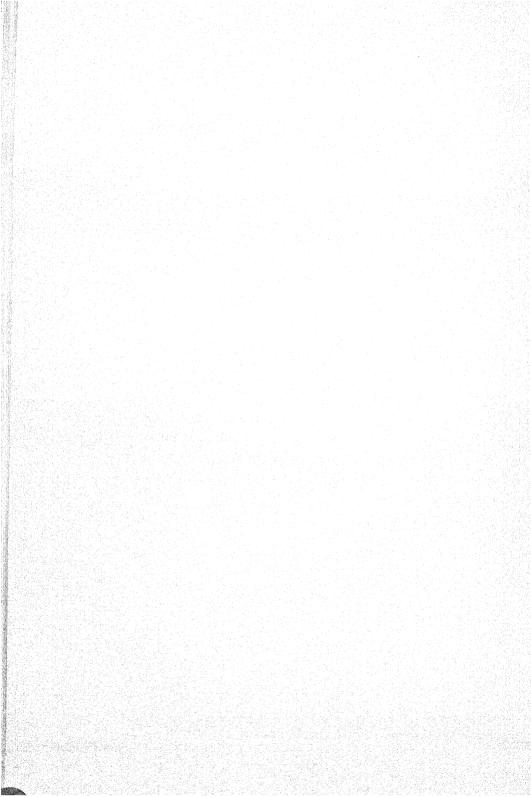


THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

TO

SIR EDWARD ALBERT GAIT K. C. S. I., Ph.D.

AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS SCHOLARSHIP AND IN
GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF
INDIAN HISTORY AND
LITERATURE



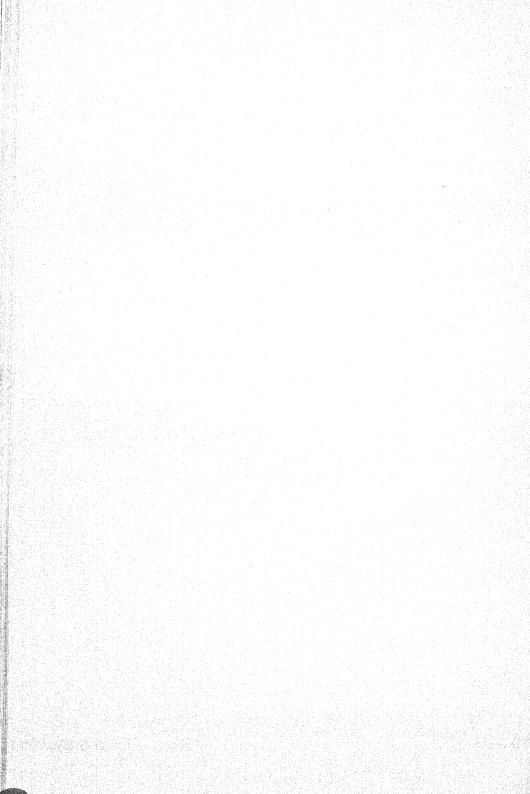
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

Since the publication of the first edition we discovered two more manuscripts of the work, which have been utilized in the present edition. Some improved readings have been found in them. The manuscript cited as (च) belongs to my friend Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, and manuscript (ङ) belongs to the Darbhanga Raj Library. The latter is dated Saka 1801=1879 A. D., while Dr. Jhā's copy is undated though about fifty years older. Both are on paper.

I have added some new references and variants in the footnotes. The text has been changed in some places in view of the new readings.

14th October, 1936

K. P. J.



RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

Introduction

This book, the RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA, came to light as a result of the search for Sanskrit manuscripts

Discovery of Rājanīti-Ratnākara instituted in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, by SIR EDWARD GAIT, the late Lieutenant-Governor of

the Province and Founder and President of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. It was decided to commence the search in two centres—Puri and Mithilā (Darbhanga), and the work was entrusted by the Government to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. In 1918 the search in Mithilā was undertaken, and as Honorary General Secretary to the Research Society I directed and supervised the work.

While examining the list of the manuscripts catalogued during the first few months, I noticed the title of the present book and ordered a copy of the manuscript to be made for me. It was an agreeable surprise to come across a book on Hindu Politics composed in the Middle Ages, and that by a well-known lawyer of the status of Chandeśvara.

It was understood that I should edit the work for the Society (vide the Annual Address by the President, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 13). But when the whole text had gone through the Press, the new Exe-

cutive of the Society in 1920 decided that no funds were available for the publication. The publication had to be held back until Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna City came forward with a handsome donation which has enabled us to place the book before the public. It had been hoped to publish a series of Sanskrit texts of the Province not yet printed. Had Sir Edward Gair remained in the Province longer the scheme would have matured and the hope realized.

The edition is prepared from three MSS. called by me (क), (ख), and (ग). (क)* belongs to the library of the late Pt. Bachchā Ihā who was The Text Principal of the Sanskrit College at Muzafferpur. (स) is the property of Pt. Siveśvara Sarmā of village Lalaganj, in the sub-division of Madhubani, in the district of Darbhanga. The MS. called (ग) was lent by Babu Kshemadhārī Simha, a Brahmin Zamindar of Madhubani. None of the MSS. is fully correct. (ख) is the best of the three. They are all written on paper and belong almost to the same period, speaking roughly, the eighteenth century. None of them is dated. They are all in Maithili script. In editing the text I have preserved faithfully the language of the MSS. except correcting the very obvious grammatical inaccuracies resulting from copyists' carelessness and ignorance. I have given variants even of the slightest importance.

It seems that Sanskrit works of authority current

^{* [}In this edition two more copies (মৃ) and (ক্ক) have been consulted. See above].

in Mithila had readings differing from the texts current in other parts of India in the Mithila recension of time of Chandesvara. This Sanskrit texts can be seen by reference to my footnotes printed under the text. In this connection I may cite here the case of the Kāmandakīya-Nīti in particular. For the purposes of comparison I obtained an old copy of Kāmandaka from Mithilā through our search Pandit Vishņulāl Jhā. It is dated Saka 1476. It was copied for Gābhûru Khāna—son of Rāma-Khāna (evidently some big Zamindar) of Kāmarûpa-who was well versed in the principles of politics.1 Quotations from Kāmandaka in the Rājanīti-Ratnākara do not always tally with the text of the edition prepared by MM. Ganapati Sastri and published by Travancore Government (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XIV, 1912), but they agree with the text as found in this Mithila MS. of Gabhûru Khana.2

The author of this book is Chandesvara Mantrin or a Minister of State, "son of the Baron Sri

अासीत् श्रीरामखाँणः समरभरहताशेषवैरि-प्रवीरो, वीरः श्रीकामरूप-प्रभुरखिलमहीमण्डलख्यात-कीर्तिः। तस्माज्जातः पयोधेविधुरिव जगदानन्दनस्सुन्दर-श्रीः श्रीमद्गाभूरुखाँणः पदुरितसुकविस्तत्त्वविन्नीतिशास्त्रे॥१॥

तस्य बुधस्यादेशादृतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४७६ सुन्दरे शाके। कविरत्नेन सयत्नं ललिता कामन्दकी लिखिता ॥२॥

² I have referred to this MS. of the Kāmandaka-Nīti in my footnotes as the 'Mithilā MS.' It belongs to Pt. Âdyānātha Miśra of village Pāhīţola, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

³ Mantriņāmāryaḥ Śrīmān Chaṇḍeśvaraḥ kṛitī (p. 1), Śrī-Chaṇ-ḍeśvara-Mantriṇā (pp. 2, 77).

Vīreśvara, with insignia, the Senior Minister of Peace and War." Our Chandesvara The Author is the same as the author of the Dharma or Smriti digest called Ratnākara divided in seven sections, as the Kritya R., Dāna R., Vyavahāra R., Suddhi R., Pūjā R., Vivāda R., and Grihastha Ratnākara. [Out of these the Vivāda Ratnākara has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.2 It deals with law and has been the ruling authority in the Mithila School of Hindu Law for the past six centuries]. The colophons to the Dana Ratnākara,3 the Vyavahāra Ratnākara,4 the Kritya Ratnākara,5 and MSS. of the Vivāda Ratnākara,6 which give the father's name, are identical with the colophon in our Rājanīti-Ratnākara in respect of the parentage of the author as given above. Chandesvara's description by the general word Mantrin in our book finds its correspondence in identical or equivalent terms in his Dharma Ratnākara.7 Chandeśvara, the famous lawyer of Mithilā, thus is the author of our Rājanīti-Ratnākara.

¹ इति सप्रिक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिकठक्कुरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मजश्रीचण्डेश्वरिवर-चिते... p. 77 (colophon to our Rāj.-R.).

² Bib. Indica, 1887, ed. by Dīnanātha Vidyālankāra.

³ Rajendralala Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. VI, p. 134.

⁴ Ibid., p. 66, Vol. V, p. 243. ⁵ India Office Cat. (No. 1387).

⁶ B. & O. Research Society Cat. No. 2290. The printed edition (Bib. Ind., p. 671) has the addition of Mantri-vara after Thakkura. The India Office MS. has समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान instead of सप्रक्रिया (I. O. 1390).

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणां, Vivāda R., p. 1; Kritya R., I. O. 1387,
 Dāna R., I. O. 1388, मिथिलाधिप-मन्त्रीन्द्र-श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा Suddhi R., I. O. 1389.

Chaṇḍeśvara started his political and literary career under the last king of the Kārṇāṭa Dynasty of Mithilā. The last king of that dynasty who ruled over the kingdom of Mithilā founded by Nānyadeva,¹ was Hari Siṃha Deva (mis-spelt at times as Hara°).²

He retired before the Imperial forces of Delhi under Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in the winter of 1324. From his highly fortified Capital of Simraongarh in the Nepal Terai, the king went into Nepal and established

¹ The history of this dynasty has been discussed by me in J. B. O. R. S. (see IX, 300; X, 37 et seq).

² Hari° is the form given by Vidyāpati in his Purusha-Parīkshā, II. Subuddhikathā, आसीन्मिथलायां कार्णाट-कुलसम्भवो हरिसिह-देवो नाम राजा, तस्य सांख्य-सिद्धान्तपारगामी-दण्डनीतिकुञ्जलो गणेश्वर-नामधेयो मन्त्री बभूव, तस्य नानाविधां सुबुद्धितां श्रुत्वा देविगरो वाम (read राम)-देवो नाम राजा ed. by Chandā Jhā, Ś. 1810, Darbhanga, p. 67. The same form appears in a Nepal inscription (I. A., 1880, p. 89) and chronicles (I. A., 1884, 414), and also in the living chronicles of Mithilā (which I have verified myself). The only book of Chandeśvara which gives the name of the king is the Kritya Ratnākara which has been noticed only in the India Office Cat. (No. 1387) and the name there is mis-spelt as Hara°. The copy noticed in the Cat. was not ancient. The Research Society notice had an imperfect MS.

³ The exact date according to a chronogram of Mithilā was Pausha Ś. 10, Tuesday, 1245 Ś. (Chandā Jhā, p. 69, n.), the 25th December 1324, which agrees with the date in Persian histories for the presence of the Emperor in Tirhut. See J. B. O. R. S., 1924-25, 'Contributions to the history of Mithilā.' Lévi, Nepal, II, 224, gives the Nepal datum but did not take note of Chandā Jhā's kshiti-sānu=Tuesday. The Pañjis of Mithilā alternate between Pausha Ś. 10th and 9th. Lévi's datum has 9th. Both tithis in fact fall on Tuesday (Swamikannu Pillai).

⁴ The remains of Simraongarh are in Nepal territory adjoining the British perganah of Simraon in the district of Champaran.

himself there.1 The Mithila chronicles give him a reign of 20 years.2 He had thus come to the throne about 1304 A.C. Under this king, as Chandesvara informs us by his introduction to the Kritya Ratnākara, the grandfather of Chandesvara, Devâditya, served as the Minister of Peace and War (सन्धि-विग्रह-धरा-पात्रं).3 Chandesvara's father Viresvara also succeeded to that post, and so did the author himself when the first Ratnākara, i.e., the Kritya Ratnākara, was com-Evidently the post had been hereditary. posed. Chandesvara succeeded to this post probably about 1310, as in 1236 Saka or 1314 of the Christian Era he, having completed a successful expedition into Nepal, made the gift of a Tulādāna, i.e., his weight in precious metals, on the bank of the river Vagmati. This datum is given by Chandeśvara in his second Ratnākara (the Dāna R.)4 and also in two later works.5 It does not occur in the long introduction to the Kritya Ratnākara. Evidently the remaining six Ratnākaras were

¹ I. A. 1884, p. 414.

² Mitra, VII, 135.

⁸ Read ° जुरापात्रं Devāditya, in a book composed by his third son Gaņeśvara copied in Lakshmaṇa-sena Era 224 (1343 A. C.) in Nepal by a Maithila resident there, is described as Senior Minister of Peace and War, with all the insignia, सप्रक्रियमहा-सान्धि-वि०ठक्कुरदेवादित्यमहा-मत्त... (महामत्त = Mahā-Mātra or mahā-mahattaka) Haraprasad Shastri, Nepal Cat. I., 132.

⁴ Mitra, VI, 134.

⁵ Vivāda R., pp. 1 & 670, and Kritya Chintāmaṇi, R. S. Cat. No. 1807, I. O. Cat. No. 1621. The latter book is expressly stated to have been composed after the seven Ratnākaras, and, as I shall presently show, probably after the death of King Hari-Simha Deva.

composed after that date, and indeed it is expressly stated that the Dharma digest was compiled in seven sections by that "giver of the man's weight gift." Chandesvara's father, a cultured man and an author of repute, was alive at the time of the composition of the Kritya Ratnākara (sphurati), but his grandfather Devāditya was dead (āsīt). At the time of the composition of the third section (Vyavahāra Ratnākara) of his Dharma Nibandha or Digest, Chandesvara united in himself the office of the Chief Justice, Prādvivāka, of Mithilā and "the important charge of Peace and War." The last but one section, Vivada R., describes him as a clever judge and as a great minister विचारचत्रो मन्त्रीन्द्रचण्डेश्वर: implying that the work was completed in the reign of Hari-Simha. In the Grihastha Ratnākara there is no definite datum to denote that the book was written in the lifetime of Hari-Simha Deva.

A synchronism is given by the famous Vidyāpati who, according to the Mithilā genealogies, was a descendant in the third generation from Chaṇḍeśvara's uncle Dhīreśvara. Vidyāpati flourished within seventy years or so from Hari-Siṃha Deva's time and would have heard from contemporaries many facts of recent history which he has given here and there in his Purusha-Parīkshā. He makes King Hari-Siṃha Deva of Mithilā a contemporary of the Yādava King Rāma

¹ निर्णाय व्यवहार-सागमदृशः यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन् विचारचारु-धिषणो धर्म्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् । तेनायं गुरु-सन्धिविग्रह (धु)रां धौरेयसन्नीतिना। श्रीचण्डेश्वर-मन्त्रिणा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः। Mitra, VI, 66.

Deva¹ of Devagiri. The two kings were on terms of correspondence. Rāma Deva, like Hari-Siṃha, was one of the few remaining Hindu sovereigns and was the patron of a Hindu Digest writer—Hemâdri, his talented minister. In 1309, he was still alive when Malik Kāfūr invaded his kingdom of Devagiri. He died the next year.² His contemporary Hari-Siṃha Deva would thus have come to the throne of Mithilā before 1310.³

The members of the family of Chandesvara held high posts. We have already noticed the official position of his father and grandfather. One of his uncles Ganesvara was the Mantrin and Mahāmahattaka of Hari-Simha Deva and a verse in the introduction to his Sugati-Sopāna (R. S. Cat. No. 1868)⁴ shows that he presided over the council of the feudatory rulers of Mithilā⁵ and was the chief of feudatories with the high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāja which is repeated in the colophon to the Nepal copy of the year 1343,

¹ Mis-spelt in printed books as $V\bar{a}$ madeva, owing to the same letter standing both for R and V in the popular script of Mithilā which is prone to omit the distinguishing dot—see above, p. 13, n. 2.

² Briggs, Ferishta, 371, 373.

³ Hari-Simha's Chief Minister Ganesvara, uncle of Chandesvara, wrote a book 'Sugati-sopāna' which was copied in Nepal in 1343. The writer and his master must thus flourish before 1343—see above, p. 13, n. 3.

⁴ See n.3 below, p. 17.

⁵ A Council of Elders is known in the constitution of Mithilā under this dynasty. See O'Malley, Gazetteer of Darbhanga, p. 16: "On the death of Rām Singh Deva, his son, Sakti Singh, ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his Ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king."

and in the books of Ganeśvara's son Rāmadatta.¹ It seems to me that these Minister-Ṭhakkuras were feudal barons. That position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces for which Devāditya, Vīreśvara and Chandeśvara are noted in literature.² That position would also justify the high titles given to these Ṭhakkuras in their books. Ṭhakkura ('baron') itself is significant. Devāditya, Ganeśvara and Chandeśvara are recorded to have fought successfully against 'Hambīra,' 'the Suratrāṇa of Gauda,' and 'the Mlechchhas,' i.e., against the Muhammadan Sultans of Gauda (Bengal). They gave lands to Srotriya Brahmins at (Sîma)Rāmpura; a palace built by Vīreśvara was named "the Ladder to Heaven" 'owing to its height.' The brother of Devāditya

अभूद्देवादित्यः सचिवतिलको मैथिलपते-निजप्रज्ञाज्योतिर्देलितरिपृचकान्धतमसः।

¹ H. P. Shastri, Nepal Cat. I, 136. Rāmadatta's छान्दोग्यमन्त्रो-द्वार in its introduction gives the first verse: "महाराजाधिराजस्य महासामन्तपालिनो महामहत्तकेशस्य श्रीगणेश्वरसूनुना". The title "The chief (or Protector) of the great sāmantas (feudal rulers)" (पण्डित-महामहत्तक-महासामन्ताधिपति-श्रीगणेश्वरिवरिचतं) occurs also in the colophon to the Gangā-pattalaka by Ganeśvara. R. S. Cat. 1923-24.

² For the liberality of Devāditya, Vīreśvara and Chandeśvara, see Kṛitya R., Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi and Purusha-Parīkshā (I, VIII, p. 49); for the political position, see the Sugati-Sopāna, and the Purusha-Parīkshā (p. 67) where Ganeśvara is described as an adept in politics (danḍanīti-kuśalaḥ) whose fame had reached Devagiri.

³ For buildings, see Kṛitya R. For Devāditya's bravery against Hambīra (दृप्यत्सेनापतीनामपथगतिमतां बुद्धिंसघोरगस्यो हम्बीरध्वान्त-भानुः), see Chandā Jhā's quotation from the introduction of the Kṛitya-chintāmaṇi, PP., p. 53. Gaṇeśvara's Sugati-Sopāna in its introduction has:—

called Bhavāditya was a courtier or an aide-de-camp (Rājavallabha) very likely to Hari-Siṃha's predecessor; brothers and half-brothers of Vīreśvara held high offices under Hari-Siṃha. Jaṭeśvara was the keeper of the Treasury, Haradatta was in charge of the transfer department, Lakshmīdatta was the keeper of the seal

समन्तादश्रान्तोल्लसितसुहृदर्कोपलमणौ समुद्भूते यस्मिन् द्विजकुलसरोर्जीवकसितम् ॥१॥ अस्मान्महादानतडाग-याग-भूदानदेवालयपूतविद्यः। वीरेद्वराज्जायत मन्त्रिराजः क्ष्मापालचूडामणिचुम्बिताङ्गिः॥२॥ लसन्महीपालकिरीटरत्नरोचिच्छटार्यञ्जतपादपद्मः। अस्यानुजन्मा गुणगौरवेण गणेदवरो मन्त्रिमणिदचकास्ति॥३॥

संशोषयन्नित्रामैषं (मौवं?) निभन्नतापै गौडावनीपरिवृढं सुरतानिसन्धुम् । धर्मावलम्बनकरः करुणाद्रंचेता यस्तीरभुक्तिमतुलामतुलं प्रशास्ति ॥४॥

श्रीमानेष महामहत्तकमहाराजाधिराजो महा-सामन्ताधिपतिविकस्वरयशः पुष्पस्य जन्मद्रुमः। चक्रे मैथिलभूमिनाथपतिभिः सप्ताङ्गराज्यस्थिति(म्) प्रौढानेकवशंवदैकहृदयो दोःस्तम्भसम्भावितः॥५॥

> सिच्चित्तिवित्तिनिकराहरणप्रवीणः शिष्या इवेह विलसन्ति गुणा यदीयाः। खौआलवंशतिलकं भवशर्मसंज्ञं प्रज्ञाविनिर्जितमुरारिपदं नियुज्य।।६॥

वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि दृष्ट्वालोकहितैषिणा। कृतं सुगतिसोपानं श्रीगणेश्वरमन्त्रिणा।।७।।

The Dāna R. verse describing that the country sinking in the ocean of the Mlechchhas was easily rescued by Chaṇḍeśvara (मग्ना म्लेच्छमहाणेंवे वसुमती येनोद्धता लीलया—Mitra, VI, 134), has to be dated about 1314, the date given for the first time in that Section. The verse is not repeated, Chaṇḍeśvara made large gifts after the victory over 'the country's enemies' (विध्वस्तावनिवेरिणा) and composed the Dāna R. The reference is to the defeat of the Bengal Sultan, probably the same for which credit is given to Gaṇeśvara. It cannot refer to a victory against the Delhi Sultans who were never dislodged after Gḥiyasuddin. His son Muhammad issued coins from Tirhut (J. A. S. B., 1915, 412).

and Subhadatta a rājavallabha. The origin of the family was Gaṛh Bisphî (in the Darbhanga district),¹ and the home of Chaṇḍeśvara probably was in the Sub-division of Madhubani wherein at the village of Haraḍî the Siva-linga established by him after his name is still in existence. The descendants of his uncle, according to the genealogies, are living at Saurāṭh in that Sub-division.

The family of Chaṇḍeśvara is noted in Mithilā for culture in sacred literature. His father Vīreśvara composed a Paddhati or manual of rituals for the Chhāndogya school. Vīreśvara's third younger brother Gaṇeśvara has left his (Vājasaneyī) Ahnikoddhāra (R. S. Cat. 1923), Chhāndogya-strī-kartrika-Srāddha-paddhati (ibid.), Gangābhakti-tarangiṇī (ibid.) and Gangā-pattalaka along with his Sugati-sopāna. The last book deals with gifts; in compiling it he had a literary assistant Bhava Sarmā Khauāla. In the colophon to the first book given above he is called a Mahāmahopādhyāya. The second brother Dhīreśvara has the title of Mahāvārttika-naibandhika in the Pañji, but no work of his has yet been found. Gaṇeśvara's son Ṭhakkura Rāmadatta

[ा]ढ़ विसपी सँवीजी विष्णुशम्मां, विष्णुशम्मंसुतो हरादित्यः, हरादित्यसुतः कम्मादित्यः, कम्मादित्यसुतौ सान्धिवग्रहिक-देवादित्य-राजवल्लभभवादित्यौ देवा-दित्यसुताः पाण्डागारिक वीरेश्वर-वार्तिकनैबन्धिक-धीरेश्वर-महामहत्तकगणेस्वर-भाण्डागारिक जटेश्वर-स्थानान्तरिक हरदत्त मुद्राहस्तक लक्ष्मीदत्त राजवल्लभ शुभदत्ताः भिन्नमात्रिकाः। — Pañjī of Hari-Nandan Jhā, Pañjīkār of village Andhrāṭhāṭhī, Darbhanga; see also Chandā Jhā, p. 264.

² R. S. Cat., No. 1492. देवादित्यकुले जातः स्थातस्वैलोक्यसंसदि। पद्धीत विदधे धीमान् श्रीमान्वीरेश्वरः स्वयम्।। He is described in the colophon as Mahāvārttika and Naibandhika, a commentator and a digest-writer.

rose to be a Minister while his father was holding the post of the Mahāmahattaka, a title borne by Chandeśvara also according to the Panji, which probably equivalent to that of Prime Minister. the Vājasaneyī Vivāhādi-paddhati Rāmadatta wrote (Daśa-karma) which is the ruling canon in Mithila up to this date.² Another work of Rāmadatta Shodaśa-Mahādāna-paddhati on great gifts has also down.3 This book was produced with the help of the same Bhava Sarmā who helped his father in the compilation of the Sugati-sopana. Ramadatta became the Mahāmahattaka under Nrisimha of the Kārnātaka family, king of Mithilā. This king is not recognised by the Mithila chronicle which closes the Karnāta dynasty, quite correctly, with the flight of Hari-Simha Deva into Nepal. Evidently, Nrisimha, who should be called Nrisimha II to distinguish him from Nrisimha I, the third successor of Nanyadeva, was a descendant and local successor of Hari-Simha under the Delhi Emperor, 4 for Vidyapati, spelling the name as Narasimha, mentions him as fighting a battle for Muhammad (Tughlak) king of Hastināpura.⁵ Rāmadatta was the Mahāmahattaka of Nrisimha II, and bears the same feudal titles as his father is given in the introductory verses of the Sugati-sopāna quoted above.

¹ Chandā Jhā, 264. He is popularly called today Chandeśvara Mahathā.

² R. S. Cat. 1923; Sanskrit Coll. Cat. II, 306.

⁸ I. O. Cat. No. 1714.

⁴ Cf. J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 412-413, where Mr. M. Chakravarti confounds him with Nrisimha I.

⁵ P. P., 1. 4, p. 27; J. A. S. B., 1915, 412.

Chaṇḍeśvara himself is described in his Gṛihastha Ratnākara to have studied the Vedic lore with its *Angas* in his student days, his special claim to a knowledge of Mīmāṃsā is found in most of his works. In addition to the works mentioned above his *Dānavākyāvalī* and *Siva-vākyāvalī* are also known.¹

The family was given to orthodox learning, and the greatest in scholarship was Chaṇḍeśvara. His style is pointed and not pedantic; he does not ramble about like other digest-writers, and in his remarks both on law and Rājanīti he has his eye on the changing times. But it seems that much of his work is based on the labour of earlier authors whom he expressly designates in the beginning or the end of his works as his sources. This borrowing exceeds the proper bounds in one case which I have verified. From Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa's Kalpataru on Vyavahāra, Chaṇḍeśvara borrows into his Vivāda Ratnākara practically the whole book.

From the introduction to the Kritya-chintāmaņi it appears that Hari-Siṃha Deva was dead, when our author prepared that work.

यद्भूरियज्ञैः सन्तुष्टः स्वर्गलोके हरिरिप महिता येन जीवेश्वराद्याः

Hari in the Svargaloka was pleased with the Yajñas of Chaṇḍeśvara, and (the authors) Jīveśvara and others were honoured. No mention of any living king is made and glories described there seem to be past history. The enumeration of the Kirātas, Chīnas, etc.,²

¹ J. A. S. B., 1915, 384.

² The Ślokas noticed in *I. O. Cat.* No. 1621 are corrupt. Similarly, those in the notice of the Research Society (Darbhanga

amongst his conquests points to the second expedition into Nepal, *i.e.*, after the flight of 1324. Hari-Simha after a reign of eight years was succeeded in Nepal by his son.¹

Our Rājanīti-Ratnākara does not form part of the Dharmanibandha Ratnākara, for the latter was closed with its seventh section. In commenting on Sabhā the writer of our book (p. 8) says that the matter has been already dealt with in the Dharma-Digest, meaning his own Digest. The Rājanīti-R. thus came last. When the Nibandha was undertaken the author had no idea

Rāj Library) are not very correct either. The two combined give us a better result than the I. O. datum. The historical passages have the following reading in the Research Society Catalogue:

(व) नेपालाखिलभूमिपालजियना... दुग्धाब्धिना

(b) रंगाः (वंगाः) सञ्जातभङ्गाः चिकतकरियटाः कामरूपा विरूपाः चीनाः कुञ्जादिलीनाः प्रमुदितविलर्सात्किकराः (कि)किराताः। नेपाला भूमिपाला भुजबलदिलतास्ते च नाटाश्च नाटाः कार्णाटाः के न दृष्टाः प्रसरित समरे मन्त्रिरत्नाकरस्य।।

The Vangas were the Gaudas under the Sultans of Bengal. The Nāṭas are placed by Manu along with the N(L)ichchhavis (X, 22). The Chīnas would be some neighbours of Nepal, so were the Kirātas. The Chīnas here are identical with the Shīns of Gilgit (Grierson, L. S. I., IX, 4, p. 5n.)

¹ The Nepal chronicles give 28 years' reign to Hari-Simha against 20 years in the Mithilā chronicles (I. A., 1884, 414). At the same time a Buddhist chronicle of Nepal says that in 448, Nepal Sam=1328, Āditya-Sena (Khāsiyā) entered Nepal. But we know that Hari-Simha's descendants Mati-Simha, Sakti-Simha and Syāma-Simha did rule in some part of Nepal (Lévi, Nepal, II, 226-30), and were recognised as the Kings of Nepal by the Emperors of China. [Probably this 'Harisimha' of Nepal chronicles was a khāsiyā. 'Mathisingha-khasiyā' minted clay coins—JBORS, XXII, 257. Hari-Simha Deva was driven out of Nepal by the army on account of his having taken temple property—JBORS, XXII, 913].

to give a section on Rājadharma although his predecessors had set precedents. The author Gopāla who as Chaṇḍeśvara tells us in his Vyavahāra R.¹ composed a Digest called Kāmadhenu, had also a Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu which has been quoted by Chaṇḍeśvara in our present work. So had the author of the Kalpataru, Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the Minister of War and Peace of King Govindchandra—a Rājadharma section of his Kalpataru² which has been largely cited by Chaṇḍeśvara in the Rājanīti-R.

Chaṇḍeśvara says that he was ordered by King Bhaveśa to compose this work (p. 1). Now the question arises: who was this King Bhaveśa? He could not be a predecessor of Hari-Siṃha for Hari-Siṃha himself had seen two previous generations of the author. After Hari-Siṃha a new dynasty was set up by the Delhi Emperor—the Dynasty of Kāmeś-vara (Sugaunā). Kāmeśa or Kāmeś vara was the Rājaguru or Spiritual Master of the ex-sovereigns of Mithilā. The first king of this dynasty was the younger brother of Kāmeśa; he is called Bhaveśa or Bhava-Siṃha in MSS. After 1370 he seems to have become king.³ Chaṇḍeśvara would have been about 85 in the

¹ गोपालस्य च कामधेनु-रमणं, Mitra, VI, 66.

² I. O. Cat. 1386, III, p. 410.

Vāchas pati Miśra who composed Vivāda-chintāmaņi after Chandeśvara's Viv. Ratnākara, also composed a work on Rājadharma. R. S. Cat. 1923.

³ J. B. A. S., XI, 1915, pp. 416-417. The form Bhaveša occurs in Vāchaspati's Mahādāna-nirṇaya, J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 31, and in Misaru Miśra. Lévi, Nepal, II, 222, confuses his son Harasimha Deva with Hara(i)simha Deva of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty; a similar confusion is also made by Aufrecht, C. C., Vol. I, p. 177.

reign of Bhaveśa. Evidently he enjoyed a long life like his grandfather Devāditya. This record for old age and mental vigour at that age is repeated in his family by Vidyāpati who lived under several successive sovereigns of the Dynasty of Bhaveśa.

The earlier constitutional tradition of Mithila was that the king was under a Council of Elders. This Council was either for the first time Its value introduced or came in power in the reign of Sakti-simha, Hari-simha's predecessor or a generation earlier.2 The existence of such a Council—a Feudal Baronial Council—is indeed indicated, as pointed out above, by the introduction to the Sugati-sopāna. But when Chandeśvara wrote the Rājanīti-Rātnākara things were changed. Nowhere he mentions such a Council. He contemplates a Hindu king under and dependant on an emperor as he found his own master Bhavesa (सम्राजे करदो यः सकरः ... लोके तू राजेति सकरः, p. 4). According to him sovereign may be of any caste. Caste in politics had become bankrupt in fact. Chandesvara was quick to change and he differed from the theory of the Dharma-śāstra writers (p. 2). Sacrament of coronation was not essential for

शास्ता नान्यपतिर्वभूव तदनु श्रीगाङ्गदेवो नृप-स्तत्सूनुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिः श्रीरामसिंहस्ततः । तत्सूनुः खलु शऋ(=शिक्ति) सिंहविजयी भूपालवन्द्यस्ततः यत्र श्रीहर्रिसहदेवनृपतिः कार्णाटचडामणिः ।

¹ See p. 16, n. 5 above.

² The inscriptions of Nepal mention one more King (Bhūpāla-siṃha) between Śakti-siṃha and Hari-siṃha, while the Mithilā tradition ignores him except for what we may infer from this Pañjī verse:-

kingship. This was quite in conformity with hard facts and new facts. The Delhi emperors had been on the throne, even over Hindu kings, without any Vedic consecration. They had got established and there was no hope of a Hindu restoration. Theories must change with facts, and Chandesvara, an old statesman. realised that the Aitareya and Satapatha Brāhmanas had ceased to rule. He laid down the definitionone who protects is the king; and rejected the authority of Gopāla (in the Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu) and others emphasising consecration. He, citing Brhaspati, coolly pointed out to a conqueror and said that the consecration theory fails (p. 3). His views on general subjects are, of course, traditional, and they are very valuable as such. For instance, on succession to a kingdom he writes that the ordinary rule of division and succession cannot apply to a kingdom, for the royal property is owned by the whole people—they all have a share in it (the poor, orphans, etc.), that leadership, if divided, would destroy the state (p. 72). In connection with coronation (ch. 16) Chandeśvara quotes a text (p. 74) where Prajā or the subjects are described as Vishnu. This divine position of the subject as against the king is in consonance with the early theory of Hindu politics. In the Santi-parvan (ch. 59, ver. 106), the coronation oath lays down that the country is god and that the king in protecting it will consider it as such:-

> 'प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोहस्य मनसा कर्म्मणा गिरा। पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत्'॥

[Mount on the *Pratijñā* (take the oath) mentally, physically and verbally (without any mental reservation)]

—'I will see to the growth of the country considering it always as God (Brahman).'

Chaṇḍeśvara's text 'अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजा:। इति सर्वं प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं श्रावयेन्मुहु:' becomes intelligible when read with the coronation oath of the Mahābhārata.

The Rājanīti-Ratnākara has got sixteen chapters:

- (1) Kingship, (2) Ministers, (3) Minister of Religion,
- (4) Lord Chief Justice, (5) Councillors, (6) Forts,
- (7) Discussion of Policy, (8) Treasury, (9) Army, (10) Leadership of the Army, (11) Ambassadors, (12) Administration, (13) Executive Authority and Punishment, (14) Abdication and Appointment, (15) Appointment of a new King by the Minister of Religion and other Ministers, and (16) Coronation.¹

The chief value of the Rājanīti-Ratnākara lies in the fact that it introduces us to a new branch of literature and it is the oldest work of that branch yet published. Politics, as a separate study, is traced back in India to the seventh century B. C. It is known to the Jātakas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Gṛihya Sūtra.² It was then called by two names, Artha-Sāstra and Daṇḍanīti. Artha-Sāstra or the Code of Artha is explained by Kauṭilya as the Sāstra dealing with the means of acquiring and developing Artha, which is "territory with human population." Daṇḍa-nīti means 'the Principle of Government.' The Artha-Sāstra is a branch of the

¹ Cf. the chapters of the Rājadharma section of the Kalpataru—I. O. 1386, III, p. 410.

² Jāt, II, 30, 74; Āsvalāyana, III, 12, 16; Āpas. Dh. S., II, 5, 10, 14. In Aśoka's inscriptions Utthāna, a technical term of Hindu Politics, occurs. In Khāravela's inscription we have the well-known technical terms 'danda-sandhi-sāma' (line 10, revised reading by Mr. R. D. Banerji and myself). EI, XX, 79.

literature called Itihāsa, according to Kautilya; Itihāsa included Purāņa or ancient history (with probably cosmology), Itivritti or recent history (?), Ākhvāvikā or traditional stories of individuals (probably in dialogues), Udāharaņa or examples (?), Dharma-Sāstra or Law, Artha-Sāstra or Politics. Itihāsa was considered as one of the Vedas in the time of Kautilya2 and earlier (Chhāndogya Upanishad). Lakshmīdhara, the foreign minister of King Govinda-deva of Benares, calls Artha-Sāstra, the sixth Veda. In other words, political science, included as it was in Itihāsa, was part of recognised orthodox literature claiming antiquity and respect. About thirty ancient authors are cited in the Artha-Sāstra of Kautilya, the Mahābhārata, the Aśvalāyana Grihya-sūtra and the Kāmandakīyanīti-sāra. Some more authorities are found in a commentary on Soma Deva's Nītivākyāmrita published last year.3 The subject was a popular one and had a succession of masters. In the period from early Christian centuries, down to the fifth or sixth, it seems, some important books, e.g., Kāmandakīya and Nāradīya, were composed. After that there appears to be a cessation in the composition of new books for about five centuries. On the analogy of what happened in the literature of Hindu Law, to which Hindu politics is closely allied, this was probably a

¹ पुराणिमतिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्म्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः, I, 6.

² सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयी। अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः। I, 3.

³ By Pandit Nāthū Rāma Premī, Bombay, in the *Mānikchandra Digambara Jain Series*. The MS. was copied in 1463, (Saṃ. 1541) 'in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Sāhi.' See JBORS, XI, 66.

period of commentaries.

About the eleventh century a new class of literature on political science came into existence, viz., Digests of Hindu Politics, mainly based, not on the former Artha-Sastras and Danda-nītis, but, on Digest of Hindu Politics Dharma-Sāstras. The Digest-writers preferred to follow the Dharma-Sāstra principles of Politics, not the Artha-Sāstra of Uśanas, Brihaspati, Kautilya, etc.; they ignored, also the old titles, 'Artha-Sastra' and 'Danda-nīti,' and adopted a new term 'Rājanīti' or 'Royal Principle (or Policy).' The writers of this class of works were lawyers of the Dharma-Sāstra school and composers of Dharma lawdigests. To this class belongs our Rājanīti-Ratnākara. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, Digest of Hindu Politics was Rājanīti-Kalpataru by Lakshmīdhara Bhatta, the senior foreign minister under King Govindachandra of Kāśī, the grandfather of Jayachandra. I have seen only a small portion of the Rajanīti-Kalpataru. No complete copy is yet available in India.2 It is largely quoted in our Rājanīti-Ratnākara. Another work of the class was Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu of which we only know from references in our Ratnākara. The author of Kāmadhenu had also composed a law-Kāma-dhenu which is quoted in law-digests. Like Chandeśvara his successors the later Digest-makers, Vāchaspati, Mitra Miśra and Nilakantha, also composed sections on Rājanīti. Vāchaspati's work has

¹ It quotes no authorities except the Smritis and Purāṇas. See I. O. 1386, III, p. 410.

² The India Office copy is evidently complete.

been found by us in fragments; the last two are already published.

The Rājanīti-Ratnākara, in addition to the information as to the existence of earlier digests of Hindu Politics, discloses to us the fact that there was a work attributed to Nārada dealing with politics. This becomes evident by looking at the passages quoted under

the name of Nārada or the Nāranāradiya and some other lost works

the name of Nārada or the Nāradīya. Some of them are traceable to the law-book of Nārada

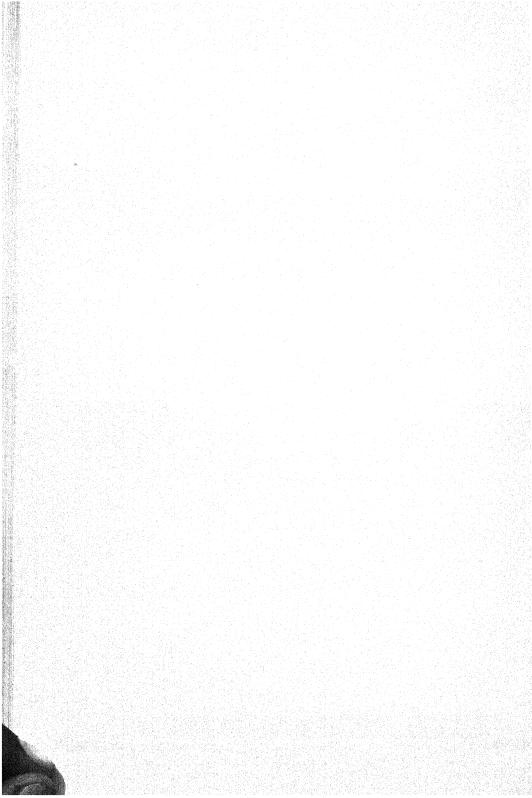
while others are not to be found there and they cannot be referred to a law-book (see, for instance, the passages at pp. 3, 12 and 70).¹ It is not very clear but it seems probable that some Artha-Sāstra work was attributed to the name of Hārīta (see, p. 12). Chaṇḍeśvara quotes largely from a work called 'Rāja-nīti'

(for instance, at p. 66). The book cannot be identified without discovering the earlier digests. The Sukranīti referred to in the Ratnākara differs completely from the Sukra-nīti that we have got today.

It is noteworthy that the Kāmandakīya is called an Artha-Sāstra by our author (p. 55).

The Ratnākara is thus valuable on the history of political literature and deserves attention on that ground as well. Still more important are the norms which obtained at the close of the Hindu and the beginning of the Muhammadan periods. Originality and force are on the decline, yet there is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.

¹ Cf. JBORS, XI, 66.



उपोहातः

प्रन्थोऽयं राजनीतिरत्नाकराभिधानो विहारोत्कलपुरातत्त्वगवेषणसिमतेः (Bihar and Orissa Research Society) पुरातनसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलिगवेषणोद्योगस्य फलांशः। आसीत्सिमितेश्च तस्यास्सभापितः—प्रादेशिकशासकः
सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदयः। राजकीयोऽयं ग्रन्थगवेषण-क्रमः सिमतौ निहितस्तेन।
मिथिलायामुत्कले चेति केन्द्रद्वये गवेषणं समारब्धम्। विक्रमीये १९७५ (छीष्टीये १९१८) तमेऽब्दे मिथिलायां प्रथममेतत्कार्य्यं प्रारब्धम् तदानीन्तनैः सिमतेरवैतनिकप्रधानमन्त्रिभरस्माभिः तन्निरीक्षतम्। प्रारम्भे च कतिपयेषु मासेषु ग्रन्थनामावलीविन्यस्तग्रन्थनामानि निरीक्षमाणा वयं ग्रन्थस्यास्य नाम दृष्ट-वन्तोऽस्य प्रतिलिपि च कर्त्तुमाज्ञां दत्तवन्तः।

आधुनिकेतिहासग्रन्थेषु संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य स कालो मध्यकाल इत्याहूयते। यदा माहम्मदीयानामत्रागमनं जातम्, तदाभिनवग्रन्थनिर्माणं लुप्तप्रायमभूत्। मध्यकालीनो राजनीतिविषयको विशेषतस्सुविख्यातधर्म्मशास्त्रविचक्षणश्रीमच्चण्डे इवरकृतोऽयं ग्रन्थोऽस्मदीयं कौतूहलं निरितशयमानन्दञ्च युगपदेव व्यतानीत्।

ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनं समित्यर्थं वयं करिष्याम इति सुनिश्चिततरा सर्व्वेषां धारणा (सिमितेः वार्षिककार्य्यविवरणे जरनले ५, पृ० १३)। किन्तु यदा समस्तोऽयं ग्रन्थो मुद्रितस्तदा सिमतेः नूतनकार्य्यकारिण्युपसित्या ग्रन्थप्रकाशनाय द्रव्यवैकल्यं सूचितम्। प्रस्ताव आदावयमेवाभूद्यन्माला-रूपेणैतत्प्रदेशस्याद्यावध्यप्रकाशिता लुप्तप्राया ये ग्रन्था उपलभ्येरन् ते कमशः संस्करणीयाः प्रकाशनीयाश्च। यदि सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदया अस्माकं मध्ये कियत्कालमधिकमभविष्यन् अथवा तादृशा महानुभावा अन्येऽपि शास्त्रोत्साहं प्रदर्शयेयुस्तिहं अस्माकमभिलाषो विफलो न स्यात्।

ग्रन्थोऽयं सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदयेभ्यस्साहित्यसेवनव्रतिनरतेभ्यस्समर्प्यते येषां च स्मारकरूपेण प्रकाशितस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमावृत्तौ मुद्रणार्थं पटनापुरिनवासिना गुणग्राहिणा रायबहादुरेण श्रीराधाकृष्णजालानेन विशिष्टमर्थसाहाय्यं कृतम्।

(क), (ख), (ग), (घ), (ङ), चेति कृतसंज्ञिकाभ्यो हस्तिलिपिभ्योऽयं ग्रन्थः सम्पादितः। 'क' कृतनाम्नी लिपिः परलोकवासिनां मुज्जफ्फरपुर- राजकीयसंस्कृतिवद्यालयप्रथमाध्यापकानां श्रीबच्चाशर्म्मणां पण्डितप्रवराणाम्, 'ख' इत्यभिधाना दरभङ्गान्तर्गतलालगञ्जग्रामावस्थितस्य श्रीक्षिवे-श्रवरश्ममणो, 'ग' इति संज्ञिका च दरभङ्गामण्डलवित्तमधुवन्याः वाबु क्षेमधारीसिहशर्म्मणः, 'घ' इत्यभिधाना दरभङ्गामण्डलान्तर्गतपाहीटोलग्रामावस्थस्य महामहोपाध्याय-डॉक्टर-श्रीगङ्गानाथ-शर्मणः, 'क' इत्यभिधेया च दरभङ्गाराजकीयपुस्तकालयस्य । सर्वा इमाः 'कागज'पत्रेषु लिपीकृताः समकालीनप्राया एव सार्वेकशतवर्षाभ्यन्तर एव लिखिताः। दरभङ्गा राजकीयपुस्तके एव लेखनकालः १८०१ शकाब्द उपन्यस्तः। मैथिलीलिप्या एव सर्व्वा निवद्धाः। पुस्तकेषु यानि पाठान्तराणि प्राप्तानि तान्येव प्रायशोऽस्माभिरिवकलानि स्थापितानि येषु केषु च स्थलेषु लेखकप्रमादजातिसाधारणाशुद्धयो दृष्टास्ता एव संशोधिताः। नातिमुख्या अपि पाठभेदाः सर्वेऽपि विन्यस्ताः।

च ग्डेश्वरसमये विद्यमानानां मनुमहाभारतादीनां प्राचीनग्रन्थानां मिथिलायां कमागतं पाठवैशिष्ट्यमिति राजनीतिरत्नाकराध्ययनेन स्पष्टीभवति । अस्मत्कृता-भ्यो राजनीतिरत्नाकरिष्णणीभ्य एतत् सम्यग्ज्ञायते । अत्र विशेषतः कामन्दकीया नीतिरुल्लेखनीया । एतत् तारतम्यं निश्चेतुमेवास्मार्भिमिथिलातः कामन्दकीया एका पुरातनी प्रतिलिपिः पण्डितिबष्णुलालशर्मयोगेन प्राप्ता । अस्याः समयः १४७६ तमः शाकाब्दो ग्रन्थे निरूपितः । लिखिता इयं कामरूपस्य रामखाणपुत्राय नीतिविदे गामूरुखाणाय । तथाहि तत्र

आसीत् श्रीरामखाँणः समरभरहताशेपवैरिप्रवीरो वीरः श्रीकामरूपप्रभुरिखलमहीमण्डलख्यातकीर्तिः। तस्माज्जातः पयोधेर्विधुरिव जगदानन्दनः सुन्दरश्रीः श्रीमद्गाभूरुखाँणः पटुरितसुकविस्तत्त्विवन्नीतिशास्त्रे।।१॥ तस्य बुधस्यादेशादृतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४७६ सुन्दरे शाके। कविरत्नेन सयत्नं लिलता कामन्दकी लिखता।।२॥

अनन्तशयनसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां पण्डितपुङ्गवश्रीगणपितशास्त्रिप्रकाशितायाः कामन्दकीयनीतेः वाक्यानि राजनीतिरत्नाकरोद्धृतानि कामन्दकीयवाक्यानि नानुसरन्ति किञ्च गाभूरुरवाँण-ग्रन्थवाक्यान्यनुगच्छन्तीति। टिप्पणीषु तानि कामन्दकीयवाक्यानि तद्ग्रन्थान्मैथिलहस्तिलिखितपुस्तकादिति निर्दिष्टानि ।

१(घ) (ङ) पुस्तके अस्मिन्नेव द्वितीये संस्करणे प्रयुज्येते । प्रथमसंस्करणे (सं॰ (१९७७-८१) ते न परिगृहीतेऽनुपलम्भात् ।

इयं च हस्तिलिपिः 'मधुवन्य'न्तर्गतपाहीटोलग्रामवास्तव्यस्य पण्डितस्य आद्यानाथ-शर्म्भणः।

चण्डेश्वरः किल कार्णाटकुलभूतस्य मिथिलामहीपतेर्हिरिसहदेवस्य मन्त्री बभूव। इतिहासेषु अस्य राज्ञो वंशः सिमराँववंशनाम्ना विख्यातः। एतद्वंशीया राजानः १३२४ तम-स्त्रीष्टाब्द-पर्य्यन्तं शासनं सिमराँवस्थाश्चकुः। ततः परं तेषां स्वातन्त्र्यं गियासुद्दीनतुग्रलकस्याक्रमणेन विनष्टम्। कार्णाटवंशस्य इतिवृत्तं विहारोत्कलगवेषणा-सिमिति-त्रैमासिक जरनल इति पुस्तके (१९२३–२५ स्त्री०) प्रकाशितमस्माभिः।

ग्रन्थकारस्योल्लेखेन ग्रन्थस्यास्य कारियता 'भवेश' इति राज्ञो नाम समुप-लभ्यते। चण्डेश्वरस्तु राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तस्सन् ग्रन्थिममं प्रणिनायेति स्वयमेव ग्रन्था रम्भे 'राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्त' इति वाक्येन समुल्लिखति। राजा भवेशो भवेश्वरो वा कार्णाटोत्तरे कामेश्वरराजवंशे १३७० छीष्टाब्दात् परं मिथिलाभूपोऽभवत्।

राजनीतिरत्नाकर-प्रणयनसमये चण्डेश्वरः प्रधानामात्यपदमेवालंचकारे-त्यनुमीयते यतोऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे अयं न 'महासान्धिवग्रहिक'' इति । किन्तु विवाद-रत्नाकररचनासमये स स्विपत्रध्युषितानुपाधीन् पदानि, अधिकाराँश्च उपलब्ध-वान् । राजनीतिरत्नाकरे पृ० ७७, विवादरत्नाकरे (एशियाटिक सोसाइटी मु०) पृ० ६७१ च संक्षिप्तः कवेर्जीवनवृत्तान्तो ज्ञातुं शक्यते ।

विवादरत्नाकरे राज्ञ उल्लेखों न प्राप्यते किन्तु ग्रन्थे तस्य समयः १२३६ तमः शाकाब्दः ६७१ तमे पृष्ठे लिखितः। अन्यैश्च प्रमाणैज्ञीयते यत् हरिसंह-देवो राजा तदा शास्ति स्म इति। कृत्यरत्नाकरे तु चण्डेश्वरेण स्वस्वामिनो हरिसिंहदेवस्य नामाङ्कितम्। स एव किल नेपालं तस्योपत्यकाभूमि च विजिग्य इति लोके प्रसिद्धम्। विवादरत्नाकरे च तन्मन्त्री चण्डेश्वरः स्वबुद्धिप्रभावेण नेपालं पराजित्याधिकृतवानिति लिखितमस्ति। यतश्चण्डेश्वरो महासान्धि-विग्रहिकपदव्यलङ्कृत आसीदतो नेपालविजययशोभाजनमयमिति भवितुं शक्नोति। हरिसिहदेवस्य तुगलकसम्राजा पराजयस्तस्य नेपालपलायनमिति १३२६ छ्रीष्टाब्दे घटितमिति मिस्तर अवमाली (O'Malley) महोदयस्यानुमानम्। नैतत्समीचीनम् यतो विवादरत्नाकरोल्लिखित-नेपालविजयः १३१४ छीष्टाब्दात्प्रागेव।

हरिसिंहदेवेन मिथिलास्थयोत्रीह्मणकायस्थयोः पञ्जीप्रबन्धो निरमायि। प्रबन्धोऽयं मैथिलशास्त्रकाराणां पण्डितानां वंशकालयोर्ज्ञानायात्युपादेयः। चण्डेश्वरस्य वंशावली अस्माभिरस्यैव साहाय्येन निर्धारिता। तिप्तृकुलान्वया दरभङ्गान्तर्गतमध्वनीत्युपभुक्ति (सबडिवीजन)-वर्तिसौराठग्रामे निव-

सन्ति । हरडीग्रामे चास्य समसंज्ञकमेकं शिविलिङ्गं तत्स्थापितं विद्यते । पञ्जीप्रवन्धानुसारेण सान्धिविग्रहिक-वीरेश्वरस्य भ्रातरो धीरेश्वरः, शुभदत्तो महामहत्तकगणेश्वरो मुद्राहस्तकलक्ष्मीदत्तोऽन्ये चापि आसन् ।

अन्तिमपदवीद्वयेन ज्ञायते यद् वीरेश्वरस्य वंशे वहवो राजकीयोच्चपदैिंब-भूषिता वभूवुः। अधुना केवलं धीरेश्वरस्य वंशीया एव विद्यन्ते। चण्डेश्वरस्य पित्रा वीरेश्वरेणैका पद्धतिर्विरचिता। तत्र

> देवादित्यकुले जातः स्यातस्त्रैलोक्यसंसदि पद्धति विदधे धीमान् श्रीमान् वीरेश्वरः कृती ॥

गणेश्वरस्तत्सुनुः रामदत्तश्च कर्मकाण्डे आचार्यो। रामदत्तस्य वाजसने-यिदशकर्मपद्धतिरधुनापि मिथिलायां प्रचरित। गणेश्वरस्य गयाविधिर्गङ्गाप्रका-शस्सुगितसोपानञ्च लभ्यन्ते। पञ्जीप्रवन्धे तु वंशस्यास्य वासस्थानं गढिबसफीति कथितमस्ति। शिलालिपिज्ञानां यत् विसफीग्रामेति नामधेयं स्थानं विदितं तदेव गढिबसफीति। चण्डेश्वरस्य पितुर्नाम वीरेश्वर शर्मा, पितामहस्य देवादित्य इति।

समस्तार्यावर्त्ते अस्तंगते आर्यस्वातन्त्र्यसूर्ये म्लेच्छभृत्येन करदराजेन भर्त्रा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तश्चण्डेश्वरः करोति राजनीतिरत्नाकरम्। तत्कालः ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् प्रतिबिम्बितः प्रतिभाति। राजशब्दस्य व्याख्यां कुर्व्वता (पृ०२) तेन स्पष्ट-मिभधायि प्रजारक्षको राजेति। राज्याभिषेकविधिमपि नातिमन्यते। क्षत्रिय-जातीय एव राजा भवितुमर्ह्तीति नावश्यकमिति। महम्मदीयानां राजत्वकाले एतदेव व्यवस्थितम्। न तु मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तास्ते महम्मदीया म्लेच्छाः।

तथापि शास्त्रविहिता नीतिरेव मुख्यतश्चण्डेश्वरेण लिखिता। राज्यविभाग-विषये च कथयित सामान्यदायविभागादिनियमा राज्यविभागे नोपयुक्ता यदेतद्राज्यं नैकस्य किन्तु राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वम् (पृ०७२)। अभिषेकप्रकरणे (अ०१६) प्रजा विष्णुरूपा इति वर्णितम् (पृ० ७४)। राज्ञः समक्षं प्रजानामेतावहेवतोचितः सम्मानो यथास्मिन् विद्यते तथैव प्राचीन-राज्यशास्त्रे चाप्युपलभ्यते। यथा महाभारते शान्तिपर्वणि (अ०५९, श्लो०१०६) अभिषेकप्रकरणे वर्णितम्—

'प्रतिज्ञां चाधिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा। पालियष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत्'।। चण्डेश्वरस्तुदाहरति—

'अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजाः। इति सर्व्यं प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं श्रावयेन्मुहः'।। अयं राजनीतिनामधेयो विषयः संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य विस्मृतप्रायोऽधुना संस्कृताध्ययने । विक्रमीयसप्तमशताब्दीपूर्व्वमेवास्य प्रादुर्भावः । बौद्धानां जातकेषु, रामायणे, गृह्यसूत्रेषु चास्य शास्त्रीयत्वं पठ्यते । शास्त्रस्यास्य तदानीन्तने नामधेये अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिश्चेति । विक्रमीयाब्दपूर्व्वर्त्तमानं कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रमेवं वर्णयति—'मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः, मनुष्यवती भूमीरित्यर्थः तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति' । दण्डस्य प्रजाशासनस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः । अर्थशास्त्रमितिहासेऽन्तर्भवतीति कौटिल्यमतम् यतः 'पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहास' इति । कौटिल्यकाले छान्दोग्योपनिषत्समये चेतिहासो वेद इव गण्यते स्म । काशी-कान्यकुब्जेश्वरस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवस्य सान्धिविग्रहिको लक्ष्मीधरोऽर्थशास्त्रं षष्ठं वेदं संजानीते । इतिहासेऽन्तर्भूतिमदं शास्त्रं पुरातनं, श्रद्धेयं विहितं सम्मतञ्च । कौटिलीये, महाभारते, आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे, कामन्दकीयनीतिसारे च राजनीतिशास्त्राचार्य्याणां नामोल्लेखः प्राप्यते ।

विषयोऽयं पुरा लोकानां सम्मानभाजनमभूत्। बह्वोऽस्य विषयस्या-चार्य्या जाताः। विकमीयपञ्चमे षष्ठे वा शताब्दे कामन्दकीय-नारदीयादयो विरचिताः प्रसिद्धग्रन्थाः। ततः प्रभृति पञ्चशताब्दपर्य्यन्तमनुमीयते विषये ऽस्मिन् मूलग्रन्थानामनिर्माणम्। यथा धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानां केवलं भाष्याणि एव निर्मिमतानि तथैव तस्मिन् समये केवलमर्थशास्त्रभाष्याणामेव करण-मित्यनुमीयते।

ख्रीष्टीयैकादशशताब्दे राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेको नवः प्रकारः (नीतिनिबन्धाः) प्रादुरभवत्। एषां मूलं पूर्वं-दण्डनीत्यर्थशास्त्रे न किन्तु धर्म्भशास्त्रमेवेति। नीतिनिबन्धकाराः स्वग्रन्थिन्माणे धर्म्मशास्त्रमेवानुसृतवन्तः। औशनसवार्हस्पत्य-कौटिलीयनीतीनां ते उपेक्षां चकुः। किमिधकं अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिश्वेति नामनी अपि ते प्रायशः तत्यजुः। राजनीतिरितिनामैव ते अनुमोदितवन्तः। अस्य कर्तारो बहुशः धर्म्भशास्त्रनिबन्धकारा एव। अस्माकमयं राजनीतिरत्ना-करस्तच्छ्रेणीक एव। यथा धर्म्भशास्त्राणां निबन्धा व्यवहारप्रकाशो विवाद-रत्नाकर इत्यादयो मूलवचनानि प्रमाणीभूतग्रन्थभ्य उद्धृत्य भाष्येण संयोज्य विषयान् वर्णयन्ति तथैव राजनीतिरप्ययं निबन्धग्रन्थः। एतत्प्राप्तेः प्रागस्माकं पूर्वराजनीतिनिबन्धग्रन्था लुप्तप्राया आसन्। लब्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे तेषां परिचयः प्राप्त इति अस्मिन् विषये सर्व्वतः पुरातनो लक्ष्मीधरमहानां राजनीतिकल्पतरुनामको ग्रन्थः। लक्ष्मीधरस्तु कान्यकुब्जाधिपतिजयचन्द्विपतामहस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य महासान्धिवग्रहिकः। लक्ष्मीधरस्तु कान्यकुब्जाधिपतिजयचन्द्विपतामहस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य महासान्धिवग्रहिकः। लक्ष्मीधरो धर्म्भशास्त्रेपि व्यवहारकल्पतरुनामकमेकं ग्रन्थं

विदधे। व्यवहारकल्पतरोरेका प्रतिलिपिमिथिलायामस्माभिः प्राप्ता ग्रन्थस्यास्य च सम्पादने उपकरणीभ्ता। राजनीतिकल्पतरुस्तु अस्माभिरद्यावधि न लब्धः। राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽस्य वचनानि बहुशः उद्धृतानि लभ्यन्ते। अन्यश्चैतच्छ्रेणीको ग्रन्थो राजनीतिकामधेनुरिति। अस्यापि वचनानि प्रचुरतया रत्नाकरे प्राप्यन्ते। कामधेनुकारो गोपालः कामधेनुनामकं धर्मशास्त्रनिवन्धमप्यरचयत्।

अन्येषां कियतां प्राचीननीतिग्रन्थानां परिचयं ददन्नयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरः सूचयित नारदीयनीतिरिप काचित् पुरातनी आसीदिति । रत्नाकरोद्धृतैर्नारदीय-वचनैरेतत् प्रत्यक्षीभवित । तेषु कियन्ति नारदस्य धर्मशास्त्रे उपलभ्यन्ते कियन्ति च तत्र न प्राप्याणि । तृतीयपृष्ठे नीतौ नारद इति ज्ञापयित काचिन्नीति-र्नारदस्याप्यासीदिति ।

नैतत् स्पष्टम् अनुमीयते तु यद्धारीतस्य एकमर्थशास्त्रमासीदिति (पृ० १२)। राजनीतिनामकग्रन्थविशेषवचनानि चण्डेरवरो बहुधा उद्धरित (पृ० ३)। यावदस्मात्प्राचीनतरराजनीतिनिबन्धा नोपलभ्यन्ते तावद् तद्ग्रन्थकर्त्तुर्नाम ज्ञातुं न शक्यम्। द्रष्टव्यमेतद् यदस्माकं ग्रन्थकर्त्रा कामन्दकीयनीतिरर्थशास्त्रमित्युच्यते (पृ० ५५)। रत्नाकरोद्धृतशुक्रनीतिवचनानि मुद्रितशुक्रनीतिवचनेभ्यः सर्वथा भिन्नानि।

मध्यकालीनराजनीतिविकाशद्योतनन्तु अनेन सम्पद्यत एव विशेषतो हिन्दु-राज्यान्ते माहम्मदीयराज्यादौ च कीदृशीं राजनीति भारतीया अनुसृतवन्त इत्यपि ज्ञायते च।

यद्यपि ग्रन्थकर्त्तरि अपूर्व्वताया बुद्धिप्रवरतायाश्च अप्राचुर्य्यं विद्यते तथापि तिस्मन् शास्त्रजिज्ञासायास्तवर्कशक्तेश्चैकान्तिकह्नासो न दृश्यते।

आशंसे राजनीतिकामधेनुकल्पतरूपलब्धौ रत्नाकरस्य तदत्यपहारित्वं प्रमाणी-भविष्यतीति। चण्डेश्वरेण विवादरत्नाकरे कल्पतरोरेतावद् अपहृतम् यथा व्यवहार-कल्पतरोः प्रकाशनं निष्फलमेवाधुना, मुद्रितरत्नाकरे कुत्रचिदेव पदानि तस्माद् भिन्नानि दृश्यन्ते। राजनीतिरत्नाकरे राजनीतिकल्पतरौ च तादृगेवात्यल्पभेद-स्सम्भाव्यते।

एतद्ग्रन्थप्रथममुद्रणार्थं रायबहादुर**राधाकृष्णजालाने**न विशिष्टव्ययभारमु-द्वहता वयमखिलार्य्यनीतिस्वादूपभोगिनश्चानुगृहीताः।

पाटलिपुरे वि० १९९३

जायसवालस्य काशीप्रसादस्य

राजनीतिरत्नाकरे येषां वचनानि प्रामाणिकतयोपन्यस्तानि तेषां ग्रन्थानां ग्रन्थ-काराणाञ्च नामानि यथा—–

		1111	경기 이 동안 하게 하게 하는 것이 나가는 그래요 하다고 살았다.
१	अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः		·
7	अर्थशास्त्रम्	•	55.
3	कात्यायनः		16, 20, 21, 69, 71, 77.
४	कामन्दकः	•	
4	(वाचस्पत्यम्)	•	
Ę	कोशः (अमरः)		
૭	कोशः (कोशकारः)	• •	71,75.
6	कुल्लूकभट्टः		
9	गोपालः		7 2 , 75.
१०	गुरु:		3, 33.
88	नारदः		12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 56,
			62, 68, 71, 77.
	नारदीयम्		
१३	(नीतौ) नारदः		3.
१४	राजनीतौ नारदः		70.
१५	नीतिः	• •	28, 31, 32, 43, 76.
१६	नीतिकल्पतरुः	• •	
१७	पद्मम्	• •	.,
१८	पल्लवकारः	• •	16, 32, 37, 47, 48, 63, 70, 73.
१९	प्राञ्चः (नव्याः)	• •	20,56.
२०	बाईस्पत्यम्		70∙
२१	भागवतम्	• •	70.
२२	मनुः		2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19,
			22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35,
			37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 55, 56,
			57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 76.
२३	महाभारतम्	• •	3, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 32,
	면 없이 되지 않는 것이 없다. 1945년 - 1일 - 1945년 1941년		34, 36, 39, 45, 67.
	(मय-मैत्र-विशालाक्ष	-मनु-	
24	मिताक्षरा		63, 76.

२६	याज्ञवल्क्यः	3, 6, 7, 10, 14, 24, 27, 32, 36, 44,
		45, 54, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 76.
२७	राजनीतिः	28, 32, 39, 46, 73.
२८	राजनीतिकामधेनुः	2, 4.
२९	(कामधेनुः)	68.
30	राजनीतौ हारीतनारदौ	66.
3 8	रामायणम्	67, 75.
३२	लक्ष्मीघरः	16, 20, 37, 70, 72, 73.
33	वशिष्ठः	67, 68.
3,8	व्यासः	4, 11, 17, 21, 66.
३५	विष्णुः (स्मृतिः)	20, 38, 71.
३६	शुक्रनीतिः	42, 72.
३७	(राजनीतौ शुकः)	70.
३८	श्रीकरः	36, 72.
३९	श्रुतिः	31, 56.
४०	सागरः	17, 32.
४१	स्मृतिः	8, 16.
४२	हारीतः	9, 12, 17.

विषयानुक्रमिश्वा ।

मङ्गलाचरणम्, विषयानुक्रमश्च । १,२

प्रथमं राज्ञो निरूपणम् । २--९

राजत्वम्, राजलक्षणानि, राजा त्रिविधः सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्चेति, अधी-श्वरो द्विविधः, राज्ञां साधारणधम्माः, तेषामष्टादश्च्यसनानि, अलब्ध-लिप्सनम्, लब्धरक्षणम्, कुमाररक्षणम् , नित्यविधानम्, आत्म-रक्षणम्, विद्वत्समागमः। प्रजारक्षणं तु प्रधानतः ऐहिकस्वार्थ-साधनाय।

अमात्यनिरूपणम् (द्वितीयस्तरङ्गः) १०-१३

अमात्योपयोगित्वम् । अमात्यलक्षणानि । मंत्रिभिस्सह मन्त्रणा, वहुभिस्सह मन्त्रनिषेधः । अमात्यधम्माः । प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः ।

पुरोहितनिरूपणम् (तृतीयस्तरङ्गः) १४,१५

पुरोहितलक्षणम्। ब्राह्मणपूजा।

प्राड्विवाकनिरूपणम् (चतुर्थस्तरङ्गः) १६,१७

निर्वाचनहेतुः। लक्षणानि। व्युत्पत्तिः। सभ्यैः सह कार्य्यावेक्षणम्।

सभ्यनिरूपणम् (पञ्चमस्तरङ्गः) । १८-२३

सभ्यव्युत्पत्तिः। सभानिरूपणम्, प्रतिष्ठिता अप्रतिष्ठिता मुद्रिता शासिता चेति चतुर्विधा सभा। सभाङ्गानि। सप्त पञ्च त्रयो वा सभ्याः। सभ्यलक्षणानि। धम्मिर्थशास्त्रयोविप्रतिपत्तिः। धम्मैनिर्णये वृषलस्य निषेधः। सभ्यकर्त्तेव्यानि।

दुर्गनिरूपणम् (षष्ठस्तरङ्गः) २४-२६

दुर्गोपयोगिता । दुर्गभेदाः । गिरिदुर्गप्रशंसा । दुर्गोपकरणानि । अदुर्गो विषयः कस्य ।

मन्त्रणा (सप्तमस्तरङ्गः) २७-३०

मन्त्रणादेशः । मन्त्रकालः । मन्त्रगोपनम् । पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः । अस्य प्रकारः । सिद्धिलक्षणम् ।

कोषनिरूपणम् (अष्टमस्तरङ्गः) ३१,३२

कोषलक्षणानि । कोपसंरक्षणप्रयोजनम् ।

बलनिरूपणम् (नवमस्तरङ्गः) ३३-३८

वलप्रयोजनम् । पडात्मकं वलम् । शक्तिस्त्रिविधा । यानम् । प्रयास्यमानस्य राज्ञः शक्तित्रयपरिचिन्तनम् । यानोपयुक्तमासः । संग्रामकृत्यम् । व्यूहरचना । व्यूहभेदाः । युद्धकमः । घोटकाः । परपुरोपरोधः । विजयोत्तरकृत्यम् ।

सेनानीनिरूपणम् (दशमस्तरङ्गः) ३९-४१

सेनानीकार्य्यम् । सेनानीलक्षणम् । सेनां प्रति सेनानीधर्माः । कूटायुधनिषेधः । योधनधर्माः ।

दूतादिनिरूपणम् (एकादशस्तरङ्गः) ४२-५४

दूतलक्षणम् । प्रतीहारकार्य्यम् । मित्रम् । मित्रपरीक्षा । चाराः । परिवार-कृत्यम् । राजसभोपजीविनां कर्त्तव्यानि । अनुरक्तविरक्तस्य स्वरूपम् ।

साधारणपालनादिराजकृत्यनिरूपणम् (द्वादशस्तरङ्गः) ५५-६१

साधारणाः राजधर्म्माः। प्रजापालनं परो धर्माः। प्रजारक्षक एव नृपः प्रजाभिः वद्ध्यते रक्ष्यते च। प्रजावर्द्धनात् प्रजारक्षणं श्रेयः। प्रजापालने यत्र धर्मार्थशस्त्रयोविप्रतिपत्तिस्तत्र धर्म्मशास्त्रोक्तमेवाचरणीयम्। षाड्गुण्यचिन्तनम्। सन्धिविग्रहादिकालाः। उपायान्तराभावे युद्धाश्रयः। मण्डलचिन्तनम्। प्रजापालने हेतुः तत्प्रकारक्च। अधिकारिणः। दशग्रामाधिपादयः।

दण्डनिरूपणम् (त्रयोदशस्तरङ्गः) ६२--६५

दण्डप्रयोजनम् । दण्डोत्पत्तिः । दण्डभेदाः । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वम् । राज्ञेऽपि दण्डः ।

राजकृतराज्यदानम् (चतुर्द्दशस्तरङ्गः) ६६--६९

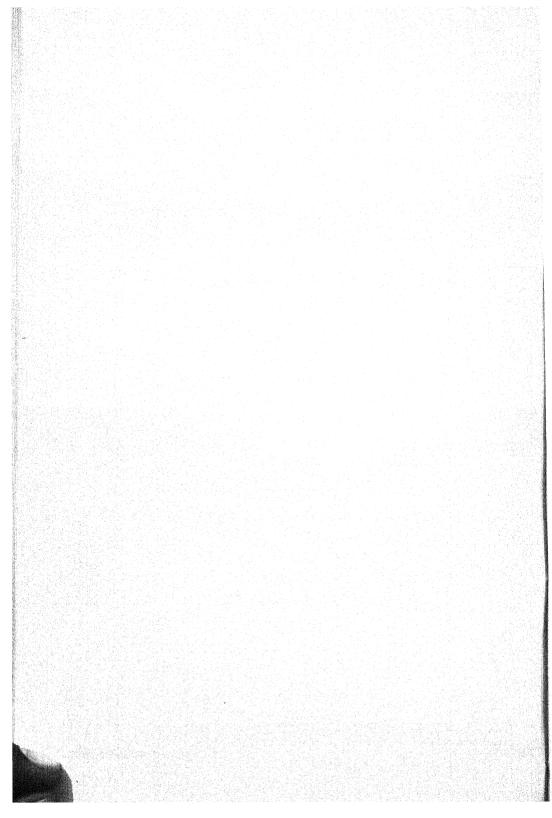
राज्ञः राज्यान्निस्पृहत्वे रणगमने च तत्कृतं पुत्राय राज्यदानम्। पौरजना-मन्त्रणम्। ज्येष्ठाय राज्यदापनम्। राज्यस्याविभाज्यता। राज्यदाने पृथिवी-पतेरस्वातन्त्र्यम्।

पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदाननिरूपणम् (पञ्चदशस्तरङ्गः) ७०--७२

राज्ञि मृते राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभः राज्यदानं ज्येष्ठाय। सप्ताङ्गकं राज्यम्। राजधने दीनानाथसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वम्।

अभिषेकनिरूपणम् (षोडशस्तरङ्गः) ७३--७७

यौवराज्ये राज्ये वा सुतस्य अभिषेचनम्, प्रजाविप्रानुमोदितम्। युवराज्यस्य वृद्धराजसापेक्षत्वम्। अभिषेचनकम्मीणि। राज्यदाने प्रजा एव विष्णुः साक्षी च। अन्ये राजपुत्रा भर्त्तव्याः। अभिषिक्तस्य प्रथमं राष्ट्रस्यैव साधनम्। ग्रन्थसमाप्तिः।



CHANDEŚVARA'S

RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

चग्डेग्ररविरचितो

राजनीति-रलाकर:

॥ ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥

सूत्रामान्धकयोविवादमिनशन्दृष्ट्वा जिगीष्वोरहं राजेत्येव मिथः पुरा निगदतोरग्नीक्षणप्रेक्षणात् । योऽसौ निर्णयति स्म संप्रति शिवः पायात्पराणां परः स स्मेराचलकन्ययाऽप्यनुमतोषे ब्रह्मादिभिः प्राथितः ॥ राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्य्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः कृती ॥ राज्ञो निरूपणञ्चादावामात्यस्य तदुत्तरम् । ततः पुरोहितादेश्च प्राड्विवाकस्य तुर्य्येके ॥ सभ्यस्य पञ्चमे चैव षष्ठे दुर्गस्य सप्तमे । मन्त्रणा कार्यदेशादेः कोषस्य तदनन्तरम् ।। बलस्य नवमे चैव सेनान्यो दशमे तथा । एकादशे दूतचारप्रती हारादिकस्य तु ॥

^१ अनुमतमिति पुस्तकेषु ।

र मन्त्रिणा। (घ)(ङ)योः।

^३ तदन्तरम्। (घ)(ङ)योः।

⁸ प्रतिहारादिकस्य तु। (ङ)।

द्वादशे राजकृत्यस्य १ दण्डस्याथ त्रयोदशे ।
अथ राज्यप्रदानस्य महीपेन चतुर्द्शे ।।
पुरोधसा १ पञ्चदशे तत्कुळीनाय धर्म्मतः ।
धोडशे चाभिषेकस्य विचार्य्याकारि यत्नतः ।।
एवं रत्नाकरे चास्मिन् तरङ्गाः धोडशोदिताः ।
निरीक्ष्य नीतिशास्त्राणि श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ।।
राजार्थशास्त्रं राजनीतिः ।।

तत्र प्रथमं राज्ञो निरूपणम् ॥ (C. I.)

मनुः।

"अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्व्वतो विद्वते भयात्। रक्षार्थमस्य सर्व्वस्य राजानमसृजतप्रभुः"॥ ३

राजानिमत्यस्य राजमात्रे तात्पर्य्यं विशेषानिभधानात् । असृजदिति क्रिया-मात्रं काल उपलक्षणम् ।

> "राजधम्मीन् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेत्रृपः । सम्भवश्च यथा तस्य सिद्धिश्च परमा यथा" ॥

इत्यादि प्रागिवशेषेणो पादानात् । तथा च प्रजारक्षको राजेत्यर्थः।
ननु प्रजाऽरक्षकस्य वेणादेः कथं राजत्विमिति चेन्न। दृष्टतद्योग्यताया एव
विवक्षितत्वात्। अतएव कुल्लूकभट्टः "राजशब्दोऽपि नात्र क्षत्रियजातिपरः १९
किन्त्विभिषिक्तजनपदपालियितृपुरुषपरः"। राजनीतिकामधेनौ 'राज्याभिषिक्तो
राजा प्रजापालनादेस्तदीयत्वात् तत्प्राक् ज्ञानासंभवाच्चेति'; प्रजापालने प्रवृत्त
इति बहवः। वस्तुतस्तु प्रजापालनप्रवृत्त्यभिषेकादयोऽस्य कारणमात्रं प्रजास्वामित्वे

^९ शत्रुवर्गस्य । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

र (ग) पुरोधसामिति।

[₹]म०।७।३।

⁸ (घ)(ङ)योः। भवेन्नरः।

⁴ H010121

^{ै (}क) (ग)योः। प्राग्विशेषेणेति । (ङ)। परागविशेषेणेति।

⁸ (घ)। उपादानाच्च।

^{ै (}घ) (ङ)योः। प्रजारक्षकस्य।

६ (ङ) । तद्योग्यतया ।

^{१०} (घ) (ङ)योः । कुल्लूभट्टः ।

^{१९} म०। ७। १। कु० क्षत्रिजातिवचनः। किन्त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपुरपालयितृ-पुरुषवचनः।

राजत्वेन प्रसिद्धो राजा; 'केवलशौर्य्याद्याप्तराज्यस्य राजत्वव्यवहारादिति' गुरवः १।।

विशेषलक्षणान्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

"महोत्साहः स्थूललक्षः कृतज्ञो वृद्धसेवकः। विनीतः सत्त्वसंपन्नः कुलीनः सत्यवाक् शुचिः॥ अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमानक्षुद्रोऽपरुषस्तथा। धार्मिमकोऽव्यसनरचैव प्राज्ञः शूरो रहस्यवित्"॥

अचिरिकयः अदीर्घसूत्रः इत्यादिलक्षणं प्रशंसापरम् । स्मृतिपुराणादौ सपापनृपस्य नरकविधानात् ॥ अभिषेककाले प्रथमपरीक्षार्थमिति बहवः॥

राजा त्रिविधः, सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्च। तदाह नीतौ नारवः ।

राजानमिवशेषेण निजगाद मनुः पुरा।
विशेषेणैव वक्ष्यामि संशयो न यथा भवेत्।।
राजा तु त्रिविधो श्रेयस्सम्राट् च सकरोऽकरः।
सर्व्वेभ्यः क्षितिपालेभ्यो नित्यं गृह्णाति वै करम्॥
स सम्प्राडिति विश्रेयश्चकवर्ती स एव हि।
मासि मासि करन्दद्यात्प्रत्यब्दञ्च तथैव च॥
सकरः स तु विश्रेयो राजलक्षणसंयुतः।
करं सन्देशव्याजेन यो ददाति हि स्वेच्छया।
अधीश्वरन्तमेवाहुः शास्त्रे शास्त्रविदो जनाः॥

महाभारते।

"इन्द्रादनवरः श्रीमान् देवैरिप सुदुर्ज्जयः। तस्य सर्व्वे महीपाला वर्त्तन्ते स्म वशे सदा। स हि सम्राडभूत्तेषां वित्तेन च बलेन च।।

^१ चण्डेश्वरगुरुः । "मद्गुरुपद्धतौ" इति च राजनीतिरत्नाकरे षोडशे तरङ्गे द्रष्टव्यम् ।

रे या०। १। ३०९-१०।

एष पाठो मुद्रितनारदस्मृतौ नोपलभ्यते। नारदीयो धर्मशास्त्रादन्य एवार्थशास्त्रग्रन्थ इति प्रतीयते।

पारावारमभिव्याप्य शासना यस्य नान्यथा । तस्याधीनास्तु विज्ञेया राजानश्च अधीश्वराः" ॥

तथा च सकलराजेभ्यो यः करप्राही स^च सम्राट्। सम्राजे करदो यः स सकरः। स्वेच्छ्या करदोऽकरः।। स्मृत्ता वावमी राजत्वेन प्रख्याता, लोके तु राजेति सकरः चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् अधीववरो महाराज इति प्रसिद्धाः, विशेषप्रति-पत्त्यनुरोधात्; परन्तु त्रयाणामपि धम्मैं सममेव विशेषानिभिधानात्। तथा च मनः ।

> "इन्द्रानिल-यमाक्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥ यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः । तस्मादिभभवत्येष सर्व्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्ष्मंपि च मनांसि च । न चैनं भृवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥ एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्श्वरन्दुरुपर्साप्पणम् । कुलन्दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम् "॥

व्यासः ।

"पर्जन्य इव लोकानामाधारः पृथिवीपतिः" ॥^६

राज-नीति-कामधेनो । अधीश्वरो द्विविधः "शौर्य्यादकरः सम्राडनुग्रहाद करः। आद्यः स्वेच्छ्यैव दण्डादि ददाति । द्वितीयोप्यनुग्रहात् । 'अकरस्तु स्वयं सर्वं, यदि सम्राडनुग्रहः। तदा न्यायपथेनैव, कुरुते रिपुसूदने'ति स्मृतेः। द्विती याभिप्रायेणेदम्; आद्यश्यमार्थं सन्देशव्याजेन किञ्चित्करं ददाति। सकरोऽपि

^९ म० भा०। आइव० प०। ४। १७, १८॥ पारावारमभिव्याप्येत्यादि-इलोको नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितग्रन्थेषु ॥

रे (घ)। नास्ति।

^१ 'स्मृतादावमी' इति पाठः पुस्तकेषु ।

⁸ म०। ७। ४-६, ९।।

५ (क)। नरेन्द्राणामिति।

⁸ म०। एषः।

^९ एक एवेति द्विरुपसर्पिणमिति च पाठः पुस्तकेषु ।

^{े (}घ) (ङ)योः । सञ्चयान् । 🔻 नास्ति मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ ।

द्विवधः अधिकृतदण्डादिरनिधकृतदण्डादिः। आद्यस्य १ न्याये पुनर्न्यायस्तेन कृतो दण्डो न निवर्त्तते, द्वितीयस्य न्यायेऽधिकारो दण्डे नाधिकारः। न्यायस्य पुनर्न्यायो-ऽपि। यदि हठात्कारेण विरुद्धाना चरित तदा साहसे यथासाहसं धनग्रहण-१ दण्डोऽसाहसे तत्समीपं गते प्रसादकरमनादाय दिनद्वयं दिनत्रयं वा स्वदर्शनन्न कारयतीति तिरस्कारः सम्राजा करणीयः। तत्प्रजासु तत्कृतं सम्राजाऽनिवर्त्यम्। 'अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्व्वाः स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपतिरिंति नारदीयात् । अस्याप्यत्रैव तात्पर्य्यं, सम्राडादौ तदसंभवात्। संप्रदायोऽपि तथैवेति ।

अमीषां साधारणधम्मानाह मनुः ।

"ब्राह्मणान् पर्य्युपासीत प्रातरुत्थाय पार्थिवः । त्रैविद्यविद्वान् विदुषस्तिष्ठेत्तेषाञ्च शासने ॥ वृद्धांश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान् वेदविदः शुचीन् । वृद्धसेवी हि सततं ६ रक्षोभिरिभपूज्यते ॥ तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मापि नित्यशः । विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न विनश्यति कहिचित् ॥ बह्वोऽविनयान्नष्टा राजानस्सपिरच्छदाः । वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ वेणो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः । सुदाः पैजवनश्चैव ९ सुमुखो निमिरेव १ च ॥ पृथुस्तु विनयाद्वाज्यं प्राप्नुयान्मनुरेव १ च ॥ कुवेरस्तु धनैश्वयं ब्राह्मण्यञ्चैव गाधिजः" ॥

^९ (क) । आद्यस्य पुनर्न्यायः। ^२ (घ) । कृतदण्डो न निवर्त्तते ।

र्व (ख) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । विरुद्धमिति ।

^४ (ख)। धनग्रहणमिति। ^५ (घ)। साम्राज्ञा।

६ ना० स्मृ०। ऋणादान प्र०।३३।

^{🎙 (}क) (ग)योः। 'तथैवेतीति' इति ।

⁵ म० । ७ । ३७-४२ । ^६ रक्षाभिरिति पुस्तकेषु ।

१० सुन्दापैर्जवनश्चैवेति (क)(ख)(ग)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु। (घ)। सुन्दाः।

 $^{^{49}}$ (क) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । नेमिः ॥ (ख) । नैमिः ॥ मानवे । निमिः ।

^{९२} (घ) (ङ)योः । प्राप्तवान् इति ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

"अन्यायेन नृपो राष्ट्रात्स्वकोशं वोऽभिवर्द्धयेत् । सोऽचिराद्विगतश्रीको नाशमेति सवान्धवः" ॥ र

विनयः सुनीतिः सुशीलमिति केवित् ॥ **मनुः^३ ।** "त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्या^४ दृण्डनीतिञ्च शाश्वतीम् । आन्वीक्षिकीञ्चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भाश्च^३ लोकतः" ॥

त्रयीमृग्यजुस्सामवेदान् आन्वीक्षिकीं तक्कीवद्यां आत्मविद्यां वेदान्तम्; वार्ता कृषिवाणिज्यादि शिक्षेतेत्यर्थः।

> "^६ इन्द्रियाणाञ्जयेद्योगं समातिष्ठेदिवानिशम् । जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे^७ स्थापियतुं प्रजाः" ॥

इन्द्रियाणां दुष्टविकारञ्जयेदित्यर्थः ॥

"दश कामसमुच्छाणि तथाष्टी कोधजानि च। व्यसनानि दुरन्तानि प्रयत्नेन विवर्ज्ययेत्"।।

अष्टादश व्यसनानि त्यजेत् । तद्धेतुमाह ।

"कामजेषु प्रसक्तो हि व्यसनेषु महीपतिः। वि^६युज्यतेऽर्थकामाभ्यां कोधजेष्वात्मनैव तु॥ मृगयाक्षा^{९०} दिवास्वप्नः परिवादस्त्रियो मदः। तौर्य्यत्रिकं वृथाट्या च कामजो दशको गणः।

१ (घ) (ङ)योः । स्वकांशं ।

^२ या०। १। ३४०।

[ै] म०। ७। ४३-४८।

^{ष्ठ} (घ) (ङ)योर्मनावपि । विद्यां ।

^५ (ङ) । वार्तारम्भाश्चेति ।

^६ मानवे तु 'इन्द्रियाणाञ्जये' इति पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

^{ै (}ख) (ङ)योः। रणे इति।

^द म०। समुत्थानि।

^{् (}ङ)। विसृज्यते। म०। अर्थधर्माभ्यां।

^{९ ०} मृगयाक्ष इति मेघातिथिः।

पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्ष्यासूयार्थंदूषणम्। वाग्दण्डञ्च^९ पारुष्यं कोधजोपि गणो^९ ऽष्टकः।। व्यसनस्य च मृत्योश्च कष्टं व्यसनमुच्यते। व्यसन्यधोऽधो व्रजति स्वर्यात्यव्यसनी मृतः"॥ र

तौर्य्यत्रिकं नृत्यगीतवाद्यं, वृथाटचा विफलभ्रमणं, साहसं वधादि, वाग्द-ण्डञ्च^३ वाक्पारुष्यं दण्डपारुष्यं, एष्वष्टादशव्यसनेष्वतिप्रसक्तिरेव निषिद्धा, न तु तत्संबन्ध एव राज्ञस्तद्विधेः ॥ **याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥**

"भपटे ताम्रपदे वापि स्वमुद्रोपरिचिन्हितम्। अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंद्रयानात्मानञ्च महीपितः। अलब्धमीहेद्धम्मेण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत्। पालितं वर्द्धयेन्नित्यं वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत्।। स्वरन्ध्रगोप्तान्वीक्षिक्यां दण्डनीत्यान्तथैव च। विनीतस्त्वर्थंवात्तियां त्रय्याञ्चैव नराधिपः"।।

मनुः ।

"अलब्धं चैव लिप्सेत लब्धं रक्षेत्प्रयत्नतः। रक्षितं वर्द्धयेच्चैव वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत्।। एतच्चतुर्विवधं विद्यात्पुरुषार्थप्रयोजनम्। अस्य सम्यगनुष्ठानं नित्यं कुर्य्यादतन्द्रितः १०॥"

स्वनामाङ्कितमुद्रया स्वपत्रमात्रमङ्क्रयेत्। धनागमसमीहा धनपालनवर्द्ध-नानि कुर्य्यात्, पात्रेषु विश्वासपात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् अतन्द्रितः १ पिरालसः, धर्म्मणेति

^१ (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु। गुणो० इति।। म०। वाग्दण्डजं च पारुष्य-मिति पाटः। ^३ म०। ७। ५३।

३ (घ)(ङ)योः। वाग्दण्डञ्च पारुष्यं।

⁸ या० । १ । ३१९, ३१७, ३११ ।

५ (घ) (ङ)योः । पट्टे ।

^६ या० । पटे वा ताम्रपत्रे वा इति ।

[ै] या० । वर्धयेन्नीत्या इति ।

^{े (}क) (ग) । तर्य्याञ्चैव ॥ (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । सदा चैव ॥

^६ म० । ७ । ९९,१०० ।

^{९ °} म \circ । अस्य नित्यमनुष्ठानं सम्यगिति ॥ (घ)(ङ)योः अतन्त्रितः ॥

^{११} (ङ) । अतन्त्रितः निरालस्यः ।

सर्वित्रान्वयः । "धम्मेण दण्डविजयकरादिना वृद्धं भोगाद्युर्व्वरितं धनन्दानाय भुक्तये १" इति स्मृतेः । "वृद्धं नैव्यावहारिकधना"दिति नीतिकल्पतरः ॥

> "अध्यास्योद्वाहयेद्भार्य्यां । सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् । कुले महित सम्भूतां हृद्यां रूपगुणान्विताम् ॥ कन्यानां संप्रदानञ्च कुमाराणाञ्च रक्षणम् ॥ राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहे नित्यं विधानमिदमाचरेत् ।।

सवर्णां सजातीयां, लक्षणान्वितां धर्म्मशास्त्रोक्तलक्षणान्वितां, रूपगुणान्वितां सामुद्रिकलक्षणलक्षितां, कन्यामुद्रहेत्, कन्यादानं कुमाररक्षणं कार्य्यं, राष्ट्रसंग्रहे इदमवश्यमेव कार्य्यमित्यर्थः।

"स्वयं गृहीतराष्ट्रो हि पार्थिवः सुखमेधते ।" पुत्रादितो दुःखसन्देहात् स्वयं गृहीतराज्यो भूयादित्याशयः ॥ "ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि । सर्व्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्त्तव्यं परिरक्षणम् ॥"

अत्र क्षत्रियपदं राजपरम् उपनयनादिसंस्कारवता परिरक्षणं कार्य्यमिति प्राशस्त्यपरं, "बालोपि नावमन्तव्य^९" इति मनोरेव प्रागुक्तेः ॥

तद्यथा।

उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे कृतशौचः समाहितः । हुताग्निर्बाह्मणांश्चार्च्यं प्रविशेत् स शुभां सभाम्^{९०} ॥ सभाकर्त्तव्यकलापाः "व्यवहारान्नृपः पश्येदि"^{९९} त्यादिना धर्म्मशास्त्रनिबन्धे विस्तारिताः ॥

> "व्यायाम्याप्लुत्य मध्यान्हे भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं विशेत् । तत्रात्मभूतैः कालज्ञैराहार्य्यपरिचारकैः । सुपरीक्षितमन्नाद्यमद्यान्मन्त्रैर्व्विषापहैः ^{९३}॥"

१ (क)। भक्तये इति। १ (ङ)। व्यवहारिक० इत्यशुद्धः पाठः।

३ म०।७।७७। तदध्यास्योद्धहेद्भार्यामिति म०। अध्याप्योद्धहयेद्भार्यां।(ङ)।

४ म०।७।१५२। १ म०।७।११३।

५ ०मेककार्यमित्यर्थः। (ङ)। १ म०।७।११३।

५ म०।७।२। १ म०।७।१।

१० म०।७।१४५। १०।७।२।१।

महाभारते।

"इन्द्रियाणि तु सर्व्वाणि वाजिवत्परिपालयेत् । हितायैव भविष्यन्ति रक्षितं द्रविणं यथा ॥ आत्मा रक्ष्यस्तु सततं भोजनादिषु भारत । विहाराहारकाले तु माल्यशय्यासनेषु च^३॥"

हारीतः।

"प्राप्तकालस्तु नीतिज्ञ उत्तिष्ठेत्कालसर्पवत् ।

ौ महत्यल्पोप्युपायज्ञस्समये भवति क्षमः ॥

अविद्वानिष भूपालो विद्यावृद्धोपसेवया

परां सिद्धिमवाप्नोति जलासन्नतरुर्व्यथा

सत्यैश्वर्य्यं तथा त्यागो नृपस्यैते महागुणाः

एतैस्त्यक्तो महीपालः प्राप्नोति खलु वाच्यताम् ।"

आत्मभूतैः प्रियैः, कालज्ञैश्चतुरैः, सर्व्वोपायैरात्मा रक्ष्य इति वर्त्तुलार्थः॥

प्रधानतो राज्ञ एत ऐहिकस्वार्थाः। न च प्रजारक्षणस्यादृष्टार्थकत्वादिद
मुक्तमयुक्तम्; अरक्षणे प्रजाक्षैण्यविरागभागधेयभङ्गप्रसङ्गात्, अत्र दृष्टान्तो विणो

विनष्ट' इति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो राजनिरूपणतरङ्गः॥

१ म० भा०। परिपालय । आश्र० प० । ६ । १३-१९ ।

र (घ) (ङ)योः। शय्याशनेषु चेति पाठः।

भ (ङ)। महानल्पोप्युपायज्ञः। ^४ नास्ति मुद्रितहारीतधर्मे।

ग्रथामात्यनिरूपगम् ॥ (C. II.)

अमात्यं विना राज्यकार्य्यं न निर्व्वहत्यतोऽत्र प्रथमममात्यो निरूप्यते ॥ मनुः १

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्गतान् । सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥ मौलान् कुलसेवकान्, कुलोद्गतान् कुलीनान् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः रे।

मन्त्रिणस्तु । प्रकुर्व्वीत प्राज्ञान् । मौलान् स्थिराञ्ज्ञाचीन् । तैस्सार्द्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विष्रेणाथ ततः स्वयम् ।। मन्त्रिभः सह मन्त्रयेत् । ततो ब्राह्मणेन, ततः स्वयम् रहसि मन्त्र

प्रथमं मन्त्रिभिः सह मन्त्रयेत् । ततो ब्राह्मणेन, ततः स्वयम् रहिस मन्त्रयेद्वि-चारयेदित्यर्थः ॥

अमात्यकरणे हेतुमाह मनुः । मुखेनापि यत्कियते तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् । विशेषतोऽसहायेन किञ्च राज्यं महोदयम् ॥

तथा

^९अमात्यमुख्यं धर्म्भज्ञं प्राज्ञं दान्तं कुलोन्नतम् । स्थापयेदासने तस्मिन् खिन्नः कार्य्यक्षणे ^{९०} नृणाम् ॥

^९ म० । ७ । ५४ । म० । कुलोद्भवान् ।

चया०। १। ३१०।

रे या० "स मन्त्रिणः" ।। प्रज्ञानिति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः ।

^४ अमात्येत्यारभ्य मनुरित्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^५ म०। ७। ५५।

^६ म० । अपि यत्सुकरं कर्म इति ।

⁹ "किमु" । इति मिथिलास्थ-शिवेश्वरशर्म-गृह-प्राप्त-लिखितमानवपुस्तके पाठः । किन्त्विति मनौ ।

च्म०।७।१४१।

९ म० । "कुलोद्गतम्" ।

^{९०} क्षणो। (घ) पाठः प्रामादिकः।

अमात्येषु मुख्यमुक्तलक्षणमेकं । मानार्थं पृथगासने स्थापयेत् । अत्रार्थे व्यासः । स्मृतिस्तत्परमार्थेषु वितक्कें ज्ञानिश्चयः । वृढता मन्त्रगुप्तिश्च मन्त्रिणः परमो गुरुः ॥ मन्त्रिण इत्यार्थत्वादेकवचनम् ।।

मनुः ।

तैःसार्द्धं मन्त्रये^षिन्नत्यं सामान्यं सिन्धिविग्रहम् । स्थानं समुदयं गुप्ति लब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥ तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् । सामन्तानाञ्च ^६कार्य्येषु विदध्याच्छिवमात्मनः ^३ ॥

सन्धिविग्रहमिति समाहारः, सन्धिविग्रहमित्युपलक्षणम् । पृथक् पृथक् मतमा-कलय्य चिरं चिन्तयेत् ॥

सर्व्वेषान्तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
 मन्त्रयेत्परमम्मन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ।।
 नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्व्वकार्याणि निःक्षिपेत् ।
 तेन सार्द्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्म्म समारभेत् ॥

पूर्व्वोक्तेन ब्राह्मणेन परमम्मन्त्रं निर्गलितार्थं षाड्गुण्यं राजा मन्त्रयेदित्य-न्वयः। "सन्धिर्ना विग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रय" इति कोषः ११। तद्भावः षाड्गुण्यमित्यर्थः।।

महाभारते^{९ २}।

मन्त्रिणश्चैव कुर्व्वीथा द्विजान् विद्याविशारदान् । विनीतांश्च कुलीनांश्च धम्मार्थेकुशलानृजून् ॥

^९ मुख्यमुक्तलक्षण०। (ङ)। मुख्यलक्षण० इत्यन्येषु।

र अत्र व्यासवचनानि लुप्तव्यासस्मृत्युद्धृतानीति । नैतानि प्रचलितव्यास स्मृतावुपलभ्यन्ते ।

[ै] कौटिलीये (५।३॥८।४।) मन्त्रीति प्रधानमन्त्री।

⁸ म०।७।५६,५७।

^५ म० । 'चिन्तयेत्' ।

^६ म० । "समस्तानाम्" ।

[🎙] म० । "हितमात्मनः" । (ङ) ।

चिरमात्मनः ।

⁵ म०।७।५८।

९ (क) (ग)योः । "संयुतः"।

^{90 40 1 9 1 481}

^{११} अमरः। २।८। १८।

१२ म० भा०। आश्रम० ॥ ६ ॥ २० । १४ । २१ ।

अमात्यानुपथातीतान् पितृपैतामहान् शुचीन् । दान्तान् कर्म्मसु पुण्यांश्च मुख्यान् कर्म्मसु योजयेत् ।। तैस्सार्द्धं मन्त्रयेथास्त्वं नात्यर्थं बहुभिस्सह । समस्तैरपि च व्यस्तैर्व्यपदेशेन केनचित् ॥

उक्तलक्षणान् ब्राह्मणान् मन्त्रेषु योजयेत्, बहुभिः सह न मन्त्रयेत्, अपि मन्त्रयेत्तदा केनचित् व्यपदेशेनेत्यर्थः । लक्षणमुखेनामात्यधर्मानाहतु**र्नारदहारीतौ**ः ।

कोऽत्रेत्यहमिति ब्रूयास्सम्यगादेशयेति च ।
आज्ञां न वितथां कुर्य्याद्यथाशित महीपतेः ॥
अल्पेच्छो ध धृतिमान् प्राज्ञश्छायेवानुगतः सदा ।
आदिष्टो न विकल्पेद्यः स राजवसितं वसेत् ॥
दूरादेवेक्षणे हासः संप्रश्नेष्वादरो भृशम् ।
परोक्षेऽपि गृणः ध श्लाघ्यः स्मरणं प्रियवस्तुषु ॥
अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्त्यतिपेशलाः ।
समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकम्मैविदो जनाः ॥
नानिवेद्य प्रकुंर्व्वीत भर्त्तः किञ्चिदपि प्रियम् ।
कार्य्यमापत्प्रतीकारादन्यत्र जगतीपतेः ॥
स चामात्यः सदा श्रयान् काकिनीमिष बर्द्धयेत् ।
कोषं प्राहुर्य्यंतः प्राणान् ततः प्राणाः स भूपतेः ॥

अल्पेच्छो^{९ ०} नातिधनाकांक्षी; छायेवानुगतो मन्त्रादिकार्य्यंकाले न तु रहस्य-कम्मीदौ निषेधश्रवणात्; पेशलाः प्रवीणाः, समे निम्नोन्नतानीवेति यथा चित्र-

भ० भा० । '०पुण्यांश्च पुण्यान् सर्वेषु योजयेः ।' इति वङ्गवेशमृद्रितभारते ।
 द्राविडे तु '०सर्वेषु मुख्यान् मुख्येषु योजयेः ।' इति ।

[ै] व्याप्तैर्वापदेशेन । (ङ) । ३ नोपलभ्यन्ते नारदस्मृतौ मुद्रितहारीते च।

⁸ (क) । अल्पेच्छः ।। (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । अल्पेक्षः ।

^५ गुणक्लाध्यस्मरणं । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

६ (ङ) । अतय्यानि च ।

^{° (}ङ) । निदर्शयति पेशला इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^८ (ङ) । चित्रकर्माविदो जना इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

र "यः काकिन्यपि" इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ)पुस्तकपाठः सर्वथा ऽशुद्धः॥

^{९०} (घ) । अल्पेक्षः ।

लेखकाः पटादौ^९ लिखनकौशलेन समें निम्नमुन्नतन्दर्शयन्ति तथैव प्रवीणमन्त्रि-णक्चात्रर्योणातथ्यानि अप्रतीर्याणि र सप्रतीर्याणि व दर्शयन्ति ॥ तथा च यस्य प्रतीकारोत्तरादि नास्ति तस्य तत्संपादयन्तीत्याशयः।। आपदि प्रियमपष्टमपि कूर्व्वतित्यर्थः, काकिनी वराटकसंख्या, प्राणाः प्राणतुल्याः ॥

अन्यच्च ।

धूर्तः स्त्री वा शिशुर्यंस्य मन्त्रिणः स्युर्महीपतेः । अनीतिपवनोत्क्षिप्तः कार्य्याब्धौ स निमज्जति ॥ येषां राज्ञा सह स्यातामुपचयापचयौ ध्रुवम् । अमात्या इति तान् राजा नावमन्येत्कदाचन ॥ ^४महीभुजो मदान्धस्य विषमे कार्य्यसागरे। ^५स्खलतो हि करालम्बः सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम् ॥ मुर्खे नियुज्यमाने तु त्रयो दोषा महीपतेः। अयशोऽर्थविनाशस्य नरके पतनन्तथा।। प्राज्ञे नियुज्यमाने च सन्ति राज्ञस्त्रयो गुणाः। यशः स्वर्ग्यविलासञ्च ^६ पुष्कलञ्च धनागमः ॥

धूर्त्तस्त्रीबालमुर्खा न मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः, प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः। अत्रापि स्वोपचयापचयफलभागिनः प्रथमतो मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः उक्तदोषगुणश्रवणात् । पुष्कलः सकलः। ननु प्रथमोक्तलक्षणबालस्य कथमत्र निषेघो युक्त इति चेत्सत्यं परन्तु वयोधम्मस्य सर्व्वगुणेषु । प्राबल्यात्। तेन तत्कृतान्यायशङ्कां निरस्तु । मशक्यत्वात्। अतएव मनुः ।

मत्तोन्मत्तार्ताद्य^{९ ०}धीनैर्बालेन स्थविरेण वा ॥ नारदः ११। "यद्वालः कुरुते कार्य्यमि"त्यादि ॥ इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽमात्यतरङ्गः॥

^{🤻 (}ङ) । अप्रतीकार्य्याणि । ^९ (घ)(ङ)योः। पट्टादौ । ⁸ (घ) (ङ)योः । महीभुजा । ३ (घ) । सप्रतीकार्याणि । 🤻 (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । स्थूलतः ।

६ स्वर्ग० इति सुवचम् । (घ) (ङ)योः यशोऽस्वर्ग्यविनाशश्चेति सम्यक् पाठः ।।

^६ निरासितु० इति साधीयान् । ^७ सर्वगुणेभ्यः । (घ) । १० अध्यधीनैः। (घ) (म०)। ६ म०। ८। १६३।

११ ता०। ऋण० प्र०। ३९। मत्तोन्मत्तर्णाद्यधीनैः।(ङ)।

श्रथ पुरोहितादितरङ्गः ॥ (C. III.)

सर्व्यमञ्जलकारणमतोऽत्र पुरोहितो निरूप्यते ।

व्यासः^१।

वेदवेदार्थतत्त्वज्ञो जपहोमपरायणः। आशीर्वादपरो दक्ष एप राजपुरोहितः॥

इदं पुरोहितस्वरूपम्। मनुः ।

पुरोहितञ्च कुर्वीत वृण्यादेव चरिवजः । तस्य गृह्याणि कम्माणि कुर्य्युर्वे तानि कानिचित् । यजेत राजा कतुभिविविधैराप्तदक्षिणैः । धम्मार्थं चैव विश्रेभ्यो दद्याद्भोगान्धनानि च ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

पुरोहितञ्च कुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदयम् । श्रौतस्मार्तिक्रयाहेतोर्वृणुयादेव च र्रिवजम् ॥ यज्ञांश्चैव प्रकुर्वीत विधिवद्भूरिदक्षिणान् । भोगांश्च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वस्तूनि विविधानि च ॥ अक्षयोऽयं निधी राज्ञां विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम् । अस्कन्नमव्ययञ्चैव प्रायश्चित्तौरद्धितम् ॥ अग्नेः सकाशाद्विप्राग्नौ हुतं श्रेष्ठिमहोच्यते । ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचाय्येँराशीभिरभिवन्दितः ॥

अस्कन्नमन्यत्र⁵पतनाभावः ॥ उक्तपुरोहितादेरर्थधर्म्मयोरविशेषादत्रावसरः।

^१ नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ । ^२ म० । ७ । ७८, ७९ ।

[ै] चर्त्वजम्। (घ)(ङ)योः।

⁸ म० । तेऽस्य वैतानिकानि च इति ।

^५ या० । १ । ३१३—३१६ । ३३२ । ऋत्विज इति या० पाठः ।

^६ ०राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादितमिति अपरार्कः।

[े] या० । अस्कन्नमञ्ययं (व्ययं वा) । अस्कन्दनमिति पाठस्त्यक्तव्यरछन्दो-भङ्गभिया ।

⁻ अस्कन्नं क्षरणरहितमिति मिताक्षरा।

यत्तु यजनादेरदृष्टमेव फलमिति तन्न । "राज्यकामो विजयकामो धनकामः ^१पुष्टचा-दिकामो यजेदि"त्यादि दर्शनात्, व्यवहाराच्च । किञ्चाशीर्वादोदर्थप्रयोजकस्य पृथगुपादानात् । तथा चाह मनुः ^३।

न स्कन्दते न व्यथते न विनश्यति क्रिंहिचित्। विरिष्ठमग्निहोत्रेभ्यो ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥ सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे। प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे॥ पात्रस्य हि विशेषेण श्रद्दधानतयैव च। अलं^३ वा बहु वा प्रेत्य दानस्यावाप्यते फलम्॥ न तं स्तेना न चामित्रा हरन्ति न च नश्यति। तस्माद्राज्ञा विधा⁸तव्यो ब्राह्मणेष्वक्षयो निधिः॥ प्राधीते विद्यावति इदं प्रासङ्गिकम्॥ इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो राज्भपुरोहितादितरङ्गः॥

१ पुत्रयादिकामो । (ङ) । २ म० । ७ । ८३ – ८६ ।

[🤻] म० । अल्पमिति ।। ०दानस्य फलमइनुते इति ।

⁸ म० । निघा । ^५ पुरोहितावितरङ्गः (घ) ।

अथ प्राइविवाकः ॥ (C. IV.)

कात्यायनः ।

यदा कार्य्यवशाद्राजा न पश्येत्कार्य्यनिर्णयम् । तदा तत्र नियुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणं शास्त्रपारगम् १ ॥

स्मृतिः ।

कुलशीलगुणोपेतः सत्यधर्म्मपरायणः । प्रवीणः पेशलो दक्षो धर्म्माध्यक्षो विधीयते ।

धर्म्माध्यक्षो न्यायकारी, अन्यकार्य्यासक्तः स्वयं यदि निर्णेतुमशक्तस्तदा राजा उक्तलक्षणं ब्राह्मणं न्यायकारित्वे नियुङ्ज्या वित्यर्थः ॥

बृहस्पतिः ।

राजा कार्य्याणि व पश्येत प्राड्विवाकोऽथवा द्विजः । न्यायाङ्गान्यग्रतः कृत्वा सभ्यशास्त्रमते स्थितः ॥ विवादे पृच्छति प्रश्नं प्रतिप्रश्नन्तथैव च । प्रियपूर्वं प्राग्वदित प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥

पृच्छिति विविनिक्ति चेति प्राड्विवाकः। "विचारणपर्य्यन्तमेव प्राड्वि-वाकधर्मो" इति पल्लवकारः। "न्यायाङ्गानि विह्नजलादीनि तान्यग्रतः कृत्वेति स्वरसाद्दण्डादिरपि" इति लक्ष्मीधरः। वस्तुतस्तु यथा नृपाज्ञा तथा कुर्य्यादिति व्यवहारोपि तथैव।।

हारीतः ।

यथा शल्यम्भिषक्कार्य्यमुद्धरेन्मन्त्रशक्तितः । प्राङ्विवाकस्तथा शल्यमुद्धरेदृव्यवहारतः ॥

९ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु वेदपारगिमति ॥ (ख) (ङ)पुस्तकयोः "शास्त्रपारगमिति पाठान्तरम्" इत्यधिकः पाठः ।

रे (घ) । °दयमर्थः ।

^{ै (}ख) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु राजकार्य्याणि ॥ "राजा" ० इति कल्पतरु-कारो लक्ष्मीघरः पठति ॥

⁸ अपरार्कस्तु (या० २।३।) एतद् वृद्धबृहस्पतिवचनमित्युदाहरति ।

[ै] वीरिमत्रोदये "नारदहारीतौ। यथा शल्यं भिषक्कायादुद्धरेद्यत्नयुक्तितः।" इति।

भिषक् वैद्यः। शल्यमत्र छलम् १।।

व्यासः ।

विवादानुगतं दृष्ट्वा ससभ्यस्तु प्रयत्नतः । विचारयति येनासौ प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ।।

मनुः र ।

सोऽस्य ३ कार्य्याणि पश्येत सभ्यैरेव त्रिभिर्वृतः। सभ्यत्रयस्यावश्यकत्वमित्यभिप्रायः, सभ्यचतुष्टयादेः प्रतिषेधाभावात् । नारदः ।

यत्र सभ्यो जनः सर्वस्साध्वेतदिति मन्यते । स नि:शल्यो विचार: स्यात्सशल्य: स्यादितोऽन्यथा।

"निर्णयविषयं शल्यमधर्मरूपमि"ति सागरः। अत्रापि दण्डा । द्वनिमत्यर्थ-परत्वम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र प्राड्विवाकतरङ्गः ॥

^९ शल्यमत्र लक्षणम्। (ङ)।

⁸ ना०। ३। १७

३ म०।८।१०। ३ (क)।सौम्यं।म०।संपद्येत्।

^५दण्डाधन**ः । (ङ)पुस्तकपाठो ऽशुद्धः** ।

त्रथ सभ्यनिरूपगम् ॥(C. V.)

सभासु साधुस्सभ्यस्तेन प्रथमं सभा निरूप्यते ।। हारीतः १ ।

तथाचायमर्थः। या ग्रामे राजग्रामे परिकल्पितस्थले सभा सा प्रतिष्ठिता, यदा कुत्रापि ग्रामे साऽप्रतिष्ठिता, याध्यक्षप्राड्वित्राकाद्यधिष्ठिता सा मुद्रिता, या राज्ञाधिष्ठिता सा शासिता इति पूर्वद्वये चापरद्वयं विशेषणम्। स्मृतिर्द्धम्मेशास्त्रं स्वपुरुषा^ध वेत्रपाण्यादयः।।

एषाम्मूर्डी नृपोऽङ्गानां मुखञ्चाधिकृतः कृतः । बाह् सभ्याः स्मृतिर्हस्तौ जंघे गणकलेखकौ ॥ हेमाग्न्यम्बुदृशौ दृष्टं पादौ स्वपुरुषास्तथा । दशानामपि^६ चैतेषां कर्म्म प्रोक्तं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ मूर्द्धी मस्तकः। अधिकृतोधिकारी, दृष्टं शास्त्रेषु ।

^९ बृहस्पतिः अपरार्कटीकायाम् (या० । २ । १ ।) ।

[े] या० अप०। अप्रतिष्ठा च। मुद्रिता इति (ख)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकपाठो युक्तः। तथेत्यपरार्कः।

^३ या० अप०। चलानाम ।

^४ या० अप० । नृपोधिकृत० ।

स्वपुरुषा वेत्रपाण्यादय इत्यारभ्य हेमाग्न्यम्बुदृशौ दष्टं पादावित्यन्तः
 पाठः (घ)(ङ)योलेंखकप्रमादात्त्रुटितः।

६ दासानामपीति पुस्तकेषु ।

वक्ताध्यक्षो नृपः शास्ता सभ्याः कार्य्यपरीक्षकाः ।
समृतिर्विनिर्णयं ब्रूते जयं दानं दमं तथा ॥
शपथार्थे हिरण्याग्नी अम्बु तृषितक्षुब्धयोः ।
गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेदर्थं च लेखकः ॥
सक्वदुक्तं अगृहीतार्थो लघुहस्तो जिताक्षरः ।
सर्वशास्त्रसमालोकी एष शासनलेखकः ॥
प्रत्यिसभ्याऽनयनं साक्षिणाञ्च स्वपूष्पः ।
कुर्य्यादनग्नकौ रक्षेदिधप्रत्यिधनौ सदा ॥
अनग्नकावजातन्यायौ। एतानि प्रयोजनानि इत्यर्थः ।
बृहस्पतिः ।

एतद्दशाङ्गं करणं यस्यामध्यास्य पार्थिवः। न्यायान्पश्येत्कृतमितः सा सभा पुंससम्मता^{९०}॥ लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञास्सप्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा। यत्रोपविष्टा धर्म्मज्ञाः ^{९९} सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा॥

मनुः १२ ।

यस्मिन्देशे निषीदन्ति विप्रा वेदविदस्त्रयः। राज्ञश्चाधिकृतो^{९३} विद्वान् ब्राह्मणस्तां^{९४} सभां विदुः॥

^१ (ङ) । "हिरण्याग्नि" इत्यशुद्धः पाठः । ३ अपरार्कः । ०जन्तुषु ।

^३ अपरार्कः । लिखेच्यायमिति । ^४ (ङ)। सक्चदुक्तगृहीतार्थं इति सम्यक् पाठः ।

५ (ख) (ङ)योः। लेखकाय्यः।

६ (ख) (ङ)योः । एषः प्रोक्तो हि लेखकः ॥ (ग)(घ)योः । एषः स्यात्सत्यलेखकः ।

[°] साक्षिणञ्चेति (क)(ख)(ग)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु ॥

व अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रोदाहृते बृहस्पतिवचने "कुर्यादलग्नकौ" इति पाठः ॥

९ अपरार्कटीकायाम् (या०।२।१।)।

१० पुंसेत्यार्षः ॥ (ख) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । पुर० इति ॥ अध्वर० इति अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रौ पठतः ॥

^{१९} विप्राग्न्या इत्यपरार्कपाठः । ^{१२} म०। ८ । ११ ॥

१३ राज्ञञ्च प्रकृतो० इति मेधातिथिसर्वज्ञनारायणाः पठन्ति ॥

^{९ ४} ब्रह्मणस्तामिति मानवटीकाकाराः पठन्ति ।।

सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि चेति तद्गुणवत्पुरुषपरम् । यज्ञसदृशीति । एतदुक्तलक्षणा सभा प्रशस्ता अन्या त्वप्रशस्ता इति भावः ।

सभ्यानाह स प्व।

साधुकम्मेकियायुक्तास्सत्यधर्मपरायणाः । अकोधलोभारशास्त्रज्ञास्सभ्याः कार्य्या महीभुजा ॥

नारदः ।

राजा तु धार्म्मिकान् सभ्यान् नियुञ्ज्यात्सुपरीक्षितान् । व्यवहारधुरं वोढुं ये शक्तास्सदुषा १(?सदृषा) इव ॥ धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः । समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च नृपतेः स्युः सभासदः ॥

विष्णुः ।

धर्मकर्मित्रयोपेताः कार्य्या राज्ञा सभासदः ॥

व्यवहारोऽत्र विचारः धम्मंशास्त्रार्थंकुशलाः। मन्वादिधम्मंशास्त्राणामथें कुशला इति प्राञ्चः, नव्यास्तु अत्र धम्मंशास्त्रं मुनिप्रणीतधम्मंप्रयोजकशास्त्र-मात्रं तेन मीमांसादेरिप संग्रह इति, मन्मते उभयोरिवरोधः प्रथमे आदिपदोपादानात् परन्तु धम्मंशास्त्रं मन्वादिप्रणीतम्, अर्थशास्त्रं राजनीत्यादि। "यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धम्मंशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयो"रिति नारव -वचनात् अर्थशास्त्रस्यापि निर्णायकत्वाव-गमादिति लक्ष्मीधरेणात्रैव व्याख्यातिमिति युक्तम् ॥

कात्यायनः ।

अलुब्ध^३धनवन्तश्च धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः । सर्वशास्त्रप्रवीणाश्च सभ्याः कार्य्या नृपैद्विजाः ॥

[ै] मानवे वचनानुपलम्भात्, यज्ञसदृशीत्यादिसन्दर्भाच्च "स एव" इति बृहस्पतिरित्यनुमीयते ॥ ै ना० । ३ । ४, ५ ।

^३ ना० । 'सद्गवा' । इति ॥ 'पुङ्गवा०' इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायां पाठः । मदनरत्ने कल्पतराविष सद्गवा इत्येव पाठ इति मित्रिमिश्रः ।

⁸ वि० । ३ । ७४ । "जन्मकर्म्मद्रतेापेताक्च राज्ञा सभासदः कार्याः" इत्यादि विष्णुस्मृतिपाठः ।

^५ अर्थस्त्वर्थशास्त्रं । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

^६ ना०। १। ३९।

^९ अलुब्घ इति पुस्तकेषु। अलुब्घा० इति अपरार्कः।

तथा।

एवं शास्त्रमधीयानो^१ न विद्यात्कार्य्यनिर्णयम् । तस्माद्दुर्गागमः ^३ कार्य्यो विवादेनो^३त्तमो नृपैः ॥ यत्र विद्वान्न विप्रः स्यात्क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्म्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

वृषलस्य धर्म्मशास्त्रज्ञानेऽपि धर्म्मनिर्णयार्थं न नियुञ्जीत । तथाहि । अतोऽन्यैर्यत्कृतं कार्य्यमन्यायेन च यत्कृतम् । नियुक्तैरिप विज्ञेयं दैवाद्यद्यिप शास्त्रतः ॥ यस्य राज्ञस्तु कुरुते शूद्रो धर्म्मविवेचनम् । तस्य सीदित तद्राष्टं पंके गौरिव पश्यतः ।।

व्यासः ।

द्विजं विहाय यः पश्येत्कार्य्याणि वृषकैः सह। तस्य प्रक्षुभ्यते राष्ट्रं बलं कोषञ्च नश्यति ।।

बृहस्पतिः ।

देशाचारानभिज्ञा ये नास्तिकाः शास्त्रवर्षिजताः । उन्मत्तलुब्धकुद्धार्त्ता न प्रष्टव्या विनिर्णये ।। एतेन वृषलसहायतापि निषिद्धा । तथा स एव । शब्दाभिधानतत्त्वज्ञौ गणनाकुशलौ शुची । नानालिपिज्ञौ कर्त्तव्यौ राज्ञा गणकलेखकौ ।।

शब्दाभिधानं कोषः, गणको ज्योतिर्वित् लेखको व्याकरणकोषवेत्ता द्वाविष योगरूढी उभयत्र तयोरेव कुशलतेत्यर्थः।

१ "एकं शास्त्रमधीते यः" इत्यादि कात्यायनवचनं पठत्यपरार्कः।

र "०बह्वागम" इति अपरार्कः।

^३ "विवादेषु" इति अपरार्कः ।

^४ "अन्यायेन कृतं तु तत्" इति अपरार्कः ।

^५ मानवेऽपि एष क्लोकः । म० । ८ । २१ ।

६ (घ) (ङ)योः । नास्ति ।

^{॰ &}quot;द्विजान" "कोषश्च" इत्यपरार्कः । (घ) (ङ)योः । कोषश्च ।

^{- (}घ)(ङ)योः। उभय एतयोरेव।

नारदः ।

शुद्धेषु व्यवहारेषु शुद्धि यान्ति सभासदः। शुद्धिरुच तेषां धर्माद्धि धर्ममेव वदेत्ततः॥

कात्यायनः।

अधम्माज्ञां वदा राजा नियुव्जीत विवादिनाम् । विज्ञाप्य नृपति सभ्यस्तदाकार्य्य निवर्त्तयेत् ॥ इयमाज्ञा अधम्मायेति नृपति विज्ञाप्य निवर्त्तयेत् । भस्येनावश्यकर्त्तव्यं धम्मार्थसहितं वचः । शृणोति यदि नो राजा स्यात्तु सभ्यस्ततोऽनृणः ॥ न्यायमार्गादपेतन्तु ज्ञात्वा चित्तं महीपतेः । वक्तव्यन्तु प्रियं नात्र न सभ्यः किल्विषी भवेत् ॥

न चेत्सभ्यः कित्विषी भवेदित्यर्थः ।
अधर्मेतः प्रवृत्तन्तु नोपेक्षेरन् सभासदः ।
उपेक्षमाणाः सनृपा नरकं यान्त्यधोमुखाः ॥
अन्यायतो यियासन्तं येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः ।
तेपि तद्भागिनस्तस्माद्बोधनीयस्स तैर्नृपः ॥
अनुमति कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ।

मनः ।

राजा भवे ^{१ ०}दनेनास्तु मुच्यन्ते च सभासदः । एनो गच्छति कत्तरिं निन्दाहों ^{१ १} यत्र निन्दाते ॥

^१ ना०। ३।७।

२ (क) (ख) (ग)पुस्तकेषु । अधर्मायेत्यपपाठः ।

३ "०मधम्मियिति" इत्यशुद्धः (क) (ल) (ग)पुस्तकपाठः ।।

^९ (ङ) । विज्ञाप्यानयं ।

५ (ङ) । सिखनावश्यिनन्द्येते इति पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

ह ततो नृप इति (क)(ख)(ग)पुस्तकेषु ॥

[ै] म०।८।१९।१५। ^{९०} म०।० भवत्य ०।

^{१९} (घ)। निन्दाहो यत्र विन्द्यते। (ङ) विद्यते। प्रामादिकावेतौ।

धर्म्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्म्मो रक्षति रक्षितः। तस्माद्धर्म्मो न हन्तव्यो मा नो धर्म्मो हतोवधीत्॥

अनेनाः निष्पापः ।

नारदः १।

ये तु सभ्याः सभां प्राप्य तूष्णीं ध्यायन्त आसते । यथाप्राप्तं न च ब्र्युः सर्वे तेऽनृतवादिनः ॥ सभ्याः सभायामधम्मैं न्यायं बुद्धा मौनिनो न तिष्ठेयुः उक्तदोषात् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र सभ्यतरङ्गः॥

१ ना० । ३ । ११ ॥ व्यासस्मृतावप्येतदपरार्कपठनात् (या० २ । ४ ।) ।

^{🤻 (}घ) । अधर्मन्यायं ।

त्रय दुर्गनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VI.)

मनुः १

एकश्शतं योधयति प्राकारस्थो धनुर्द्धरः । शतं दशसहस्राणि तस्माद्दुर्गं विधीयते ॥

इति दुर्गस्य प्रयोजनम्।

याज्ञवल्क्यमन् रे।

रम्यं पशव्यमाजीव्यं जाङ्गलं देशमाविशेत् । तत्र दुर्गाणि कुर्वीत जनकोपात्मगुप्तये ॥ तत्र तत्र च निष्णातानध्यक्षान् कुशलानृजून् ॥ प्रकुर्य्यादायकम्मी भन्तव्ययकम्मेसु चोद्यतान् ॥

एतादृशो देशो जाङ्गल इत्यर्थः। तथा च सुजनिहरण्यरजतमणिमुक्ता-प्रवालबहुमूल्यरत्नक्षौमवस्त्रा द्याधारकोष-स्वाभिगुप्तये इत्यर्थः।

> धनुर्दुर्गं^{९०} महीदुर्गं जलदुर्गं^{९९} वार्क्षमेव वा । नृहुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुरम् ॥

१ म० । ७ । ७४ ।

चैया०।१।३२१-२२। (म०।७।६९।६२।८१।)

३ या० । आवसेत् ।

⁸ या० । शुचीन् ।

५ (घ) (ङ)योः । कर्मात्त इति पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

६ (ख) (ङ)योः । ०प्रचोद्यतान् इति ।

⁹ कुल्लूकटीकायाम् । (म० । ७ । ६९ ।) ।

^८ प्रवातः प्रचुरातप इति कुल्लूकपाठः ।

६ (ख) (ङ)योः । ०क्षौरास्त्रा० इति । (घ) । क्षौरवस्त्रा० ।

^{९०} म०। ७। ७०। धन्वदुर्गं महीदुर्गमब्दुर्गमिति पाठः।

^{११} (घ)(ङ)योः। जालञ्च।

अस्यार्थः —धनुर्दुर्गं भुच्छ्रायवेष्टितं सर्वेदिशं पञ्चयोजनं निर्ज्जलं [1]
महोदुर्गं दृषदा पन्नवेष्टकया वा विस्तारा द्वैगुण्योच्छ्रायेण द्वादशहस्ताद्युक्रतेन संग्रामार्थमुपिरभ्रमणयोग्येन साधारण गावाक्षादियुक्तेन प्राकारेण वेष्टितम् । जलदुर्गमगाधजले चतुर्दिशं परिवेष्टितम् । वार्क्षं दुर्गं वहिश्चर्तुर्दिक्षु योजनमात्रं द्रुमकण्टकलतादिवेष्टितम् । नृदुर्गं चतुर्दिश्वरायि गजाश्वरथयुक्तपदातिपालितम् । गिरिदुर्गं सर्वेतः पृष्ठमतिदुरारोहं संकोचैकमार्गिपेतम्मध्ये नदीप्रस्रवणादिप्रयुक्तजलयुक्तं बहुन्नीह्युत्पन्नक्षेत्रवृक्षावृतम् । दुर्गेषु १० तेषु मध्यादन्यतमं दुर्गमा-श्रित्य पुरं विचारयेदित्यर्थः १० । तथा १० ।

सर्वेण तु प्रयत्नेन गिरिदुर्गं समाश्रयेत् । तेषां हि बाहुगुण्येन गिरिदुर्गं विशिष्यते ॥ त्रीण्याद्यान्याश्रितास्त्वेषां मृगगर्त्ताश्रयाऽप्सराः । त्रीण्युत्तराणि कमशः प्लवङ्गमनरामराः १३॥

१ म० । धन्वदुर्गमिति ॥ (घ)(ङ)योर्नास्त्येष पाठः ॥

[े] कुल्लूकभट्टस्तु धनुर्दुर्गिमिति पठित्वा "मरुवेष्टितं चतुर्दिशं पञ्चयोजन-मनुदक " मित्यर्थमाह ॥ मेधातिथिरपि धनुर्दुर्गिमिति प्रतीकमुपादाय 'उक्तप्रकारेण द्विगुणोत्सेधेनेष्टकेन शैलेन द्वादशहस्तादूर्ध्वमुद्धतेन ताल-मूलेन कपिशीर्षचिताग्रेण दृढप्रणाल्या परिकृतं धनुर्दुर्गं" मिति कुल्लूक विपरीतार्थमाह ॥

३ (घ) (ङ)योः । सर्वतोदिशं ।

^४ हस्तादुन्नतेनेतित्वसन्दिग्धः पाठः ।

^{° (}घ) (कु०) वार्क्षदुर्गं । (ङ) । वार्क्षं दुर्गवहिः । समन्ततोऽर्धयोजनमात्रं घनमहावृक्षान्वितं वार्क्षमिति मेधातिथिः । कुल्लूकस्तु योजनमात्रमिति ।

कु०। पर्वतपुष्ठमिति।

६ (घ) (ङ)योः । कुल्लूकटीकायामपि । प्रयुक्त इति नास्ति ।

^{१०} (घ) । दुर्गेप्वेतेषु ।

^{९९} कु**०। विरचयेदिति तु समीचीनम्।** ^{९२} म०। ७। ७१–७३।

१३ "०नरापराः" इति एवं पूर्वाद्धें "०श्रयापरा" इति च पञ्चपुस्तकपाठौ प्रामादिकौ ॥

यथा दुर्गाश्रितानेतान् नोर्पाहंसन्ति शत्रवः । तथारयो न हिंसन्ति नृपं दुर्गसमाश्रितम् ॥

तथा च यथा तत्तद्दुर्गाश्रितान् मृगादीन् न हिसन्ति तथा उक्तदुर्गाश्रितं नृपं शत्रवो न हिसन्ति इत्यर्थः।

ैतत् स्यादायुधसंपन्नं धनधान्येन वाहनैः । ब्राह्मणैः शिल्पिभर्यन्त्रैर्य्यवसेनोदकेन च ॥ तस्य मध्ये सुपर्य्याप्तं कारयेद् गृहमात्मनः । गुप्तं सर्वर्तुकं शुभ्रं जलवृक्षसमन्वितम् ॥

भारते र।

पुरञ्च तैः । सुगुप्तं स्याद्दृहप्राकारतोरणम् । अट्टाट्टालकसंवेधं । यट्पथं सर्वतो दिशम् ॥ तस्य दुर्गाणि कार्य्याणि पर्य्याप्तानि बृहन्ति च । अदुर्गो विषयः कस्य नारेः परिभवास्पदः ॥ सर्वतः सुविभक्तानि यन्त्रैरारक्षितानि च । अदुर्गो नाश्रयो राजा पोतच्युतमनुष्यवत् ॥ दुर्गं कुर्य्यान्महाखा त्तमुच्चप्राकारसंयुतम् ॥ यो यत्र निपुणः कार्ये तञ्च तत्र नियोजयेत् ॥ कार्य्यमृद्दिष्टकम्मां योऽशास्त्रतोपि स मृह्यति ॥

अथास्य संक्षेपः । आयुधधनधान्यवाहनब्राह्मणशिल्पियन्त्रयवसोदकः -पुष्पवा-टिकाजलाधारवृक्षयुतं गृहमालयाढचञ्च कारयेत् अट्टाट्टालकाद्यपि दुर्गस्या-वश्यकतेति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र दुर्गतरङ्गः ॥

^१ म० । ७ । ७५–७९ ॥

र म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। १६-१७।

३ म० भा० (घ) (ङ)योश्च। ते इति।

⁸ म० भा० । ०संवाघं षट्पदम् । इति ।

^१ नास्ति मुद्रितभारते ।

६ "ख्या०" इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु ।

[ै] कर्मसुदृष्टकर्मा योऽशास्त्रतोषि स मुच्यति । (घ)(ङ)योः।

ऋथ मन्त्रगा ॥ (C. VII.)

तत्र मन्त्रणादेशमाह मनुः ।

गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहोगतः। अरण्ये निश्शलाके वा मन्त्रयेद्भृरिभावितः ।।

कालमाहै।

मध्यन्विनेऽर्द्धरात्रे वा विश्रान्तो गतकल्मषः । चिन्तयेद्धर्म्मकामार्थान् सार्धन्तैरेक एव वा ॥

महाभारते ।

सुसंवृतं मन्त्रगृहं स्थलञ्चारुह्य मन्त्रये:। अरण्ये निश्शलाके वा न च रात्रौ कथञ्चन॥

निःशलाके जनप्रचाररिहते । इयं देशकालव्यवस्था कालसापेक्षे ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

मन्त्रमूलं यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रं सुरक्षितम् । कृर्य्याद्यथास्य न विदुः कर्म्मणामाफलोदयात् ॥

मनुः ।

जडमूकान्धबधिरांस्तैर्य्यग्योनान्वयोतिगान् । स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान्मन्त्रकालेऽपसारयेत् ॥

१ म०। ७। १४७।

^२ म० । अविभावित इति ।

मा । ७। १५१।

⁸ म० । विगतक्लमः । इति ।

^५ म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। २२।

६ इयं देशकालसापेक्षे । (ङ) ।

[°] या० । १ । ३४२ ।

८ म० । ७ । १४९-१५० ।

९ (क) (घ)योः । "०नुयोधिमान्" । (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । "०न्वयोधिमान्" । इति च पाठौ प्रामादिकौ ।

भिन्दन्त्यवमता मन्त्रं तैर्य्यग्योना ^१स्तथैव च । स्त्रियश्चैव विशेषेण तस्मात्तत्रादृती ^३ भवेत् ।

महाभारते ।

वानरः पक्षिणश्चैव ये मनुष्यानुसारिणः । सर्वे मन्त्रगृहे वार्या ये चापि जडपङ्गवः ॥ मन्त्रभेदे हि ये दोषा भवन्ति पृथिवीक्षिताम् । न ते शक्याः समाधानुं कथञ्चिदिति मे मितः ॥

एते जडादयो मन्त्रे त्याज्याः यत । एते स्वभावतः पापा अवमानिताः सन्तो मन्त्रभेदका एवेत्यर्थः ।

मनुः ।

यस्य मन्त्रन्न जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः। स कृत्स्नां पृथिवीं भुङ्के कोषहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः॥

नीतौ।

षट्कर्णो भिद्यते मन्त्रस्तथा प्राप्तस्य वार्त्तया । इत्यात्मना^{९०} द्वितीयेन मन्त्रः कार्य्यो महीभुजा ॥

षट्कर्ण इति प्रभोद्धी कणी मन्त्रिणां द्वी कणी तद्भिन्नकर्णद्वयपतनान्मन्त्र-भेद इत्यर्थः।

राजनीतौ ११।

संरक्षेन्मन्त्रबीजन्तु तद्वीजं हि महीभुजाम् । तस्मिन् भिन्ने ध्रुवो भेदो गुप्ते गुप्तिरनुत्तमा ॥

^१ ०योनः । इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु ।

^{े (}ङ) । तत्रानृतो भवेदित्यशद्धः पाठः ।

^३ म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। २३–२४।

^४ म० भा० । वानरा इति । मनुष्यानुकारिणः इति च ।

^{🤻 (}ङ) । सर्वमन्त्रगृहे । म० भा० । वर्ज्या ।

^६ म**ं । १४८ ।** ६ (घ) (ङ)योः । समगत्य ।

^{९९} (घ) (ङ)योः । आत्मनः । ^{९९} कार्०। १२ । ३३ ।

मन्त्रमाह १।

सहायास्साधनोपाया विभागो देशकालयोः। विपत्तेश्च प्रतीकारः पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्र उच्यते॥

सहाया मन्त्रिणः। साधनोपायास्तक्कीदयः। देशकालविभागावुक्तौ, यदेयं विपत्तिस्तदासौ प्रतीकार इति पञ्चाङ्को मन्त्रः। अस्य प्रकारः।

> रेअनुतिष्ठेत्समारब्धमनारब्धं प्रयोजयेत् । प्रचारयेन्मन्त्रविदः कार्य्यद्वारेष्वनेकधा ॥ यत्र तच्चेतसां साम्यं तेन रे साधु समुत्पतेत् । यत्र मन्त्रिमनःसाम्यं तत्र हे चेतो न शंकते ॥ यत्र सन्तो न निन्दन्ति तं परीयाच्चिकीर्षितम् । धृतेऽपि मन्त्रे मन्त्रज्ञैः स्वयं भूयो विचारयेत् ॥

कार्य्यंद्वारेषु मन्त्रबहिःस्थलेषु मन्त्रविदः स्वमन्त्रिभिन्नान् । अनेकधा अनिय-मितप्रकारेण प्रचारयेत्। तथा चान्योपदेशेन मन्त्रसन्देहो निरसनीयोऽन्यमन्त्रित इति। एवं स्वमन्त्रिमतसाम्ये ब्राह्मणानुमतं परीयात् एवं निर्गलितार्थमपि स्वयं बहु विचारयेत्। पुनः तत्रैव ।

> तथा वर्त्तेत नीतिज्ञो यथा स्वार्थन्न पीडयेत् । मन्त्रिणः स्वार्थतात्पर्य्याद्दीर्घमिच्छन्ति विग्रहम् ॥ मन्त्रिणां भोग्यतामेति दीर्घकार्य्याकुलो नृपः । आवर्त्तयेन्मुहुर्म्मन्त्र स्पूरयेच्च प्रयत्नवान् १०॥ प्रयत्नेनाघृतो ११ मन्त्रः प्रचलन्नग्निवद्दहेत् ।

^९ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३६ । ३ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३७-४० ।

[ै] तेषु । इति गणपतिशास्त्रिणा मुद्रितेऽनन्तशयनीये कामन्दकीये । मैथिल-प्राचीन-का०-पुस्तके (१४७६ शाकाङ्किते) "तेन" इति ।

⁸ का०। यत्र। ^५ का०। तत्।

दतेषां च। इत्यनन्तशयनीय-का०। मन्त्रिणामिति मैथिल-का०-पुस्तके।

६ मन्त्रान् कारयेच्च (घ)(ङ)योः।

^{१०} धारयेच्च प्रयत्नतः । इति का० ।

^{११} अप्रयत्नधृत इति का०।

यदा दीर्घकार्य्याकुलःस्यात्तदाऽस्मत्स्वार्थदः स्यादित्यभिप्रायः। अग्निविदित्ति यथाग्निः प्रचलन् दहेत्तथैव मन्त्रोऽपि ।

^१अप्यात्म^३सन्ततेर्म्मन्त्रं संरक्षेत्तत्परस्तु सन् । अरक्ष्यमाणमन्त्रं^३ हि भिन्दन्त्यात्मपरम्पराः ॥

आत्मपरम्परा आत्मीयपरम्पराः। य इष्टस्तस्यापि कोऽपीष्ट इत्यर्थः।

मनः श्रमादबुद्धी च तथा कारणपाटवम् । सहायोत्थानसम्पच्च कार्य्याणां श्रे सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥ मनोऽप्रसादो ऽसत्यञ्च च सुप्तप्रलिपतानि च ॥ भिन्दन्ति मन्त्रं प्रच्छन्नाः कामिन्योऽवमतास्तथा ॥

प्रसादः प्रसन्नता । बृद्धिर्य्यथिस्वमतपरमतानुसारिणी, कारणपाटवं कारण-सम्यक्त्वम्, सहायोत्थानं प्रवलसाहित्यं, सम्पद्धनमेभिः कार्य्यसिद्धिः, अप्र^६सादादि-पञ्चासिद्धिकारणं तथाचोक्तमन्त्रेणासाध्यमिष साध्यं, स कृत्स्ना'मिति सनोरिभधा-नात् तथा चामन्त्र^{९०}मन्त्रिभेदे स्वप्रमादेषु सत्स्वर्थहानिरिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र मन्त्रणातरङ्गः॥

^१ का०। १२। ४५। ^३ आप्ताप्त०। इति का०।

^३ अरक्ष्यमाणं। (घ)(ङ)योः। कामन्दकीये च।। भिनत्त्यात्मपरंपरा। (घ)(ङ)योः। कामन्दकीये च।

⁸ का०। १२। ४२। ४६।

 [&]quot;॰ प्रसादः श्रद्धा वाक्" इति मै० का०। "प्रसादः श्रद्धा च" इति
 अ० का०। कि करणपाटवम् इति का०।

[े] अ० का०। "कर्मणां"।। मै० का०। "कार्य्याणां"।

^न का० । मदः प्रमादः कामश्च इति ।

^६ अप्रसादादि । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

^{९०} मन्त्रभेदेस्वप्रसादेषु । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

त्रथ कोवनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VIII.)

नीतौ १।

बह्वादानोऽल्पनिःस्रावः स्थातः पूजितदैवतः । ईप्सितद्रव्यसंपूर्णो हृद्यः स्वाप्तैरिधिष्ठतः ।। मुक्ताकनकरत्नाढ्यः पितृपैतामहोचितः । धर्म्माज्जितो व्ययसहः कोषः कोषज्ञसम्मतः ॥

आदानमत्र निःक्षेपः, निःस्रावो निष्कासनं, स्वाप्तैरतिप्रत्यायितैरिषिष्ठितो रिक्षतः, पितृपैतामहमुचितं यत्रेति समासः, धम्मीिज्जतो राज्ञः प्रजापालनं धम्मैस्ते-नाज्जितः, आपदि व्ययेऽपि नाकुलः। ननु प्रजापालनमदृष्टफलजनकं कथं तेनाज्जितिमिति चेन्न, प्रजापालनस्यापि परम्परयार्थनिमित्तत्वात्, धम्मीद् वृद्धिरित्यन्ये।

> ⁸ धर्म्महेतोस्तथार्थाय भृत्यानां भरणाय च । आपदर्थञ्च संरक्ष्यः कोषः कोषवता सदा ॥

^५आपदर्थमिति धनेन विपत्तिप्रतीकार इत्याशयः, संरक्ष्य इति सर्वेत्रान्वयः। अत्रार्थे **मन्ः^६।**

> आपदर्थं धनं रक्षेद्दारान् रक्षेद्धनैरिप । आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दारैरिप धनैरिप ॥

आपदर्थं ^३ स्वीयापदर्थमात्मानमित्युपसंहारात् अत्र धनमित्युपलक्षणं 'सर्वेत^२ आत्मानं गोपायित' इति श्रुतेः ।

^१ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६०-६१ ।

र "खातः" । इति साधीयान् कोषस्य नितरां गोपनीयत्वात् ।

३ "भृत्यैः" । इति कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् ।

⁸ का०। ४। ६२।

५ आपदर्थंधनेन। (घ)(ङ)योः।

^६ म०। ७। २१३।

⁸ आपदर्थमिति । (घ)(ङ)योः।

^द सर्वत्र । (ङ) ।

श्लेम्यां सस्यप्रदां नित्यं पशुवृद्धिकरीमि । परित्यजेत्नृपो भूमिमात्मार्थमिवचारयन् ।।

इदं स्वरक्षाप्रकारान्तराभावे ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः रे।

हिरण्यं व्यापृतानीतं भाण्डागारेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥

व्यापृतानीतं नियुक्तैरानीतं कोषस्य भाण्डागारादयो भेदाः अत्र बहुवचन-निर्हेशात्। तदाह राजनीतौ महाभारते च।।

कोषस्य संचये । यत्नं कुर्वीथा न्यायतः सदा। विविधस्य महाराज विपरीतं विपर्ययात् ।।

नीतौ ।।

संवर्द्धयेत्सदा कोपमाप्तैस्तज्ज्ञैरधिष्ठितम् । काले चास्य व्ययं कुर्य्यात्त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये ।।

काले आवश्यके, तज्ज्ञैः कोषकम्मंप्रवीणैः 'आप्तैरतीष्टसम्बन्धिभस्तज्-ज्ञैस्तत्कम्मंज्ञैश्चे'ति सागरः । 'तज्ज्ञैरिष्टै'रिति पल्लवः । तथा च धनार्ज्जनं कोषसंचयश्च त्रिवर्गहेतुरिति । 'धनमर्ज्य काकुत्स्थ धनमूलिमदं जगदि'त्या-चुन्तेः ।।

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतः कोषतरङ्गः।

^९ म०। ७। २१२।

^२ या०। १। ३२८।

[ै] म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। ४०। ^४ म० भा०। निचये।

^{ै &}quot;प्रतिपत्तये"। इति अ० का० ।। "परिवृद्धये" इति मै० का० ।

ऋथ बलनिरूपगम् ॥ (C. IX.)

मनुः १

बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिः कार्य्यार्थसिद्धये । बलमत्र षडात्मकं स्वामिपदस्वरसात् । भारते व यात्राङ्गच्छेद्वलैर्युक्तो राजा षड्भिः परन्तप । युक्तश्च देशकालाभ्यां तथा व बलगुणैर्नृपः ॥ हृष्टपुष्टबलो गच्छेद्राजा वृद्धचुदये रतः । ४ आहृतश्चाप्यथो यायादनृताविष पार्थिवः ॥

वलगुणैरित्यत्र वलं त्रिविधशक्त्यात्मकं, वलं शक्तिमात्रं तस्याः प्रथमत उपयुक्तत्वात् इत्यन्ये । गुणा अत्र सन्ध्यादयः शर्रशिक्षादयोऽपि, दण्डिनीत्यादय, इति गुरवः । अनृताविप वक्ष्यमाणसंग्रामसमयभिन्ने, षड्भिर्हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिसेना-सैन्यात्मकैः शक्तिस्त्रिविधा प्रभावजा उत्साहजा मन्त्रजा एतास्विप मन्त्रजा वलवती तदाह कामन्वकः ।

प्रभावोत्साहशक्तिभ्यां मन्त्रशक्तिः प्रशस्यते । प्रभावोत्साहवान् काव्यो जितो देवपुरोधसा^८ ॥ अशिक्षितनयः सिंहो हन्तीभं यौवनं बलात् । तञ्च वीरो^९ नरस्तेषां शतानि मतिमान् जयेत् ॥

१ म०। ७। १६७।

रम० भा०। आश्रम्०। ८। १२-१३।

^३ म० भा०। बलैरात्मगुणैस्तथा।

^४ म० भा०। अक्रुश०।

^५ म० भा०। पाण्डव।

[ि] ०सेना-सेनान्यात्मकैरित्युचितम् ।। कामन्दकीये तु 'षडङ्गः मन्त्रकोशाभ्यां पदात्यश्वरथद्विपैः' (का० । १९ । २४) । (ङ) । ०पादात० । (घ)

⁽ङ) सेनात्मकैः।

[ै] का०। १२। ७-८। १०-११।

[ि] जितो देवपुरोधसेति पौराणिकी कथा शंकरायंटीकायां द्रष्टव्या।

^९ का०। केवलं।

^{१ °} का० । धीरः ।

शक्याशक्यपरिच्छेदं कुर्य्याद् बृद्धचा प्रसन्नया। केवलं दण्डभङ्गाय दण्डिनः शैलताडनम् ॥ उपायपूर्वं लिप्सेत कालं वीक्ष्य समुत्पतेत्। पश्चात्तापाय भवति विकमैकरसज्ञता॥

मन् रः।

कृत्वा विधानं मूले च यात्रिकञ्च यथाविधि । उपगृह्यास्पदञ्चैव चारान् सम्यग् विधाय च ॥ संशोध्य त्रिविधं मार्गं पड्विधञ्च बलं स्वकम् । साम्परायिककल्पेन यायादरिपुरं शनैः॥

मूले दुर्गराष्ट्ररूपे, विधानं पार्षिणग्राहसंविधानं, यात्रिकं यात्रोपयुक्तं वाहनादि आस्पदं शत्रुदेशावस्थानायान्नादि, व चारान् शत्रुदेशमार्गमन्त्रविदस्तत्पक्षकापिटका-दीन् साम्परायिककल्पेन सांग्रामिककल्पेन ।

भारते ।

प्रयास्यमानो नृपतिस्त्रिविधं परिचिन्तयेत् । आत्मनश्चैव शत्रोश्च शक्ति शास्त्रविशारदः ॥ उत्साहप्रभुशक्तिभ्यां मित्रशक्त्या^५ च भारत । उपपन्नो नृपो यायाद्विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ।

षड्विधमपि चतुर्विधं तत्रैव।

आददीत बलं राजा मौलं मित्रवलं तथा । सदा अरिवलञ्चैव तथा श्रेणीवलञ्च यत् ।। तत्र मित्रवलं राजन् मौलञ्चैव विशिष्यते । श्रेणीवलं भृतञ्चैव तुल्यमेवेति में मितः । ^६यथाचारवलञ्चैव परस्परसमं नृप ॥

१ ०दन्तभङ्गाय दन्तिनः० इति (क) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु, (ङ) । दण्डिनः । कामन्दकीये च । १८४-८५ ।

^३ (घ) (ङ)योः। अन्नम्। ^४ म० भा०। आश्रम०।८।५-९।

^५ म० भा०। मन्त्र०। ^६ म० भा०। विपरीतञ्च वर्ज्जयेत् इति ।

⁸ म० भा०। अटवीबलं भृतं चैव तथा श्रेणीबलं प्रभो इति।

^६ म० भा०। तुल्ये एवेति। ^६ म० भा०। तथा। इति।

मौलं पितृपितामहादिकमागतम्, अरिबलं शत्रुं विहायागतम्। श्रेणीबलं साहित्यार्थमागतम्। तथा च मौलबलं मित्रबलञ्च विश्वसनीयमतो विशिष्यते, श्रेणीबलन्तु भृतकवत् यथा भृतकस्य भरणमेव निमित्तं तेन प्राणसंशयेऽपसरणसंभावना तथा श्रेणीबलस्य साहित्यनिमित्तादपसरणसंभावना। अयमाशयः अरिबलस्य ग्रहण-मिरिन्यूनीकरणाय न तु तत्र विश्वासः, पञ्चमे चारबले उभयसम्बन्धादविश्वास-स्तथैवेत्यर्थः। अतएव मनुः ।

शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढे युक्ततरो भवेत्। गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतरो रिपुः॥

गतप्रत्यागते एकदा तिरस्कारादिना बहिःकृते पुनरागते कष्टतर इति तेन कृतं वैरिनिर्य्यातनं अप्रतीकार्य्यमेवेति भावः। मनः ।

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद्यात्राम्महीपितः । फाल्गुनं वाथ चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम् ॥ अन्येष्विप तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद् ध्रुवं जयम् । तदा यायाद्विगृह्यैव व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

मार्गशीर्षे अग्रहणे स्वेच्छागमनमुक्तमिदं नाह्वानेन गमनादौ तदा गमने प्रत्यवायप्रसङ्गात्। संक्षिप्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

यदा सम्यगुणोपेतं परराष्ट्रं तदा क्रजेत् ॥
इदं पूर्वकृत्यमथ संग्रामकृत्यमाह मनुः ।
दण्डव्यूहेन तन्मागं यायात्तु शकटेन वा ।
वराहमकराभ्यां वा सूच्या वा गरुडेन वा ॥
यतश्च भयमाशंकेत्ततो विस्तारयेद्बलम् ।
पद्मेन चैव व्यूहेन निविशेत तदा किन्यम् ॥
सेनापितबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वेदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।
यतश्च भयमाशंकेत्प्राचीं तां कल्पयेद्शिम् ॥
गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समन्ततः ।
स्थाने युद्धे च कृशलानभीक्ष्नविकारिणः ॥

९ अरिबलं शत्रुं विहायागतमिति पाठः (घ)(ङ)योर्नास्ति।

र म०।७।१८६।

मा । ७ । १८२-१८३ ।

⁸ या० । १ । ३४८ ।

^५ या० । सस्यगुणोपेतं ।

६ म० । ७ । १८७-९१ ।

⁸ म०। "सदा"। इति । (घ) सदा।

संहतान् योधयेदल्पान् कामं विस्तारयेद्बहून् । सूच्या वज्रेण चैवैतान् ब्यूह्य ब्यूहेन योधयेत् ॥

दण्डराकटवराहमकरसूचीगरुडपद्मवज्राकारा व्यूहाः, व्यूहरचना तु व्यूहमध्ये पद्मव्यूहस्थो राजा अग्ने वलाध्यक्षः व्यूहपश्चात्सेनानीति तत्पार्श्वयोहिस्तनः तत्समीपे व्यूहमध्ये पदातयः। व्यूहस्वरूपं सर्वतो भये सित समिवन्यासो दण्डव्यूहः, पृष्ठतो भये सित सूच्याकाराग्नः शकटव्यूहः, पार्श्वतो भये सित सूक्ष्ममुखः पश्चाद्मागः पृथुमध्यो वराहस्तथा एष एव पृथुतरमध्यो गरुडः, वराहिवपर्य्ययेण मकरः पश्चादग्ने च भये सित पिपीलिकापंक्तिरिव शीघ्रप्रवीरपुरुषमुखः सूचीव्यूहस्सोग्ने भये सित पद्माकारः पद्मव्यूहः, वज्जाकारो वज्जव्यूहः, इमौ सर्वसाधारणौ एतैर्गच्छेदित्यर्थः अत्र यहिशो भयं सैव पूर्वा, वलविस्तारोपि तत्रैव। गुल्मान्सैन्यान्तर्गतसैन्यसमूहान्, कृतसंज्ञान् भेरीपटहादिभेदेन कृतसंकेतान्, स्थानेऽवस्थाने अल्पानेकत्रीकृत्य वहन् यथेष्टं योधयेत्।

युद्धकममाह ॥

स्यन्दनाश्वैस्समे युद्धघेदनूषे है नोद्विपैस्तथा। वृक्षगुल्मावृते चापैरसिचम्मीयुधैः स्थले॥

घोटकानाह ।

कुरुक्षेत्रांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पाञ्चालाञ्छूरसेनजान्^द । दीर्घांत्लघूंश्चैव नरानग्रानीकेषु योधयेत्^द ।। 'कुरुक्षेत्राद्युपलक्षणमन्यानपी'ति श्रीकरः । भारते^९० ।

> अथो^{९ ९}पयायाच्छकटं वज्रंपद्यञ्च पार्थिवः। उशना वेद यच्छास्त्रं तत्रैतद्विदितं^{९ २} विभो।।

१ इति । नास्ति (घ) पुस्तके । १ कु० । अग्रे पश्चाच्चोभयत्र भये सित । १ (ङ) । अवस्थाने इति नास्ति । १ (घ) (ङ) योः । एकीकृत्य । १ म० । ७ । १९२ । १ (ङ) । अनपे इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

[ै]म०।७। १९३।। (घ) (ङ) योः कुल्लूकटीकायाञ्च। "योधानाह" इति पाठः। "सूरसेन ० इति (क) (ख) (ग)पुस्तकेषु। ९०। योजयेत्। ९० म० भा०। आश्रम ०।८। १५-१८।

^{१९} म० भा०। 'अथोपपत्या'.....'भारत'।

^{१ २} म० भा०। विहितमिति।

वारियत्वा^९ परबलं कृत्वा स्वबलदर्शनम् । स्वभूमौ योजयेद्युद्धं परभूमौ तथैव च ॥ बलं प्रसादयेद्राजा निक्षिपेद्वलिनो बलान्^९ । कृत्वा^९ स्विवषयं तत्र⁸ सामादिभिरूपक्रमेत् ॥ सर्वथैव महाराज शरीरं धारयेदिह ॥

मनुः १

प्रहर्षयेद्वलं व्यूह्य तांश्च सम्यक् परीक्षयेत् । चेष्टां ^६ श्चैव विजानीयादरीन्योधयतामपि ॥

प्रहर्षयेत्—जये तु वशोभूम्यादिलाभः, संग्राममरणे तु यशोदिव्यस्वर्गलाभो-त्तमसुखानि, पलायने ऽर्थहानिः अर्कात्तिः नरकदुःखानि रणादपकान्तस्यापि काले मरणमवश्यमेवेत्यादि सप्रमाणवाक्यैः । 'भेर्य्यादिभिरपी'ति पल्लवः । बलमत्र सैन्यादि परं 'बलमत्रषड्विधमिभादेरपि हर्षेण जयसंपत्तें रिति लक्ष्मीधरः । इष्टतया किमनिष्टतया इच्छया किमनिच्छया १० युध्यत इति ज्ञापकेङ्गितादिरूपा चेष्टा ।

> ^{९ ९} उपरुद्धचारिमासीत राष्ट्रं चास्योपपीडयेत् । दूषयेच्चास्य सततं यवसान्नोदकेन्धनम् ॥ भिन्द्याच्चैव तडागानि प्राकारं^{९ ३} परिखास्तथा । समवस्कन्दयेच्चैनं रात्रौ वित्रासयेत्तथा ॥

^१ म० भा० । चारियत्वा इति ।

[े] म० भा०। नरान्।

^३ म० भा०। ज्ञात्वा।

⁸ (घ)(ङ)योः। मासादिभिः।

म म । ७ । १९४ ।

६ म० । (घ) । चेष्टाश्चैव ॥ (ङ) । "चैष्टाञ्चाव०" इत्यशुद्धः पाठः।

^{ै (}घ)। "तु" नास्ति।

^{ं (}घ) (ङ)योः । अर्थहान्यकीत्तिनरकदुःखानि इति सम्यक् पाठः ।

९ (ख) (ग) (घ)पुस्तकेषु सेनान्यादिपरमिति।

१० किमनिच्छयेति पाठः प्रमादात् (ङ) पुस्तके त्रुटितः।

११ म० । ७ । १९५-७ ।

^{९२} म**ः। प्राकारपरिखास्तथा ॥ (घ)(ङ)योः। प्रकार**मित्यपपाठः।

उपजप्यानुजपेद्बुद्धघेच्चैव १ च तत्कृतम् । रैयुक्ते च देवे युद्धघेत जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ।

उपजपेत् भेदयेत्।

विजयोत्तरकृत्यमाह स एव ।

जित्वा संपूजयेद्वान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिमकान् । प्रदद्यात्परिहारांश्च ख्यापयेदभयानि च ।। सर्वेषान्तु विदित्वैषां समासेन ^४ चिकीषितम् । स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वंश्यं कुर्य्याच्च समयिकयाम् ।।

सर्वेषामिरमिन्त्रणां चिकीर्षितमभित्रायं, तद्वंश्यं निहतशत्रुवंश्यं स्थापयेद्राज्ये-ऽभिषेचयेत्, समयित्रयामिदं त्वया कर्त्तव्यमिति व्यवस्थाम् । विष्णुः । "अरावाप्तौ^भ तद्वंश्य^६मभिषिञ्चेत^७" ॥

> अत्र बलायुधादिशिक्षादि वस्तरभयान्नोक्तम् ॥ इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोत्र बलतरङ्गः ॥

¹ युद्धयेदिति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ॥ म० । बुध्येतैव ।

र "मुक्तेऽपि" इति (ङ) पुस्तक पाठः प्रामादिकः। म०। दैवे।

[ै] म०। ७। २०१-२।। (घ) (ङ)योः स एवेति पाठो नास्ति।

⁸ समानेनेति (ङ) पुस्तक पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

५ पुरावाप्तौ (घ) (ङ) योः।

तदवश्यिमिति (ङ) पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

[ै] विष्णुस्मृतौ तु (३।४७) "राजा परपुरावाप्तौ तु तत्र तत्कुलीनमभि-षिञ्चेत् ॥" ६ (ग) । बलायुधादि विस्तर० । इति ।

ग्रथ सेनानी ॥ (C. X.)

मनुः १।

अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनियकी किया।
नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च दूते सिन्धिविपर्ययौ॥
अमात्यः सेनानी, दण्डो हस्त्यश्वरथपदातादिः ।
भारते।

सेनाप्रणेता च भवेत्तावता तु दृढव्रत । शूरः क्लेशसहश्चैव हितो भक्तश्च पूरुषः ॥

राजनीतौ ।

पितृपैतामहो वंश्यस्संहतो दत्तवेतनः। वृश्यस्यातपौष्को जन्यः कुश्यः कुश्यः कुश्यः वृश्यः। नानाप्रहरणोपेतो नानायुद्धविशारदः। नानायोध कसमाकीणीं नीराजितहयद्विपः।। वश्यासायासदुः खेषु युद्धेषु च कृतश्रमः। अद्यैधः क्षित्रयप्रायो दण्डो दण्डविदां मतः॥

⁹ म०। ७। ६५।

रै नैषोऽर्थः समीचीनः । "अमात्ये मन्त्रिण दण्ड आयत्तः अधीन" इति रामचन्द्रः । "अमात्यः सर्वकार्येनिर्व्वाहक" इति नन्दनः । दण्डः शासनम्, यथा दण्डनीतिपदे । पदात्यादिरिति युक्तम् ॥ (घ) (ङ) योः । पादा-तादिः । कु० ।

[ै] म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। ४३। "तव तात वृद्धवतः"। इति भारते।।

⁸ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६३-६५ ।

^५ का० । वश्यः । इति ।

६ का०। विख्या०। इति।

^३ का० । ०योघ० । इति ।

६ (ख) । "पुरा व्यायामदुःखेषु" । पुरायासदुःखेषु । (ङ) ।

९ अ० का०। 'अद्वैध्यः' ॥ मै० का०। 'अद्वैधः' । आयुधः । (ङ) ।

पितुरयं ^९पितामहस्यायमिति पितृपैतामहो, वंश्यः संबन्धो, संहतोऽपेक्षितः, दण्डोऽत्र^३ सेनापतिर्विवक्षितः प्रागुक्तावुक्तविशेषणासंभवात् न च पदातौ सम्भवो नीराजितहयद्विपत्वाभावात् ।

> वैनद्यद्रिवनदुर्गेषु यत्र यत्र भयं नृप⁸ । तत्र तत्र च सेनानीर्यायाद्⁸ व्यूहीकृतैर्वलैः ॥ पार्श्वयोरुभयोरश्वा अश्वानां पार्श्वतो रथाः । रथानां पार्श्वतो नागा नागानाञ्च पदातयः ॥ पश्चात्सेनापतिर्यायात्सेनामाश्वासयंश्चनैः ।

मनुः ।

आहवेषु मिथोऽन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।
युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराद्ममुखाः ॥
न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।
न कणिभिर्नाषि दिग्धैर्नाग्निज्विलततेजनैः ॥
न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं न कलीवं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।
न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीतिवादिनम् ॥
न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥
न युद्ध व्यसनप्राप्तं नातं नातिपरीक्षितम् ।
न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धम्ममनुस्मरन् ॥
यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तः संग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।
भर्त्युयंद्दुष्कृतं किञ्चित्तत्ववं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

१ (क) (ग)। पैतामहस्य०।

^४ का० । भवेत् । सेनापतिस्तत्र तत्र गच्छेद्० । इति ।

[ै] का० । "नागानाञ्चाटवीबलम् । पश्चात्सेनापतिस्सर्वं पुरस्कृत्य कृती स्वयं, यायात्सन्नद्धसैन्यौघः खिन्नानाश्चासयञ्जनैः ।"

द नायुषव्यसन० । इति मानवपाठान्तरम् ।

^९ म० । नातिपरिक्षतम् । इति ।

यच्चास्य सुकृतं किञ्चिदमुत्रार्थमुपार्जितम् । भर्ता च^१ तत्समादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ॥

अत्र महीक्षित उपलक्षणम्। रैसेनान्यादीनामप्येष एव धर्म्मः। रै'एषो-ऽनुपस्कृतः प्रोक्तो ४योधधर्म्मस्सनातन' इत्युपसंहारात्। इदमदृष्टार्थं प्रसङ्गा-दुक्तम्॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतस्सेनानीतरङ्गः॥

१ म० । तत्सर्वमादत्ते ।

र सेन्यादीनां (ङ) ।

मा । ७। ९८।

⁸ यो हि धर्मः । (ङ) ।

ऋष दूतादिः ॥ (C. XI.)

मनुः ।

दूतञ्चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ।
इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचि दक्षं कुळोद्गतम् ॥
अनुरक्तः शुचिर्दक्षः स्मृतिमान्देशकाळवित् ।
वपुष्मान् वीतभीवीग्ग्मी दूतो राज्ञः प्रशस्यते ।।
दूत एव हि सन्धत्ते भिनत्येव च संहतान् ।
दूतस्तत्कुरुते कर्म्म भिद्यन्ते । येन मानवाः ॥
स विद्यादस्य कृत्येषु निगूढेङ्गितचेष्टितैः ।
आकारमिङ्गितं चेष्टा भृत्येषु च चिकीषितम् ॥
कळ्ळवा च सर्वं तत्त्वेन परराजचिकीषितम् ।
तथा प्रयत्नमातिष्ठेद्यथात्मानं न पीडयेत् ॥

दूतद्वारेण लब्ब्बा राजेति शेषः । दूतस्यावध्यत्वमाह नीतौ शुकः । दूतो म्लेच्छोऽप्यवध्यः स्याद्राजा दूतमुखो यतः । उद्यतेष्विप शस्त्रेषु दूतो वदित नान्यथा ।।

तथा ।

स्वापकर्षं परोत्कर्षं दूतोक्तैर्मन्यते च कः । ^दसदैवावध्यभावेन दूतस्सर्वं हि जल्पति ॥

१ म०।७।६३-६८।

^२ एतदग्रे (घ)(ङ)योः

[&]quot;अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनयिकी क्रिया । नृपतौ कोषराष्ट्रे च दूते सन्धिविपर्ययो" ॥ इत्यधिकः पाठः ॥

र्वे (ङ) । भिन्दन्ते इति ।

⁸ (क) (ग)योः। वा नराः।

^{🖣 (}घ)(ङ)योः। 'तथा' इति नास्ति।

[ि]सदैवावध्यभावेनेति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः सम्यक् ॥ "सदैवारा०" इत्यन्येष्वपपाठः ।

प्रतीहारकार्य्यमाह।

^९ विश्वस्तांस्तान्विचिन्वीरन् ³द्वास्थाः पक्षान्तरं ^३गतान् । ते शस्त्रवाहका^{ष्ठ} त्रूयुः प्रयुक्ताः स्म इति स्फुटम् ।

विश्वस्तान् यद्गमनेन न स्वामिभयादितान् (०भयात्तिस्तान्?) पक्षान्तर भगतान् प्रत्यिथपक्षोपगतान्, विचिन्वीरन् एकमन्तर्गमयेयुरेकं द्वारेऽव- रुन्धन्ति ते चास्मिन्नर्थे वयं नियुक्ता इति ब्रूयुः समागतसज्जनमाना पेयेत्यिभ-प्रायः।

मित्रमाह मनुः ।

हिरण्यभूमिसंप्राप्त्या पार्थिवो न तथैधते। यथा मित्रं ध्रुवं लब्ध्वा कृ^टशमप्यायतिक्षमम्॥ धर्म्मज्ञञ्च कृतज्ञञ्च तुष्टप्रकृतिमेव च। अनुरक्तं स्थिरारम्भं लघुमित्रं प्रशस्यते॥

नीतौ ध।

य एनमुत्पथगतं वारयन्ति निवारिताः । मज्जमान • मकार्योषु सुहृदो वारयन्ति हि ॥ • • सत्यं न ते हि सुहृदो गुरवो गुरवो हि ते । • • • पश्यन्नपि भवत्यन्धो यस्माद्रागावृतः पुमान् • ।।

१ का०। ६। १२।

र इति मै० का० पुस्तकेऽपि । अ० का० । 'विश्वस्ता विचिन्वीयुः' ।

३ का० । 'कक्ष्यान्तरागतान्' । ४ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)। 'पक्षान्तरं गतान्'।

⁸ ग्राहका इति मै० का० । ०ग्राहिण इति अ० का० ।

५ (क) । ०गमनाय । (घ) मानाय ।

⁸ म० । ७ । २०८-९ ।

[°] पार्थिवेन यथैघते । (घ)। पार्थिवेन यथेजते । (ङ)।

८ भूश० इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ।

९ कामन्दकः । ४ । ४२–६ । वारयन्त्यनिवारिताः । का० ।

^{१ •} का० । सज्जमान० ।

१९ इति मैं का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० पाठः (४३, ४५) व्यत्यस्तः ।

^{९ २} का० । 'वृतेक्षणः' ।

सुह्द्वैद्याश्चिकित्सन्ति निर्म्मलैर्विनयाञ्जनैः। कृतविद्योपि विलना रक्तो १ रागेण रज्यते ॥ रागोपरक्तचित्तस्सन्न किं कुर्य्यादसांप्रतम्। राग-मान-मदान्धस्य स्खलतः पृथिवीपतेः॥ हस्तावलम्बो भवति सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम्।

याज्ञवल्क्यः र ।

हिरण्यभूमिलाभेभ्यो मित्रलव्धिर्वरायते । अतो यतेत तत्प्राप्त्ये रक्षेत्सत्यं समाहितम् ।।

नन्वनयगामिनृपवारणे प्राणसन्देहस्तदा कथं निवारित इति सत्यमेतत्परन्तु श्रुतिस्मृत्यादौ नित्यत्वाद्धमर्भस्यैव निरुपेक्षितत्वात् । लोकेऽपि वाच्यत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च। तदाह^५

मदोन्मत्तस्य । नृपतेः संकीर्णस्येव दन्तिनः । गच्छन्त्यन्यायवृत्तस्य नेतारः । खलु वाच्यताम् ।।

मित्रपरीक्षा ।

ैत्यागिवज्ञानमन्त्राढघं महापक्षं प्रियंवदम् । आयितक्षममद्वेष्यं मित्रं कुर्वीत सत्कुलम् ॥ सत्कुलं कुलीनं तत एव मैत्री निर्वहतीति युक्तिः । दूरादेवाभिगमनं स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा । वाक् सत्कृत्य प्रदानञ्च त्रिविधो मित्रसंग्रहः ॥

अभिगमनमभ्युत्थानं, स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा अच्छद्ममधुरा^{९०} वाणी, सत्कृत्य-दानमिष्टकरणमिति त्रिविधो मैत्रीरक्षणो^{९ ९}पायः।

⁹ का ०। 'व्यक्तम्'।

² या०। १। ३५२।

³ या०। 'वरा यतः'। समाहितः।

⁸ (क)। 'निरपेक्षित्वात्'।

⁴ का०। ४। ४७। मबोद्धत्तस्येति।

⁵ नेतरः (घ)(ङ)योरजुद्धः पाठः।

⁶ का०। ४। ६६। योगविज्ञान इति मै० का०।

⁶ का०। ४। ६९।

⁷ का०। ४। ६९।

⁹ मधुरानुरागिणी। (ङ)।

⁹ मैत्री करणोपायः। (ङ)।

^९धम्मर्थिकामसंयोगो मित्राच्च त्रिविधं फलम् । यस्मिन्^२ एतत्त्रयन्नास्ति तन्न सेवेत पण्डितः ॥ औरसं कृत^२सम्बन्धं तथा वंश^२क्रमागतम् । रक्षितं व्यसनेभ्यश्च मित्रं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥

औरसमत्र जन्मना सम्बन्धि, कृतसंम्बन्धं पाणिग्रहणादिना सम्बन्धि, वंश-क्रमागतं पित्रादिमित्रं, व्यसनेभ्यः रक्षितं चतुर्विधमिदं मित्रमिति । न चौरसपदेन पुत्रो, मातापितृभ्रातृबान्धवादीनां पत्रात्वात् ।

> ^६ शुचिता त्यागिता शौय्यं समानसुखदुःखता । अनुरागश्च दाक्ष्यञ्च सत्यता च सुहृद्गुणाः ॥

यद्यपि सर्वे एवैते मित्रगुणास्तथापि समावेशात्संक्षिप्याह ।

⁸तदर्थेहानुरागश्च संक्षिप्तं मित्रलक्षणम् । यस्मिन्नेतद्धि तन्मित्रं तत्रात्मानं विनिःक्षिपेत्^८ ॥

तदर्थेहा तदिष्टस्पृहा। इदं सामान्यं, विशेषो मण्डलकथने (C.XII) ॥ चाराः । सनुः । ।

. .. उपगृह्यास्पदञ्चैव चारान्सम्यग्विधाय च ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

^{१९}चारान् पश्येत्तत्तो दूतान् प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः।

महाभारते^{१३}।

चारैविदित्वा शत्रूंश्च ये राज्ञामन्तरैषिणः । तानाप्तः १३ पुरुषैद्दूराद्घातयेथा नरर्षभ १३ ॥

१ का० । ४ । ७०-७१ ।

[ै] इति मैं का पाठोऽपि । अ० का ०। 'यस्मात्' । मैत्रसम्बद्धं । देश ०।

^३ पाणिग्रहादिना। (ङ)। ^४ पुत्राविति। (घ)।

^ध मात् इति पठनीयम्। ^६ का०। ४। ७२।

[°] का । ४। ७३।

द का । 'यस्मिन्नैतन्न तन्मित्रं न निक्षिपेत्' ।

^९ नास्ति । (घ)(ङ)योः । ^{९०} म० । ७ । १८४ ।

१९ या० । १ । ३२७ । पश्येच्चारांस्ततो दूतानिति या० ।

१३ म० भा०। आश्रम०। ६। ३६॥ ७। १३।

१३ म० भा०। ०आप्तैः। इति। (घ)। म० भा०। नराधिप।

प्रकृतीनाञ्च राजेन्द्र चाराणां व विभावयेत् । कमेण युगपत्सर्व व्यवसायं महाबल्णम् (read बलाबल्णम्)॥ बलाबलादिज्ञानार्थं प्रथमं चारान् पश्येत्ततो दूतानित्यर्थः । चारान् गूढान् गूढपुरुषान् दूतान् परस्परं वृत्तसूचकान् ।

राजनीतौ ।

प्रख्यातवंदा भक्त्रं लोकसङ्ग्राहिणं शुचिम् । कुर्वीतात्महिताकाङक्षी परिवारं महीपतिः ॥ ^६कूरोऽपि भाग्यतामेति परिवारगुणैर्नृपः ।

प्रख्यातवंशं कुलीनं लोकस^३ङग्राहिणं सापेक्षं परिवारं सेवकम् । सपरिवार-कृत्यमाह^८ ।

वृत्तस्थं वृत्तसंपन्नाः कल्पवृक्षोपमं नृपम् ।
उपगम्य^६ गुणैर्युक्तं सेवेरन्ननुजीविनः ॥
द्रव्यप्रकृतिहीनोपि सेव्यः सेव्यगुणान्वितः^{९०} ।
भवत्याजीवनं तस्मात् क्लाघ्यं कालान्तरादिष ॥
अनात्मवान्नयद्वेषी वर्धयन्नरिसम्पदः ।
प्राप्यापि महदैश्वर्यं सह तेन विषद्यते^{९९} ॥
मवानज्ञः नयद्वेषी नीतिनिन्दकः रिपसंपद्वर्द्धको न सेव्य

अनात्मवानज्ञः नयद्वेषी नीतिनिन्दकः रिपुसंपद्वर्द्धको न सेव्य इत्याशयः ^{९ र}तत्_{षिळश्य}न्नापकुर्वीत ^{९ ३}न ^{९ ४}ळोकद्वेषमाचरेत् ।

^१ म० भा० । राजादीनामिति [राजादीनानिति, वा (कु० म० भा०)] । बुध्वा व्यसनानां बलाबलम् । म० भा० । ^३ परस्परवृत्तसूचकान् (घ)(ङ)योः ।

^३ का०। ४। १० – ११। ^४ मै० का०। ।'०वर्त्म'।

^५ शुचीन् । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

⁼ का०। ५। १–२। ४। ^६ का०। 'अभिगम्य०'।

^{९०} मै० का०। '०गुणैर्युतः'। ^{९९} का। विनस्यति । इति पाठान्तरम्।

^{१२} का०। ५। ६।

^{९ ३} का०। 'तत् क्लिस्यन्नपि०'।। मै० का०। ०न्नपि मेघावी।

^{१ ४} लोके (ङ)। का० ०द्विष्ट०।

स्वामितो दुःखितोपि स्वामिनो नापकारं कुर्य्यात् न परद्वेषमाचरेत् वृथेति क्षेषः ।

> १ क्लिश्यन्निपि हि मेधावी शुद्धं जीवनमाचरेत्। तेनेह श्लाघ्यतामेति लोकेभ्यस्तु न हीयते॥ आरिराधियषुस्सम्यगनुजीवी महीभुजम् १। विद्याविनयशिल्पाद्यैरात्मानमुपपादयेत्॥ कुलविद्याश्रुतौदार्य्यशिल्पविक्रमधैर्य्यवान्। वपुस्सत्त्वबलारोग्यसत्य १शौचदयान्वितः॥ पैशुन्यद्रोहसंभेदशाठ्यमौढ्या १ नृतातिगः। १ दम्भचापल्यहीनञ्च सेवनं कर्तुमहंति॥

सम्भेदोऽत्र कलिकम्मं।

^६दक्षता भद्रता दाढर्चं क्षान्तिःक्लेशसहिष्णुता । सन्तोषः शीलमुत्साहो मण्डयन्त्यनुजीविनम् ॥

इत्यष्टौ प्रधानगुणाः ।

परस्थानासनं कौर्य्यमौद्धत्यं मत्सरं त्यजेत्।

⁹विसृज्य कथनञ्चैव न कुर्य्याज्जायया⁻ सह ॥

राजवेश्मिन एकान्ते कथनं स्त्रिया सह न कुर्य्यात् जायया राजजाययेति। "राजानं विसृज्य न कुर्य्यादि"ति **पल्लवः।**

^९विप्रलम्भं च मायां च दम्भं स्तेयं च वर्ज्जयेत्।

स्तेयं विवर्ज्जयेंत् । यद्यपि सर्वनिषेधस्तथापि राजवेश्मनि सन्निहितभयादत्र विशेषतो निषेध इत्याशयः ।

^१ का० । ५ । ९ । १२ – १४ । क्लिश्यन्नपीह । (ङ) ।

^२ महीभुजाम् । (ङ) । का० । महीपतिम् ।

^३ का० स्थैर्यशौच०।

⁸ का० । लौल्य० । मौढचनुतातिगः । (ङ) ।

^भ का० । स्तम्भचापल० । (ङ) । ०हीनश्च ।

ह का । ५। १५।

⁸ का० । ५ । १८ । विगृह्य कथनं चापि ।

८ का० । 'ज्यायसा' ।

९ का० । ५ । १९ । (ङ) । दम्भस्तेयं ।

^९न नर्मसचिवैः सार्थं किञ्चिदयप्रियं वदेत । तेऽस्य मर्माणि क्रन्तन्ति र प्रहासनैव संसदि ॥

नम्मेंस् सचिवैर्नम्मंसचिवैः परिहासादिचतुरैः, कटुनादिभिरिति पल्लवः। प्रियाद्भिन्नमप्रियं साभिप्रायार्थवचनिमिति यावत् मर्माण्याशयानि । तथा च तैः सभायां तद्वचनप्रहासेन तद्वच्छेद इत्यर्थः।

> भर्त्तरवासने ४ दृष्टि महर्नान्यत्र कारयेत् ४। न व्यात्किञ्चिदन्योन्यं तिष्ठेदास्यं विलोकयन् ॥ कोऽत्रेत्यहमिति व्यात्सम्यगादेशयेति १ च। आज्ञां न वितथां कृर्य्याद्यथाशक्त्यविलम्बितः ।। उच्चै:प्रकथनं हास्यं ^७ प्ठीवनं कुत्सनं ^६ तथा । जुम्भणं गात्रभङ्गं च पर्वस्फोटं विवर्ज्जयेत् ॥

अर्घासने पुरोभागार्धासने अन्योन्यं सेवकेन सह न ब्रुयात् । ष्ठीवनं मुखनिर्गत-जलविन्दुविशेषम्। जृम्भणं मुखव्यायित्रयाविशेषं, गात्रभङ्गं गात्रकौटिल्यित्रया-विशेषं पर्वस्फोटमङगुलीपर्वस्फोटनम् ।

< समर्थयंश्च तत्पक्षं साधु भाषेत १० भाषितम् । तत्पक्षं प्रभुपक्षम् ।

१९विजानन्नपि न ब्रूयाद्भर्त्तुः क्षिप्तोत्तरं वचः। प्रवीणोऽपि हि मेधावी वर्ज्जयेदिभमानिताम ॥ क्षिप्तोत्तरम् परित्यक्तोत्तरम् ।

१ रयदप्युच्चैविजानीयान्नीचैस्तदिप कीर्त्तयेत्।

१ ३ कम्मेणा तस्य वैशिष्टचं कथयेदिनयान्वितः ॥

^९का० । ५ । २० । 🤻 इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अभिघ्नन्ति' ।

^व का०। ५। २१–२३।

⁸ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० । का० । अन्वासितः । निक्षिपेत् ।

^५ का० । 'आज्ञापयेति' ।

⁵ इति मै का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अविलम्बितम' ।

[ै]का०। हासं। ^८का०। कुत्सितं। ^९का०। ५। २४। ^{१९} (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु 'भाषित'। ^{१९}का०। ५। २६।

^{९३} का०। ५। २७। १३ कर्मणा तस्येत्यारभ्य मृदु कीर्त्तयेदित्यन्तः पाठो लेखकप्रमादात् (ङ)पुस्तके त्रुटितः ॥

प्रबलतरमपि वचनं मृदु कीर्त्तयेत् कर्मणा सोपन्यासेन।

^९आपद्युन्मार्गगमने कार्य्यत्यागात्ययेषु ^२च । ^३तन्नियोगेन तु ब्र्यादर्थं सूपरिनिष्ठितम्⁸ ॥

अत्र तदभिप्रेतं ब्रूयात्। इदं तु कार्य्यसिद्धौ मज्जमानमकार्य्येष्वित्यादि-वचनात्।

मुखप्रसन्नगोष्ठीषु वादेषु वादिनां मतम् ।

कष्णुष्टोऽपि हितान्वेषी ब्रूयात्कल्याणभाषितम् ।।

कुगुह्यं कम्मं च मन्त्रं च न भर्तुः संप्रकाशयेत् ।
विद्वेषं च विनाशं च मनसापि न चिन्तयेत् ॥
स्त्रीभिस्तर्द्द्शिभिः पापैवैरिभूतै किनराकृतैः ।
एकार्थचर्यां संवासं कि संसर्गं च विवर्ज्येत् ।
देशभावा किनुकरणं न कुर्य्यात्पृथिवीपतेः ॥
सम्पन्नोऽपि हि मेधावी स्पर्द्धेत न च तद्गुणैः ।
रागानुरागौ के जानीयाद्भर्त्तुः कुशलकम्मंकृत् ॥
इङ्गिताकारत्त्वाद्यै किनुताकारत्त्ववित् ।
दृष्ट्वा प्रसन्नो भवति वाक्यं गृह्णाति चादरात् ॥

स्वामिनो मय्यनु १४ रिक्त (र्न) वेति विज्ञापयेत् (? विजानीयात्)। मय्यनु-

१ का०। ५। २८।

^३ का० । 'कार्यकालात्ययेषु' ।

का० । ५ । २५ । एषः क्लोकानुक्रमः (अ० का० २६, २९, २८, २५)
 मै० कामन्दकीयेऽपि । व्यत्यासः अ० कामन्दकीये ।

⁸ का० । सुपरिनिश्चितम् । इति पाठान्तरम् ।

^५ का० । सुखप्रबन्ध० ।

^६ का०। ५। २८।

[°] का०। ५। ३१–३५।

^द इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि ॥ अ० का० । 'विद्विष्टमपि नाशं च'।

९ का० । ०दुतैः ।

९० का**०। एकार्थचर्यासङ्घातं ।।** १९ का०। वेशभाषा०।

१२ का० । 'रागापरागी' । १३ का० । 'इङ्गिताकारलिङ्गाभ्याम् ।

९४ स्वामिनो मय्यनुरिक्तवेति । (घ)(ङ)योः।

रक्तविरक्तस्य स्वरूपमाह।

शैदिशत्यासनमभ्याशे कुशलं परिपृच्छति । विविक्तदर्शने स्थाने रहस्यं च न शक्रकते ॥ नैतदर्थान्तत्कृतां चोच्चैराकण्यति सत्कथाम् । इलाघते रलाघ्यमानेषु रलाघनीयञ्च नन्दते ॥ कथारम्भेषु स्मरति प्रकृष्टं कीर्तयेद्गुणान् । सहते तथ्यमप्युक्तं न निन्दामनुवर्तते ॥ करोति वाक्यं तद्रक्तं दतद्वचो व वहुमन्यते । उपचारेषु मध्यस्थं व दर्शयत्यद्भृतेषु च न । तत्कृतं कम्मं चान्येन कृतमित्यभिभाषते ॥

रहस्यं न शङ्कते, ^{९३} गोप्यिमिदमनेनास्य भेद इति न शङ्कते तदर्थां तिदृष्टां कार्य्यान्तरेष्वनवसरेषु । अतथ्यमि तेनोक्तं सहते क्षमते तत्कृतं कम्मेति अन्यकृतं तत्कृतं भाषते च शब्दाद्विपरीतं कम्में तेन कृतमन्यकृतं भाषते अनुरक्तौ ।

> ^{९ ४} विपक्षमुत्थापयति विनाशं चाप्युपेक्षते । कर्य्ये संवर्धयत्याशां फले च कुरुतेऽन्यथा ॥

^१ का०। ५। ३५-४०।

[ै] ०दर्शनमिति पुस्तकेषु ॥ का० । ०दर्शने । इति । रहस्ये । इति । (घ) (ङ)योः । शङ्किते ।

^व तदर्थं तत्कृतं चोच्चैरिति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

⁸ का० । 'क्लाघनीयेषु क्लाध्यमानं च नन्दति'।

⁹ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'पथ्यमुक्तस्सन्' ।

वा०। 'मन्यते'।

^९ का० । तस्यैवेति । तद्भक्तमिति अ० का० कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् । (ङ) तेनोक्तं ।

^{९०} अ० का०। 'तद्वच्च'। मै० का०। तद्वचः।

^{१ १} का० । 'उपकारेषु माध्यस्थम्' ।

^{१२} वृद्धावितिक्शोकार्द्धः (अ० का० ५ । ३९) मैथिलपुस्तके रत्नाकरे नास्ति ।

यद्वाक्यं मघुरं किञ्चित्तवप्यर्थेन निष्ठुरम्।
आचरत्यात्मसंसत्सु परिवादेन केवलम्।।
अकोपोऽपि हि कोपाभः प्रसन्नोपि हि निष्फलः।
वदत्यकस्माद्वदित रुक्षं च मुहुरीक्षते ।

श्रुआघट्टयति मम्मीणि सहन्नास्यं प्रपद्यते ।।
संभावयति दोषेण वृत्तिच्छेदं करोति च।
साधूक्तमपि तद्वाक्यं समर्थयति चान्यथा।।
अपर्वणि कथारम्भं करोति विरसीभवन्।
उपास्यमानः शयने सुप्तलक्षेण तिष्ठति।।
यत्नेनाराध्यमानोऽपि सुप्तवच्च विचेष्टते।
इत्यादि चान्रक्तस्य विरक्तस्य तु लक्षणम्।।

विपक्षमुत्थापयित सेवकादेः विपक्षं प्रेरयित कलये (?) पुर्नीवनाशमप्यु-पेक्षते । विनाशस्याप्युपायं न कुरुत इत्यर्थः [।] साधूक्तमवश्यकर्तव्यमि तद्वचन-मन्यथा तदा तिरस्कृत्यान्यद्वारेण साधयित । अपर्वणीति अपूर्णीयां कथायां विरसी-भवन् रुक्षीभवन्कथाभङ्गं करोति कथां छिनत्तीत्यर्थः ।

^९रक्ताद्वृत्तिं समीहेत विरक्तं च विवर्ज्ययेत्^१ । इति अनुरागविरागपरीक्षाफलम् ॥ ^{१९}निर्गुणं चापि^{९ ३} भत्तीरमापत्सु न परित्यजेत् । अतः परतरो नास्ति य आपत्सूपतिष्ठते ॥

१ का०। 'परिवादं च'। परीवादेन। (ङ)।

र अ० का०। 'स कोपाभः' । मै० का०। 'कोपाभः'।

^३ अ० का०। 'हसत्यकस्माद् व्रजति रुक्षं च समुदीक्षते'।। मै० का०। व्रजत्य० (शेषः यथा रत्नाकरे)।

⁸ विज्ञाप्यमान इति क्लोकार्द्धः (अ० का०। ४३।) नास्ति मै० पुस्तके रत्नाकरे च।

^५ अ० का० । 'गुणैर्न बहुमन्यते' । मै० का० । हसन्नास्यं० ।

६ मै० का०। 'दोषं च'।

का० । कथाभङ्गम् । चण्डेश्वरोपि टीकायां कथाभङ्गमित्येव पठित ।

[°]कलहे (?)। (ग) कालय (?)। ^९का०। ५।४७।

१० कार्। 'परित्यजेत्'। १९ कार्रा ५।४८-५०।५३।५५।५९।६२।

^{१३} का० । 'ह्यपि' ।

विपत्सु १ धर्मं घुर्याणां तेषां नामातिरिच्यते । श्लाध्या १ चानन्दजननी १ महतामुपकारिता ।। काले कल्याणमाधत्ते स्वल्पापि हि १ महोदयम् । राजानं ये ह्युपेक्षन्ते मज्जमानमकर्मसु १ ।। ते गच्छन्त्यकृतात्मानस्सह तेन पराभवम् । भर्त्तुश्चित्तानुवर्तित्वं १ सद्वृत्तमनुजीविनाम् ।। अप्रियोऽपि हि पथ्यः स्यादिति वृद्धानुशासनम् । वृद्धानुशासने तिष्ठन् प्रियतामधि १ गच्छति । अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽयं ज्वलन्तमुपसप्पंति । क्षीणक्षीरां निराजीव्यां वत्सस्त्यजित मातरम् ॥

इदमनुजीविकृत्यम् ॥

अथानुजीविनि राजकृत्यमत्रैव ै।

⁴अपात्रे वर्षणं यत्तत्र कुर्य्यात्सद्विगहितम् । ⁴अपात्रे ^{१०}वर्षणादन्यत्किं स्यात्कोपक्षयादृते ॥

वर्षणं जलवर्षणम् (?) इत्यर्थः।

^{९९}कुलं विद्यां श्रुतं शौर्य्यं सौशील्यं भूतपूर्वताम् । वयोऽवस्थां च संलक्ष्य^{९३} आद्रियेत महात्मनाम्^{९३} ॥

^९ इति मै० का०। अ० का०—'विरोधे' कर्मधुर्याणां। (ङ)। नामाति विद्यते।

र इति मै० का० । अ० का०—'चानन्दती' । (ङ) । श्लाघ्यं ।

३ का०। सु०।

⁸ अ० का०। 'सज्जमानं विकम्मंसु' । मै० का०। 'सज्जमानमवर्त्मसु'। सज्जमानमकर्मसु । (ङ) ।

^१ वृत्तित्त्वं । (ङ) ।

^६ का० । ०मुप०

[ै]का०। ५। ६५।

^क का॰ । 'अपात्रवर्षणं जातु न कुर्यात् सद्विगीहतम्' ।

^९ का० । 'अपात्रवर्षणात् कि स्यादन्यत्' ।

^{९०} (ग)।का०। अपात्र०। ^{९९} का।५।६६।६७।६९।

^{१३} अ० का०। 'संवीक्य'। मै० का०। 'संप्रेक्य'।

^{९३} का०। 'स्वाद्रियेत महामनाः'।

⁹ सुशीलान्नावमन्येत सम्यग् वृत्तान्मनस्विनः । त्यजन्ति तेऽवमन्तारं ^३ घनन्ति वा मानहेतवे ॥ उत्तमाभिजनोपेतं ^३ न नीचैस्सह वर्धयेत् । कृशोपि हि विवेकज्ञो याति ⁸ संश्रयणीयताम् ॥

उत्तमं नीचवत्सत्कारेण न वर्धयेदित्यर्थः। हि यतः विवेकज्ञ उत्तमाधम-विचारवित् संश्रयणीयतां सेव्यत्वम्

्षे लक्ष्म्या लक्ष्मीवतां लोके विकाशिन्यापि किं तया। वन्धुभिश्च सुहृद्भिश्च विश्वासं वया न भुज्यते। विकाशिन्या विख्यातया सम्पदा किं यदुपभोगो नास्ति बन्धुसुहृदादेः।

° आयद्वारेषु सर्वेषु कुर्य्यादाप्तान् परीक्षितान् । आददीत फलं तेभ्यो मास्वा हैनुस्नैरिवोदकम् ॥ अभ्यस्तकर्मणस्तज्ज्ञान् शुचींस्तत्त्वार्थकोविदान् १ ॥ कुर्य्यादुद्योगसंपन्नानध्यक्षान् सर्वकर्मसु ॥ यो यद्वस्त्विभजानाति १ तत्र तं विनियोजयेत् । १ विशेषविषयप्राप्ताविन्द्रियार्थे हिववेन्द्रियम् ॥ कोषागारे १ मियुक्तः स्यात्त्वायत्तं हि जीवितम् ।

आयद्वारेषु धनागमद्वारेषु, आददीत गृह्णियात् । उस्नैः 88 िकरणैः । सर्व-कर्म्मसु कथितलक्षणान्नियोज्य कोषागारेऽतियत्नशीलो भवेत् । तदाह 98 ।

^९ का० । 'कुलीनान्' ।

^२ अ० का०। 'त्यजन्त्येते हि भर्तारं घ्नन्ति वा मानहेतवः'। मै० का० पाठोऽपि यथा रत्नाकरे।

वकार । व्येतान ।

^४ जाति । इति (क) (ख) (ग)पुस्तकत्रयपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^५ का ०। ५। ७२। ६ का ०। 'विश्रब्धम्'। ६ का ०। ५। ७३ – ७६।

⁼ अ० का० । 'आददीत घनं तैस्तु' ।। मै० का० । 'फलं तैस्तु' ।

र भास्वानस्रौरिति (घ)(ङ)योः।

^{९०} अ० का०। 'शुद्धार्थसङ्गतान्'। मै० का०। 'शुद्धार्थसम्मतान्'।

११ का०। विजानाति।

^{१२} का० । अशेष० ।

१३ कोषागारेतियुक्तः । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

^{९ ४} अस्रैः । (ङ) ।

^{९५} का०। ५। ७६।

नान्यायं च^९ व्ययं कुर्य्यात्प्रत्यवेक्षेत चान्वहम् । इति यत्नरूपम् ।

ेअल्पमप्यपकुर्वन्ति ये पापाः पृथिवीपतेः ।। अग्नौ पतङ्गा इव ते ध दह्यन्ते मूढचेतसः ॥ इत्यादि नीतिशास्त्रेषु बहुविततम् । तत्सर्वसारमाह कामन्दकः ।

> संक्षेपो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परो मतः। राज्ञस्तस्मादविश्वासः केवलं हितमात्मनः॥ ^६वृहस्पतेरविश्वासः इति शास्त्रस्य^७ निश्चयः।

इदं वाचस्पत्यादि । याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः । पीडचमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैस्तु विशेषतः ॥

चाटः प्रतारकः, तस्करा अत्र विश्वासेन धनहारिणः । दुर्वृ ता कितवः महासाहिसकाः स्वार्थमध्य ^९ कारिणः । कायस्या लेखकाः, गणकाश्च । विशेषत इति । तेषां राजवल्लभतया मायावितया दुन्निवारत्वात् । नन्वनुजीव्याद्यविश्वास एव तदा सन्दिग्धार्थनिश्चयो न स्यात्तन्नाति ^{९ ९} विश्वसेदित्यादि वाक्यात्तस्याति-विश्वासाभावपरत्वात् ॥ तथा च राजा परिवश्वासेन न समो भवेदित्यर्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो दूतादितरङ्गः॥

^९ का०। 'नात्यायं च' ^३ का०। ५। ८५।

^व का० । 'स्वल्प पृथिवीपतौ ते वह्नाविव दह्यन्ते पतङ्गा मूढचेतसः' ।।

⁸ हि। (ङ)।

^{*} अनन्तशयन (Trivandrum) संस्कृतग्रन्थावलेः कामन्दकीयनीतिसारे नोपलभ्यत एष श्लोकः। मै० हस्तलिखतपुस्तके तु प्राप्यत एव।

^६ का०।५।८८।

[®] अ० का० । शास्त्रार्थनिश्चयः । मै० का० । 'शास्त्रविनिश्चयः' ।

⁻ या०। १। ३३६।

६ कितवादयः । (घ)(ङ)योः । मि०।

^{१०} मि०। प्रसद्ध्यापहारिणः।

^{११} का०। ५। ९८।

त्रथ साधारणपालनादिराजकृत्यम् ॥ (C. XII.)

मनुः १।

संग्रामेष्विनवित्तित्वं प्रजानां चैव पालनम् । शुश्रूषा ब्राह्मणानां च राज्ञां श्रेयस्करं परम् ॥ क्षत्रियस्य परो धर्म्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् । निर्दिष्टफलभोक्ता हि राजा धर्म्मण युज्यते ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः रे।

पुण्यात्षड्भागमादत्ते न्यायेन परिपालयन् । सर्वदानाधिकं यस्मात्प्रजानां परिपालनम् ॥

मनुः ।

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दारैरिप धनैरपीति । प्रसङ्गात्प्रागुक्तम् । यथार्थशास्त्रेऽपि । प्रजां संरक्षति नृपः सा वर्धयिति तं नृपम् । वर्धनाद्रक्षणं श्रेयस्तन्नाशे हि तदप्यसत् ॥ न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमथ च प्रजाः । त्रिवर्गेणाभि सन्धत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥

षड्भागमुपलक्षणं, यावता प्रजानां पीडा न स्यात्तावदेव प्रजापालनस्या-वश्यकत्वात् । यद्यप्यर्थशास्त्रे 'त्रिवर्गेणाभिसन्धत्ते' इत्यनेन पुरुषार्थेषु प्रथमो-पात्तत्वात् 'आत्मानं सततं रक्षेदि'त्यादिना च याव^६दायुःपरिपालनं तावदिति

^{1 40 101} CC 1 888 1

^२ या० । १ । ३३५ ।

भग । ७। २१३।

⁸ का०। १। १४-१५।

^६ का०। पाणिवम्।

[ै] मैं० का० 'तु'। अ० का०। '०ऽन्यत्' सबप्यसत्।

⁸ का०। प्रजाम्।

^६ का०। उप०।

[🎙] यावताऽयुः परिपालनं । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

वक्तुमुचितम्। तथापि प्रजापालनस्योभयलोकेष्ट^९साधनत्वात् प्रजापालनमेव प्रथमतः कार्य्यमत एव नारदः ।

> यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धम्मंशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्म्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

स्मृत्योविरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः। अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धम्मंशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः॥

विप्रतिपत्तिविरोधः । इदमुभयोत्रिरवकाशत्वेऽन्यथासिद्धमेव तस्यैवोक्तत्वात् । तथा च प्रजापालनं स्वरक्षणं रणा विवित्तित्वं ब्राह्मणशुश्रूपेति राज्ञामसाधारणो धर्म्म इति प्राञ्चः । नव्यास्तु प्रथमत आत्मरक्षणं दृष्टमुख्यफलकत्वात् । 'सर्वत आत्मानं गोपायित' इति श्रुतेश्चात एव स्पष्टमाह मनुः ।

एवं सर्वं विधायेदिमिति कर्त्तव्यमात्मनः । युक्तश्चैवाप्रमत्तश्च परिरक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

एवमुक्तप्रकारेण सर्वमात्मनः कार्य्येजातं संपाद्य युक्तः प्रमादरहित आत्मीयाः प्रजा रक्षेदिति मन्वर्थं इति [?।] मनुः ।

तान् सर्वानभिसन्दघ्यात्सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः । व्यस्तैरचैव समस्तैरच पौरुषेण नयेन च ॥

तान् वक्ष्यमाणनृपतीन् उपक्रमैक्पायैः, पौरुषेण प्रतापादिना नयेन नीति-शास्त्रोक्तेन ।

> ^६सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च । द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणं ^६ चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥

सन्धिमेकीभवननिबन्धं, विग्रहमपकारं, शत्रुं प्रति गमनं यानम्, उपेक्षणमासनं, बलस्य द्विधाकरणं द्वैधीभावं, प्रबलनृपाश्रयं संश्रयः,शत्रुतः प्रधानैरेतैरुपायैः गुणैश्चात्म-रक्षेत्यर्थः । अत एव सदा चिन्तयेदिति । उपायानाह याज्ञवल्यः १०।

[°] उभयलोकेषु साधनत्वादिति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेष्वपपाठः ।

^२ ना०। १। ३९।

वया । २। २१।

⁸ बलानिर्वात्तत्विमिति (ङ)पुस्तकपाठः प्रामादिकः ।

भ म०।७।१४२।

⁸ कु०। ७। १४२। संपाद्योद्यक्तः।

⁹ म०। ७। १५९।

नमा । १ १६०।

^६ म० । षड्गुणान् ।

^{१०} या०। १। ३४६।

ै उपायाः साम दानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च । सम्यक् प्रयुक्ताः सिध्ये युर्दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः ॥ साम प्रियभाषणं, दानं सुवर्णादेः, भेदो भेदनं, वधपर्य्यन्तोऽपकारो दण्डः । पूनः स एवाह रे ।

सिन्धं च विग्रहं यानमासनं संश्रयं तथा। द्वैधीभावं गुणानेतान्यथावत्परिपालयेत् ।। अमीषां कालानाह **मन्**षे।

यदावगच्छेदायत्यामाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः ।
तदात्वे चाल्पिकां पीडां तदा सन्धिं समाश्रयेत् ॥
यदा प्रकृष्टा मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतीर्भृशम् ।
अत्युच्छ्रितं तथात्मानं तदा कुर्वीत विग्रहम् ॥
यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् ।
परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद्रिपुं प्रति ॥
यदा तु स्यात्परिक्षीणो वाहनेन बलेन च ।
तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनकैः सान्त्वयन्नरीन् ॥
मन्येतारिं यदा राजा सर्वथा बलवत्तरम् ।
तदा द्विघा बलं कृत्वा साध्येत्कार्य्यमात्मनः ॥
यदा परबलानां तु गमनीयतमो भवेत् ।
तदा तु संश्रयेत्कार्यं धार्मिमकं बलिनं नृपम् ॥

आयत्यामुत्तरकाले, तदात्वे तत्काले, गमनीयतमोऽतिशयेन ग्राह्मो, निज-प्रकृतिदोषादिना राजेति शेषः ॥

तत्सेवनप्रकारमाह^६।

निग्रहं र प्रकृतीनां च कुर्य्याद्योऽरिवलस्य च । उपसेवेत तन्नित्यं सर्वयत्नैर्गुरुर्यथा १०।

९ उपवाह्य। (घ) (ङ)योः । 🤻 सिद्धेयुः । (ङ) । 🤻 या०। १। ३४७ ।

⁸ या । 'परिकल्पयेत्'। ⁸ म । ७ । १६९-१७४ ।

पामनीयतमो भवेदित्यादि तदात्वे तत्काले इत्यन्तः पाठो लेखकप्रमादात् (ङ) पुस्तके त्रुटितः। १ म० । ७ । १७५ । (घ) (ङ)योः। विग्रहं।

^{९०} म०। ०गरुं यथा।

संश्रयतो वैगुण्ये ।

^९यदि तत्रापि संपश्येहोपं संश्रयकारितम् । सुयुद्धमपि तत्रापि निर्विशङकः ^३ समाचरेत् ।

यद्येवं केनाप्युपायेनात्मरक्षा न स्यात्तदा क्षत्रियाणां युद्धमेवाश्रय इति निर्वि-शङ्कः। ननु सेवा श्ववृत्तिरयशस्करीः "धम्मीद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रे-योऽन्यत्थत्रियस्य न विद्यतः" इत्यादिभगवद्धाक्याः त्पश्चात्कर्त्तव्यमिति च प्रथममेव कथं नेति, सत्यमेतत्, परन्तु एषा श्ववृत्तिरिष धम्म्येव व वचनात् प्रथमोक्तश्रुतिस्मृतिवलात् स्वरक्षापूर्वकमेव यशः प्रशस्तम्। प्रथमयुद्धे निन्दा चेति तदाह मनुरेव प

उपजप्यानुजपेद्बृध्येतैव व तत्कृतम् । युक्ते च दैवे व युध्येत व जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ॥ साम्ना दानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथवा पृथक् विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन् न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥ अनित्यो विजयो यस्माद् दृश्यते युध्य मानयोः । पराजयश्च संग्रामे तस्माद्धं विवर्जयेत् ॥

तथा। १०

सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्य्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपितः।
यथास्याऽभ्यधिका न स्युमिन्नोदासीनशत्रवः॥
आयितं १ ९ सर्वकार्य्याणां तदात्वं च विचारयेत्।
अतीतानां च सर्वेषां गुणदोषौ च तत्त्वतः॥
आयत्यां १ ३ गुणदोषज्ञस्तदात्वे क्षिप्रनिश्चयः।
अतीते कार्य्यशेषज्ञः शत्रुभिर्नाभिभूयते॥

^१ म०। ७। १७६। ^३ म०। 'स युद्धमेव ... निर्वितर्कः'।

म् भ० गीता। २। ३१ ॥ पुस्तकेषु 'धर्माद्धि युद्धः' पाठो न समीचीनः।

⁸ धम्मेंबेति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठो ऽशुद्धः । 🔀 म० । ७ । १९७–९९ ।

^६ पुस्तकेषु ०प्येत बुद्धेच्चैवेति भ्रष्टः पाठः ।

[°] देवैरिति पुस्तकेषु । ८ (ङ) । युद्धेत ।

र (ङ) । युद्धमानयोः । १० म० । ७ । १७७-७९ ।

१९ आयन्तिमिति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः । आयन्ती ।

१३ (क) (ख) (ग)पुस्तकेषु अयन्त्यामिति ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः । आयन्त्या ।

मित्रोदासीनशत्रव इति द्वादशराजमण्डलाभिप्रायेण [।] तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः।

> अरिर्मित्रमुदासीनोऽनन्तरस्तत्परः परः १। कमशो मण्डलं चिन्त्यं सामादिभिरुपक्रमै: ॥

मनुः ।

मध्यमस्य प्रचारं च विजिगीषोश्च चेष्टितम्। उदासीनप्रचारं च शत्रोश्चैव प्रयत्नत:॥ एताः प्रकृतयो मूलं मण्डलस्य समासतः। अप्टौ चान्याः समाख्याताः द्वादशैव तु ताः स्मृताः।।

अस्यार्थः। विजिगीषु ^वनृपस्य चर्तुिद्क्षु ऋमशोऽरिमित्रोदासीनास्त्रय एवं द्वादशराजक⁸मण्डलं विजिगीषुणा त्रयोदशकराजकमिति । अरिमित्रोदासी-नास्त्रिविधाः सहजक्कत्रिमप्राकृतभेदात्, एतद्भिन्नो निग्रहानुग्रहसमर्थो मध्यमः, पार्षणग्राहाकन्दसेवा एषामन्तर्भवन्ति । नीतिशास्त्रे । मयमैत्रविशालाक्षादि-मनु-बृहस्पतिशुकादिमतभेदेन चतुर्विशत्यधिकत्रिशतं मण्डलं तद्विस्तरभयान्नोक्तम्। चिन्तयेदिति शेष: ।

> ⁹बकवत् चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराऋमेत्। वृकवच्चानुलुम्पेत शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत्।।

वकवन्मत्स्यग्रहणे यथा बकः, सिंहवत्प्रवलेऽपि हस्तिनि यथा पराक्रमेत् तथा, विपक्षे वृकवत् यथा वृकः रक्षितमपि पशुं व्यापादयति १° दुर्गीदरक्षितमप्यरि लुम्पेत् व्यापादयेत्, शशवद्यथा शशः प्राणघातका^{१ १}वृतोऽपि कुटिलगत्या प्रपलाय्य गच्छति तथा शत्रुपरिवृतो रिपुं प्रतारयन्बलवन्तमन्यमाश्रयेत्।

^९ या० । १ । ३४५ । "ऽन्तरन्तरत्परस्परः" इति "ऽन्तरन्तं परस्परः" इति च पाठौ रत्नाकरपुस्तकस्यौ प्रामादिकौ।

^२ म**० । ७ । १५५–६ ।** ३ विजिगीषोर्नुपस्य । (ङ) ।

^४ राजकं मण्डलं। (ङ)। ^५ भवति। (घ) (ङ)योः।

६ कामन्दकीये । ८ । २०-३८ । वचनानि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

⁸ म०। ७। १०६। पराक्रमीत । (घ) (ङ)योः।

^९ तथारिपक्षे । (घ) । १० तथा दुर्गादि० । (घ) ।

११ प्राणघातको वृतोपीति (घ)(ङ)योरशुद्धः पाठः।

१एवं विजयमानस्य येऽस्य स्युः परिपन्थिनः। तानानयेद्वशं सर्वान् सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ।।

प्रजापालने हेतुमाह।

^३मोहाद्राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया । सोऽचिराद्भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सवान्धवः ॥ शरीरकर्पणात् प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा । तथा राज्ञामपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात् ॥

तत्प्रकारमाह ।

यथोद्धरति निर्दाता कक्षं धान्यं च रक्षति । तथा रक्षेत्रपो राष्ट्रं हन्याच्च परिपन्थिनः ॥

निर्दातात्र कृषीवलः, कक्षं तृणसमूहं, उद्धरित समुत्पाटयति । अधि-कारिण आह ।

> ह्योस्त्रयाणां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुल्मप्रतिष्ठितम् । तथा ग्रामशतानां च कृर्य्याद्वाष्ट्रस्य संग्रहम् ॥ ग्रामस्याधिपति कृय्योद्दशग्रामपति तथा । विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

राष्ट्रस्य संप्रहं राष्ट्ररक्षास्थानम् । एकस्य दशानां विशतेः शतस्य सहस्रस्य वा ग्रामाधिपतिमेकं कुर्यात् लाघवगौरवापेक्ष उक्तविकल्पः।

> ैग्रामे दोषान् ^८समुत्पन्नान् ग्रामिकः शनकैः स्वयम् । शंसेद् ग्रामदशेशाय दशेशो विशतीशने ॥ विंशतीशस्तु तत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् । शंसेद् ग्रामशतेशस्त् सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ॥

¹ म०। ७। १०७।

[ै] उपक्रमेदिति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

^३ म० । ७ । १११–११२ । ४ म० । ७ । ११० ।

[ै] म० । ७ । ११४–५ । ै म० । 'गुल्ममधिष्ठितम्' ।

[•] म०।७। ११६-७।

^८ (क) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । 'प्रामादायान्' ।

र शतेशाय। इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु।

एते पालने स्वयमसमर्थाः परस्मै निवेदयेयुरिति । ⁹यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः ^३। अन्न उपानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥ दशी हलं तु भ भुञ्जीत विशी पञ्चहलानि भच। ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पूरम् ॥ तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्य्याणि पृथककार्य्याणि चैव हि। राज्ञोऽन्यस्सचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्त्रितः ॥ ⁸नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्य्यात्सर्वाथचिन्तकम् । उच्वै:स्थानं घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम् ॥ राजप्रदेयानि राज्ञो देयानि, दशी दशग्रामाधिपः तेषामियं वृत्तिरित्यर्थः। ^८राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।

भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥ ये कार्षिकेभ्यो ९ ऽर्थमेवं गृह्णीयुः पापचेतसः। तेषां सर्वस्वमादाय राजा कुर्य्यात् प्रवासनम् ॥

प्रवासनं^{९०} देशात्तेषां निष्काशनम् । एवं बहुविधप्रजापालनप्रकारं संक्षि-प्याह **याज्ञवल्क्यः^{११}।**

> ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमी स्निग्धेष्वजिह्यः क्रोधनोऽरिषु । स्याद्राजाऽऽश्रितवर्गेषु १२ प्रजासु च यथा पिता ॥

अय राज्ञः समरापलायनादयो धम्मशास्त्रे निगदिताः। अत्र तु पराञ्ज-मुखस्यार्थहान्यादीति प्रसङ्गः १३ ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो राजकृत्यतरङ्गः।

१ म०। ७। ११८-१२१। २ (क)। 'ग्रामराशिभिः'। १ (क) (ख)। अनु०। ४ म०। कुलं तु। इति॥

म । 'पञ्चकुलानि'। "कुलं ग्रामैकदेशः इति कल्पतरः। अन्ये तु कुलं हलद्वयकृष्टा भूः। 'कुलं तु द्विगुणं हलम्' इति स्मरणात्। ... 'अष्टागवं घर्म्यहलम्' . . . इति हारीतस्मरणात्" । इति मित्रमिश्रः राजनीति-प्रकाश । पृ० २५१ । ६ म० । 'अतन्द्रितः' । ६ नागरे । (घ) ।

^९ म०। 'काय्यिकेस्यः'। = म०।७।१२३-२४।

^{१९} प्रवासनमिति नास्ति। (ङ)। ^{१९} या०। १। ३३४। ^{१२} या०। 'भत्यवर्गेष'। ^{१३} (क) (ख)। ०हान्यादिति०।

अथ इराइः। (C. XIII.)

मनुः ।

तस्यार्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् । ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥ तस्य सर्वाणि भूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च । भयाद्भोगाय कल्यन्ते रैस्वधर्मात्र चलन्ति च ॥

तथा।

दण्डः शास्ति प्रजाः सर्वाः दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति । दण्डः सुप्तेषु जार्गात्त दण्डं धम्मं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ समीक्ष्य मध्यतः । सम्यक् सर्वा रञ्जयति प्रजाः । असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वतः ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ⁸ ।

तदवाप्य नृपो दण्डं दुर्वृत्तेषु निपातयेत् । धम्मों हि दण्डरूपेण ब्रह्मणा निर्मितः पुरा ॥ तदवाप्य राज्यं प्राप्य, पातयेनियोजयेत् । "दण्डो द्विविधः । शारीरोऽर्यदण्डश्च । यथाह नारदः" । शारीरश्चार्यदण्डश्च दण्डश्च हिविधः स्मृतः । शारीरस्ताडनादिस्तु मारणान्तः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

^९ म० । ७ । १४–१५ । १८ । १९ ।

रे म०। 'कल्पन्ते'।

^३ म०। (ग)। 'स घृतः'।

⁸ या०। १। ३५४।

र् "वण्डो द्विविधः ... तथैव च" इत्यानुपूर्विकः पाठो मिताक्षरायामपि दृश्यते । (या० १ । ३६१) ।

^इ ना० । परिशिष्टे । ५३-५४ ।

[ै] दण्डस्तु । (घ) ।

काकिन्यादिस्त्वर्थदण्डः सर्वस्वान्तस्तथैव च।

शारीरोऽर्थंदण्डश्चापि दशधा [1] तत्तु पल्लवे विस्तृतम् । याज्ञवल्क्यः । "शारीरो दशधा प्रोक्तो ह्यर्थंदण्डस्तथैवचेति मिताक्षरा । शारीरस्ताड-नादिरर्थंदण्डः काकिन्यादिः, कस्मिन् कियानितिव्यवहारदर्शने नियमितम् । संक्षिप्य दण्डभेदानाह स एव ।

^३धिग्दण्डस्त्वथ वाग्दण्डो धनदण्डो वधस्तथा । योज्या व्यस्ताः समस्ताश्च ह्यपराधवशादिमे ॥

वाग्दण्डश्शापवचनात्मकः।

ज्ञात्वापराधं कालं च देशं बलमथापि वा। वयः कार्य्यं च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्ड्येषु पातयेत्।।

अपराधानुसारिणो दण्डा इति । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वं धनदण्डवध-दण्डयोरुक्तत्वात् तदाह **मनुः** ।

सर्वो वण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः । वण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद् भोगाय कल्प्यते ।। देवदानवगन्धर्वा रक्षांसि पतगोरगाः । तेऽपि भोगाय कल्प्यते विश्वांसि पतगोरगाः । तेऽपि भोगाय कल्प्यते वण्डनैव निपीडिताः ॥ दुष्येयु स्सर्ववर्णाश्च भिद्येरन् सर्वमेव तत् [?] । सर्वलोकप्रकोपश्च भवेद्वण्डस्य विश्वमात् । यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो वण्डश्चरित पापहा । प्रजास्तत्र न मुद्धान्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यिति ॥ तस्याद्धः संप्रणेतारं राजानं सत्यवादिनम् । समीक्ष्यकारिणं प्राज्ञं धर्म्यकामार्थकोविदम् ॥ तं राजा प्रणमे १० त्सम्यक् त्रिवर्गेणाभिवर्धते । कामात्मा विषमः क्षुद्रो दण्डनैव निहन्यते ॥

^१ याज्ञवल्क्यवचनमत्र पतितम्। ^३ या०। १। ३६१।

³ या । १ । ३६७-८ । ⁸ म । ७ । २२-२८ ।

५ 'शुचो नरः' । इति (क) (ख) (ग)पुस्तकेषु ।

^६ म**ा 'कल्प**ा'। अकल्प्यन्ते। (घ) (ङ)योः।

^८ दुःखेयुः । इति (क)(ख)(ग)पुस्तकेषु ।

^९ म०। 'सर्वसेतवः'। १९ म०। 'प्रणयन्'।

दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्घरश्चाकृतात्मिभः। धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सवान्धवम्।।

याज्ञवल्क्यः १।

अधर्म्भदण्डनं स्वर्गकीत्तिलोकविनाशनम् । सम्यक्तु दण्डनं राज्ञां रै स्वर्गकीतियशोवहम् रै।।

अत्र दण्डनं काम्यमन्यत्र नित्य^कमतो नित्यकाम्यम् । यत्तु काम्यमेव नित्यमेव^क वा तन्न । तदकरणे

"दण्डोत्सर्गे राजैकरात्रमुपवसेत् त्रिरात्रं पुरोहितः कृच्छ्रमदण्डचदण्डने पुरोहित" इति विसष्ठवचनेन ^४ प्रायश्चित्तथवणात् ।

भयो दण्डचान् दण्डयेद्राजा सम्यग्वध्यांश्च पातयेत् । इष्टं स्यात् ऋतुभिस्तेन समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः । भदण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते ।

इत्यादिबहुतरफलश्रवणाच्च (।) न च सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् फलश्रवणे नित्यत्व-मिति वाच्यं साक्षात्सुखादेरेव फलत्वे विवक्षितत्वात्, अन्यया ^६तयोरेकशेषः कर्त्तुमशक्यत्वात् ।

> ^९॰इति संचिन्त्य नृपतिः ऋतुतुल्यफलं ^९॰ पृथक् । व्यवहारान् स्वयं पश्येत्सभ्यैः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ॥

साध्य^{९९}मूलविवादो व्यवहारः। स तु प्रजानामेव नृपस्य तदीशत्वादिति न राजेश्वरेण न्यायपथादुत्पथिकस्य धर्ममभङ्गभिया व्यवहारो द्रष्टव्य एव विशेष^{९ र}पुरस्कारेणान्यथा 'स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपति' रित्यस्य कृतनिवृत्त्यप्रसङ्गः स्यात्।

^९ या० । १ । ३५७ । ^२ याः । ०राज्ञः ० जयावहम् । इति ।

[ै] नित्यमत इति । नित्यमेव वेति च नास्ति (ङ)पुस्तके ।

⁸ व० । १९ । ४० – ४२ । ^५ या० । १ । ३५९ ।

^ब या०। 'घातपेत्'। [°] म०। ७। २२। ^८ (ङ)। कल्प्यते।

विशेष इत्यर्थः । एकशेषकर्त्तुमिति (ङ)पुस्तकपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^{९०} या०।१।३५८।फली इति (ङ) पुस्तके।

^{៘ (}ङ) । मध्ये मूलविवाद इति पाठोऽज्ञुद्धः ।

^{९३} "विशेषः" । इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ।

मनुः १।

शुचिना सत्यसन्धेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।
प्रणेतुं शक्यते दण्डः सुसहायेन धीमता ॥
शुचिनार्थादिशौचयुक्तेन, सत्यसन्धेन दृढप्रतिज्ञेन ।
नेर्सोऽसहायेन मूढेन लुब्धेनाकृतबुद्धिना ।
न शक्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥
इति विधिनिषेधौ ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो दण्डतरङ्गः॥

ऋष राजकृतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C. XIV)

तत्र मनुः ।

दत्त्वा दानं रे तु विष्ठेभ्यः सर्वदण्डसम् रे च्छितम् । पुत्रे राज्यं समासज्य ह कुर्वीत प्रायणं रणे ।

रणमुपलक्षणं मोक्षसाधनोपाय इत्यर्थः । अयमर्थः राजा राज्या किस्पृहत्वे ज्येष्ठपुत्राय राज्यं दत्त्वा मोक्षसाधनोपायं कुर्य्यात् । नन् पृत्रमात्रोपादाने कथं ज्येष्ठायैवेति चेत्र ।

> यदा राजा जरायुक्तो रोगात्तों निस्पृहोऽपि च । आसन्नमृत्युं विज्ञाय कुलधममं विचारयन् ॥ तदा पौरजनान् सर्वानाह्य मन्त्रयेच्च तैः । सप्ताङ्गानि च राज्यानि ज्येष्ठपुत्राय दापयेत् ॥

दापयेत् दद्यात्, 'विधाय वृत्ति बहूनां राज्यं ज्येष्ठाय दापयेदि'ति राजनीतौ° हारीत-नारद-वचनेभ्यः । पुत्र इत्येकवचनेनानेकस्यासम्भवात् । प्राधान्याज्ज्येष्ठ-स्य न्याय्यत्वाच्च । अत्रार्थे मनुः ।

यस्मिन्नृणं सन्नयति येन चानन्त्यमञ्नुते । स एव धर्म्मजः पुत्रः कामजानितरान्विदुः ॥

अत्रैवैतदर्थे व्यासः।

शाश्वतोऽयं स्मृतो धर्माः पार्थिवानां नरपंभ । न यवीयान् स्थिते ज्येष्ठे राजा भवितुमहंति ॥

१ म०। ९। ३२३।

[ै] म०। (ख) (ङ)योः। धनमिति।

^व म० । 'सर्वदण्डसमुत्थितम्'।

⁸ म० । 'समासृज्य' ।

[🎙] राज्यास्पृहत्वे । (घ)(ङ)योः ।

निवत्यारभ्य कुलधमं विचारयित्रत्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

न हि कामन्दकनीतौ हारीतनारदवचनानि सन्ति । एषा ऽपरैव राजनीतिः काचित् ।

यवीयान् कनिष्ठः शाश्वतोऽयमिति सनातनोऽनादिपरम्परागतधम्मोऽयं पार्थिवानामित्यन्वयः। भारते ।

कथं ज्येष्ठानतिकम्य कनीयान्नाज्यमहैति । एतत्सम्बोधयामस्त्वां धम्मै त्वं परिपालय ॥

ज्येष्ठं तिरस्कृत्य कनीयसे राज्यदानमधर्म्म इति वचनाशयः। रामायणे ।
न हि राज्ञः सुताः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भामिनि ।
श्वहूनामिष पुत्राणामेको राज्येऽभिषिच्यते ।।
स्थाप्यमानेषु सर्वेषु सुमहाननयो भवेत् ।
तस्माज्ज्येष्ठे हि कैकेयि राज्यतन्त्राणि पार्थिवाः ॥
आसञ्जन्त्य मनवद्याङ्गि गुणवित्स्वतरेष्विष ।
श्वे च ज्येष्ठाः सुपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः ।
श्वासञ्जन्त्यखिलं राज्यं न भ्रातृषु कथञ्चन ।

स्थाप्यमानेष्वित्यादियुक्त्या एक एव राजा तत्रापि ज्येष्ठ एवेति दिशतम् । आसञ्जन्ति निःक्षिपन्ति तन्त्राणि कार्य्याणि । अत्रैव विसष्ठ-वाक्यम् १ ।

इक्ष्वाकूणां च सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वेजः। पूर्वेजे नावरः पुत्रो^७ राज्यें समभिषिच्यते।।

इक्ष्वाकूणामित्युपलक्षणं च शब्दात्। राज्ञामेतत्समं तस्मादिक्ष्वाकूणां विशेषत इति पुनस्तत्रैव तेनोक्तत्वाच्चे । ननु राज्यदानमेकस्मा इ'त्यर्थेशास्त्रान्तु बलवद्धर्म्मशास्त्रमिति क्षिति"रिति वचनाद्धर्मशास्त्रस्य प्राबल्ये "११ पैतामहं च पित्र्यं चे"त्यादिवाक्येन तस्यापि विभाज्यतेति चेन्न, राज्यमिन

^१ म० भा०। आदि०। ७९। २२।

[ै]रा०। अयो०। ८। २३-२४।

र भाविनि। (ङ)।

⁸ नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितरामायणे । (ङ) समासन्त्यखिलं राज्यं ।

^६ रा**० । स्थापयन्तीति ।** ६ रा० । अयो० । ११० । ३६ ।

⁹ रा०। 'ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते।'

^c तेनोक्तम् । (ङ) ।

६ (ख) एकस्मिन्नपी० । एकस्मिन् (ङ) ।

भाज्यमिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात्। तदुभयान्यथासिद्धौ तद्वचना प्रसक्तेः राज्ञा दत्त-स्यानिवर्त्यत्वे नापि राज्यस्याविभज्यत्वाच्च । अत्र मनुः ।

तस्माद्धममं यमिष्टेषु । संव्यवस्येन्नराधिपः । अनिष्टं चाप्यनिष्टेषु तद्धममंत्र विचालयेत् ॥

न विचालयेन्नोल्लब्डघयेत्।

नारवः ।

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः * पृथिवीपतिः ।

'स्वातन्त्र्यमप्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा महीपित'रिति कामधेनी स्पष्टम् । त च " भूयें"त्यादिवचनेन कमागते राज्ये स्वाम्यसाम्यात्स्वाज्जितं राज्यं देयमिति वाच्यं तेषां मुनिभिरिवशेषेणोपादेयत्वात् कमागतराज्यदान एव विसष्ठाद्युक्ते 'ल्लोंकवृत्ताद्राजवृत्तमन्यदाह वृहस्पित' रितिवचनात्तेषां राज्यातिरिक्तपरत्वाच्च । राजकृतं प्रमाणमत्र हेतुमाह ।

मनुः ।

सोग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोर्कः सोमः स धर्म्मराट् । स कुवेरस्स वरुणस्स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥ बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः । महती देवता ह्योषा^९ नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

१ ०वचनप्रसक्तेः । इति पुस्तकेषु

र अनिवर्त्तत्वेन । (घ) (ङ) योः।

^{ै (}क) (ख) (घ) (ङ) । अविभाज्य०।

⁸ म० । ७ । १३ ।

९ (क) (ल) (ग) पुस्तकेषु-'यविष्ठेषु'।

^६ ना० । ऋ० । ३३ । नारद इत्यारभ्य राज्यातिरिक्तपरत्वाच्चेत्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति (ङ)पुस्तके ।

⁶ स्वतन्त्रं च महीपतिः। (घ)।

^{टं} या०। २। १२१।

⁴ HO 1 9 1 9-61

^९° ह्येता। (घ)।

कात्यायनः।

क्षयोदयौ^९ जीवनं च राजदैववशान्नृणाम् । तस्मात् सर्वेषु कार्य्येषु तत्कृतं न विचालयेदिति ।।

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र राज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥

 $^{^{9}}$ क्षयोदयो $^{\circ}$ इति $(\pi)(\pi)(\pi)(\pi)$ पुस्तकेषु ।

[े] नारदः । अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रश्च महीपितः । स्वातन्त्र्यम-प्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा महीपितिरिति कामधेनौ स्पष्टम् । न च भूर्येत्यादि-वचनबलात्क्रमागतराज्ये स्वास्यसाम्यात्स्वाजितं राज्यं देयमिति वाच्यम् । तेषां मुनिभिरिवशेषेणोपादेयत्वात्क्रमागतराज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥ (ङ) ।

३ नास्ति । (ङ) ।

अथ पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C.XV.)

ैराज्यमदत्त्वैव राज्ञि मृतं राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिरिप राज्यं दातव्यं वैदिकलौकिकम्मंसु राजप्रातिनिध्यात् । वहुपु ज्येष्ठायेति सम्प्रदायः। नन् राजपरोक्षे राजपुत्रस्यैव राज्यं कथं तैर्दातव्यमिति चेन्न। तैरेव न ग्राह्ममधर्म-श्रवणादित्यभिप्रायात् । 'अत्र विवादपरिहारार्थं मिति लक्ष्मीधरः । 'राज्य-भङ्गभिये'ति पल्लवकारः। राजनीतौ नारदः ।

ज्येच्छो नरकिनस्तारो लोक भूज्यतमः स्मृतः। ज्येच्छो रत्नाकरः प्रोक्तो राज्याही ज्येच्छ एव हि।।

राजनीतौ शुक्रः ।

राज्यं पुरो विवाहं च सपिण्डीकरणं पितुः।
गुणवत्सु कनिष्ठेषु ज्येष्ठ एव समहंति॥

इदं बार्हस्पत्यपद्मयोरिप ।

भागवते ।

शुमन्तुर्बाह्मणैरुक्तः परिवेत्ता त्वमग्रभुक् ।
 राज्यं देह्मग्रजायाश् पुरराष्ट्रविवृद्धये ॥

तथा च राज्ययोग्ये ज्येष्ठे सित स एव राजा तदभावे किनष्ठः, तदभावे राजवंदयः। अत्र ज्येष्ठः पिता यस्य प्रथमं मुखं पदयित स एव तेन वैमात्रेय-स्यापि संग्रहः। न विवाहसाहचर्य्यात्सोदरपरिनयमः पितुः सिपण्डीकरण-साहचर्यात् अन्यथा रामायणे रामादीनुपलक्ष्य विसष्ठादिवाक्यस्यालग्नता-

१ राजमदत्वेवेति(ङ) पु० पाठोऽशुद्धः।

रे (क) (ग) । ०धर्म्मसु ।

नास्ति नारवीये धर्मशास्त्रे ।

⁸ (ङ) । लोके ।

^१ नास्ति मुद्रितशुक्रनीतौ ।

⁸ भाग०। ९। २२। १५

⁶ भाग**ः।** "शन्तनुः"।

^द (घ) । राजन् ।

पत्तिः स्यात्। किञ्च 'स्थाप्यमानेष्वित्यादि' युक्तिः समैव चेति तत्त्वम्। अतएव राज्यमविभाज्यमाह मनुः ।

वस्त्रं पत्रमलङकारं क्रतान्नमुदकं स्त्रियः। योगक्षेमं प्रचारं च न विभाज्यं प्रचक्षते॥

योगक्षेमं मन्त्रिपुरोहितादि । केचित्तु नौकादि तन्न, 'योगक्षेमं स्मृतं राज्यमिति' कोषात्। राज्यमाह[तुः] मनुविष्णू । स्वाम्यमात्यसुहत्कोषदण्ड-दुर्गराष्ट्रप्रकृतयः । एतत्सप्ताङ्गकं राज्यमुच्यते। सुहृत्पुरोहितः । दण्डस्सेना याज्ञवल्यः ।

स्वाम्यमात्यो जनो दुर्गं कोषो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥
जनः प्रजाः, मनुवचनैकवाक्यतया मित्राणि राष्ट्राणि ।
नारदः ।

स्त्रीधनं च नरेन्द्राणां न कदापि च जीर्यति ।

स्त्रीधनं सौदायिकं, नरेन्द्रधनं राज्यम्। कात्यायनः। "निबन्धो यः कमागतः"। तथा च। धम्मंशास्त्रेऽपि राज्यमविभाज्यमित्येवमर्थशास्त्रे ज्येष्ठ एव राजा भवेदित्युभयोरिवरोधः। तर्हि लोकवत्ताद्रा १० जवृत्तस्य को भेद इति, नैतत्।

^९ रा०। अयो०। ८। २३।

र म०।९।२१९। अतएव षडङ्गं राज्यमविभाज्यमाह मनुरिति (ङ)पाठः।

विशेषिक स्वास्ति स्वासि स्व

^४ म०। ९। २९४। वि०। ३। ३३। (घ) (ङ)योः। राज्यमाह मनु-रिति पाठः।

^५ ०राष्ट्राणि प्रकृतय इति पठनीयम् ।

८ प्रामादिकमेतत् । जनः राष्ट्रं, पुरं दुर्गमिति मनुवचनैकवाक्यता ।

^९ना । व्य । ८३। १० लोकवृतात्तस्य को भेद इति (ङ)।

विकारं याति पुत्रोऽपि राज्यलोभाद्यथा पिता। तल्लोकवृत्तानृपतेरन्यद् वृत्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

इति शुक्रवचनेन भेदप्रतीतेः।

राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति गोपाल-लक्ष्मीघर-श्रीकरादयः । अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः ।

> पूर्वजन्माज्जितं पापमुपभोक्तुमिह बजेत्। राज्ञो द्वितीयकः पुत्रस्तृतीयो वैयदजासूनः ॥ उत्पत्तिकालादारभ्य सदा तौ दुःखभागिनौ।

एतन्मुलक एव लोके तद्द्घोष इति। तथा च ज्येष्टगामित्वमविभाज्यत्वं राज्यस्येति बुद्ध्वा पुरोहितादिनापि राज्यदानं कर्तव्यमिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र पूरोहितादिकृतराज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥

^९ नोपलभ्यते शुक्रनीतौ ।

[🤻] तृतयः कामजः सुत इति (ङ)पुस्तकपाठः प्रामादिकः।

अथाभिषेकः । (C. XVI)

राजनीतौ र।

यौवराज्येऽथवा राज्ये यदि राजा विमत्सरः । अभिषिच्य विधानेन धर्म्मजं वीक्ष्य लक्षणम् ॥ तत्सुतं तत्कनिष्ठादिकमात्कामजमात्मजम् । सिक्षकुष्टान्वयं चान्यं प्रजाविप्रानुमोदितम् ॥

युवराजेति वृद्ध⁸राजसापेक्षं वृद्धराजपरतन्त्र^६ इत्यर्थः। विमत्सरो विगत^६राज्यमात्सर्य्यः, धर्म्मजं ज्येष्ठं कामजं किनष्ठं, तथा च यदि राज-लक्षणं ज्येष्ठे तदा ज्येष्ठमेव तदभावे व्येष्ठपुत्रस्य ज्येष्ठमेव पुत्रत्वम् ।

" हतेऽपि ज्येष्ठाः स्वपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः"।

इति वचनात् तदभावे यथाकमं किनष्ठं तदभावे सिन्नकृष्टसन्तानम् ^{१०}सिन्नकृष्टान्वयामित । 'सिन्निहितसम्बन्धिमात्र'मिति पल्लबः। 'तद्वंश्यमे' वे ति लक्ष्मीधरः । तदभावेऽन्यमप्यभिषिञ्चेत् । न^{११} च पिण्डदातिर पुत्रे' सित पौत्राभिषेकस्यान्याय्यत्वमतो नात्र कमादरः ^{१३}। पुत्रपौत्रादौ पिण्डदातृ-

१ (ङ) । अथ राज्याभिषेकः ।

२ (ङ) । राजनीतिः ।

³ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । अभिषिञ्चेत ।

⁸ (घ) (ङ)योः । वृद्धसापेक्षं ।

५ (ङ) (घ)योः।वृद्धराजपरतन्त्रराजा।

६ (घ) (ङ)योः । गतमात्सर्यः ।

तदभावे ज्येष्ठपुत्रस्येत्यारभ्य लक्ष्मीधर इत्यन्तः पाठः (ख) (ङ) पुस्तक-योर्नास्ति ।

^६ (घ) । ज्येष्ठमेवेति नास्ति । (घ) । पुत्रम् ।

६ (घ) । तेपि ज्येष्ठा इत्यारभ्य वचनादित्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति ।

१० (घ) सन्निकृष्टान्वयमितीत्यारभ्य लक्ष्मीधर इत्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति ।

११ (घ) (ङ)योः। "न च" इति नास्ति।

^{९ २} (घ)(ङ)योः। 'ऋमादर इति तस्न'।

त्त्वेनाविशेषात् अतएव पौत्रे समाशिताविधान भिति । कि भे ञ्चात्मा वै जायते पुत्रे इति तत्स्वरूपत्वात् वस्तुतस्तु "राजवृत्तमन्यदि" वियुक्तिरेव बळवतीति ।

> ^{*}कृतनित्यिकयो राजा स्वयं वास्य पुरोहितः। शुक्ले बसानो वसने प्रविशेद्यज्ञमण्डपे।। सौवर्ण स्थापयेत्तत्र कलशं द्ढमग्रतः। पूरयेत्सर्वतीर्थाद्भिगाङ्गेन पयसाज्यवा ॥ वारुणेनाभिमन्त्र्यान्तः क्षिपेत्सर्वीपधीस्ततः । पञ्चभिः पल्लवैश्छन्नम् वं वरुणमर्च्चयेत् ॥ श्रियं विष्णुमुमामीशं गणग्रहदिगीदवरान् । पूजयेज्ज्हयान्मन्त्रैराज्येनैव सकृत्सकृत् ॥ विसुज्य तान् सभामध्ये व्याघ्रचम्मीपरिस्थितम् । सृहद्विप्रवणिग्वीथीमन्त्रिसम्वन्धिसन्निधौ ॥ अभिषिञ्चेच्छान्तिमन्त्रैः पल्लवानीततज्जलैः । ततः सिहासने राजा कुमारम्पवेशयेत् ॥ स्रक्चन्दनपटोष्णीयमणिमुक्तादिभूषणैः। चामरव्यजनच्छत्रपन्न हीपादुकादिभिः॥ अलंकृत्य मुदा तस्मै पडङ्गं राज्यमर्पयेत्। पादाङगुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमलिके न्यसेत्।। मूर्घिन दुर्वाक्षतं दद्याद्द्धिलाजांश्च दर्शयेत्। 'अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजाऽयं रक्षतु प्रजाः' ॥ इति सर्वै प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं धावयेन्मुहः।

^१ (घ)(ङ)योः । समांशिताविधानात् ।

^{ै (}घ) (ङ)योः । किञ्चेति पाठो नास्ति ।

^{ै (}ल)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु–व्यवहितयोजनापत्तेश्चेत्यधिकः पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

४ राजदानतरङ्गे (१४) उदाहृतम् । (घ) (ङ)योः। "राजवृत्त-मन्यदिति प्रागुक्तेः" इत्यधिकः पाठः।

[ै] तथाह। (घ) (ङ) योः। ै पनद्श्री। (घ) (ङ) योः।

[ै] स्वामिसहितं सप्ताङ्गम् । अत्र षडङ्गं स्वामिव्यतिरिक्तम् ।

[&]quot; 'सर्वान्' इति पुस्तकेषु । (क) (ग) । 'साक्षिणः' ।

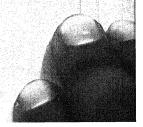
गाङ्गेन गङ्गाजलेन, पयसा गोक्षीरेण, गाङ्गेन पयसा गङ्गाजलेन, वा शब्दोऽत्र व्यवस्थितविभाषेति केचित्; वारुणेन वरुणेन मन्त्रेण, गणो गणपितः, ग्रहपदेन नवग्रहाः मन्त्रेस्तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रैः, 'सुरास्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्त्वि'त्यादिशान्तिमन्त्रैः, पल्लवानीततज्जलैः कलशमुखक्षिप्तपञ्चपल्लवाहृतजलैः, सिंहासनं (?ने) राजासनं (?ने) कुमारमित्यस्याभिषिञ्चेत् [इति] तात्पर्य्यं , पन्नद्धी उपानत्, पडङ्गं मन्त्रिसुह्त्कोषदुर्गराष्ट्रबलात्मकम्, अलिके ललाटे, न्यसेद्द्या-दित्यर्थः, अद्यत्याद्यर्धं श्रावयेत्।

रामायणे 8।

सत्कृत्य द्विजमुख्यानां श्वः प्रभाते प्रदीयताम् । घृतं च दिधलाजांश्च ^५ दक्षिणाश्चापि पुष्कलाः ॥ सूर्य्येभ्यदितमात्रे तु भविता पुण्यवाचनम् ^६ ।

अत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्यो घृतदिधलाजदानं पुण्यवाचनं चेति विशेषः । ब्राह्मण-भोजनमप्यत्रैव "ब्राह्मणाश्च निमन्त्र्यन्ता"मिति । अस्य प्रयोगो मद्गुरपद्धतौ । विस्तरोऽस्य पल्लवे । 'अलंकृत्य मुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं राज्यमपंयेत् । पादाङ्गुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमिलिके न्यसे'दिति दृष्टार्थमन्यत्त्वदृष्टार्थम् । मनाविभिषेकं विनापि राज्यदानविधानात् तथा सम्प्रदायाच्च । कोषकारमते 'राज्यदानोपलक्षकं तिलक-दानादि तेन तिद्वनापि तद्भवत्येव श्वपुच्छन्याया'दिति । गोपालमते त्व'भिषेकादि पर्य्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तद्व्यवहारा'दिति । तथा चोक्तविधानेनोत्तमः, तिलकदानमात्रेण मध्यमः । अन्येनाप्यनुक्तप्रकारेणाधम-कल्प इति । न चाधमकल्पानादर एव युक्त इति ।

जातिदेशकुलानां च ये धर्म्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः। तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथे-त्यादिवचनात् व्यवहारस्य सर्वतो बलव^{९०}त्तरत्वाच्चेति ।



[े] अभिषेचे तात्पर्यमिति (ख)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु पाठः।

[ै] पनद्धी। (घ)(ङ)योः। भे अर्थं। (घ)(ङ)योः।

⁸ रा०। अयो०। ३। १५-१६।

५ (ख) (घ) (ङ) । रा० । ०लाजाश्च ।

६ रा० । ०३वो भविता स्वस्तिवाचनम् ।

[ै] रा**ः । अयो० । ३ । १६ । (घ) (ङ)योः । ब्राह्मणा**ञ्चाप्यामन्त्र्यताम् ।

८ विस्तारोऽस्य । (घ) (ङ) योः । ८० ०दानादिनापि । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

९० सर्वतो बलवत्त्वाच्चेति। (ङ)।

अथान्ये राजपुत्रा भर्तव्याः। नीतौ १।

प्रजातमध्येयसे राजा कुर्वीतात्मजरक्षणम् । लोलुप्य रमानास्तेऽर्थेषु हन्युरेनमलक्षिताः ॥

मन्ः ।

भरणं पोष्यवर्गस्य प्रशस्तं स्वर्गसाधनम् । नरकं पीडने चास्य तस्माद्यत्नेन तं भरेत ॥

इत्युभयत्र भरण[म्] कारणम्। लोलुप्यमानास्तदुदयमर्थीपभोक्तार इति। रक्षणमत्र वशीकरणम्। नीतौ ।

> दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखसेवनम् ।। राजपुत्रः परित्यागं सुदुर्वं तोऽपि नार्हति । क्लिश्यमानः स्वपितरं परा वनाश्रित्य हन्ति हि ॥

दुष्टगजं मत्तगजं । सुखसेवनं सुखिनं सुखं तु राजकुळोचितं, परित्यागे ऽर्थधम्मातिक्रमो लोकनिन्दापि स्यादतो न परित्यागमहंतीत्यथं: ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

दत्त्वा निवन्धं भूमि च हत्वा लेख्यं च कारयेत्। आगामिभद्रनुपतेः १० परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥

निबन्धं नियतदेयम्, आगामिभद्रनृपतेः भाविभूपतेः, पार्थिव इति भूपति-स्तस्यैव भूदानाधिकारः, सम्राजादत्तनियतनिबन्धकस्य भोगपतेर्न भूमिदानाधि-कारः पारतन्त्र्यात्। अतएव भूपतेरेव भूमिदानाधिकारो न तु भोगपतेरिति मिताक्षरा १९। तथा च तेभ्योऽपि लिखित्वैव राजा दद्यादिति ।

अभिषिक्तः प्रथमं राष्ट्रमेव साधयेत् पश्चादङ्गानि तदाह शुक्रः ।

³ नोपलभ्यते मानवधर्मशास्त्रे । ⁸ का० । ७ । ६ । ७ ।

^९ का० । 'सुख-बन्घनम्' । सुखसेविनं । (ङ) ।

[ै] अ० का०। स पितरं 'परम्'। मै० का०। 'परान्'।

⁸ मतङ्गराजं। (घ)(ङ)योः।

[ँ] या०। 'वस्वा भूमि निबन्धं वा'।

^८ या०। १। ३१८। ^९ या०। 'वस्त्वा भूमि निबन्ध ^{९९} या०। ०नृपति०। ^{९९} मि०। या०। १। ३१८।

^{९२}का०।६।३।नास्ति शुक्रनीतौ।

राज्याङ्गानां च सर्वेषां राष्ट्राद्भवित संभवः । तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन राजा राष्ट्रं ^९प्रसाधयेत् ॥ प्रसाधयेद् व्यवहारदर्शनादिभिः, व्यवहारदर्शनं तु धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोर-विरोधेन तदाह नारदः ।

> धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामिवरोधेन मार्गतः । निरीक्ष्यमाणो निपुणो ^४व्यवहारगींत नयेत् ॥

अतएव कात्यायनः।

"धम्मंशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदै"
रिति। तथा च नृपस्यैतावत्यर्थकर्त्तव्य तेति निवन्धाभिप्रायः ॥

इति सप्रित्रियमहासान्धिवप्रहिक-ठक्कुरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मणश्रीचण्डेश्वरिविते राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽभिषेकतरङ्गः ॥

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणो मम वचो निम्मंत्सरा मत्सरं

दूरीकृत्य विचारयन्तु चतुरा निश्चित्य चेतश्चिरम्।

मीमांसादिषु पद्धतिप्रभृतिषु व्याख्यासु धम्मार्थयो
र्मान्या मञ्जुमनीषिणो महिभुजःसिद्धान्त मन्त्राप्तये ॥

मन्वादिस्मृति-राजनीति-जलभेरादाय संक्षेपतो

नानानीतिनिबन्धसम्मतमतं चित्वा चिराय श्रमात् ।

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितो रत्नाकरो भूभुजा

भाव्योऽसौ भृवि भूतये भगवता मान्यो वदान्योदयात् ॥

धर्मार्थशास्त्रनिष्णातेन जायसवालोपाह्नेन श्रीकाशीप्रसाद-कृतिना पाटलिपुत्रनगरे चक्रवित्तजयोर्ज (५)राज-विजयराज्ये १९७७ विकमाब्दे संस्कृतः ॥ तेनैव १९९३ विकमाब्दे चक्रवर्त्तनः षष्ठस्य जयोर्जस्य प्रथमाब्दे पुनस्संस्कृतः॥ शुभं भूयात्॥

समाप्तोयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरः ॥

१ अ०। का० 'समुन्नयेत्'। मै० का०। 'प्रसाधयेत्'। २ ना०१। ३७। १ ना०। 'यत्नतः'। १ ना०। 'निपुणम्'। १ कर्त्तव्येति। (घ)। १ निर्मत्सरं। (घ) (ङ)योः। १ सिद्धन्तु। (ङ)पाठोऽज्ञुद्धः। ९ सुविभृतये। (ङ)। १ वदान्योदरात्। (घ) (ङ)योः।